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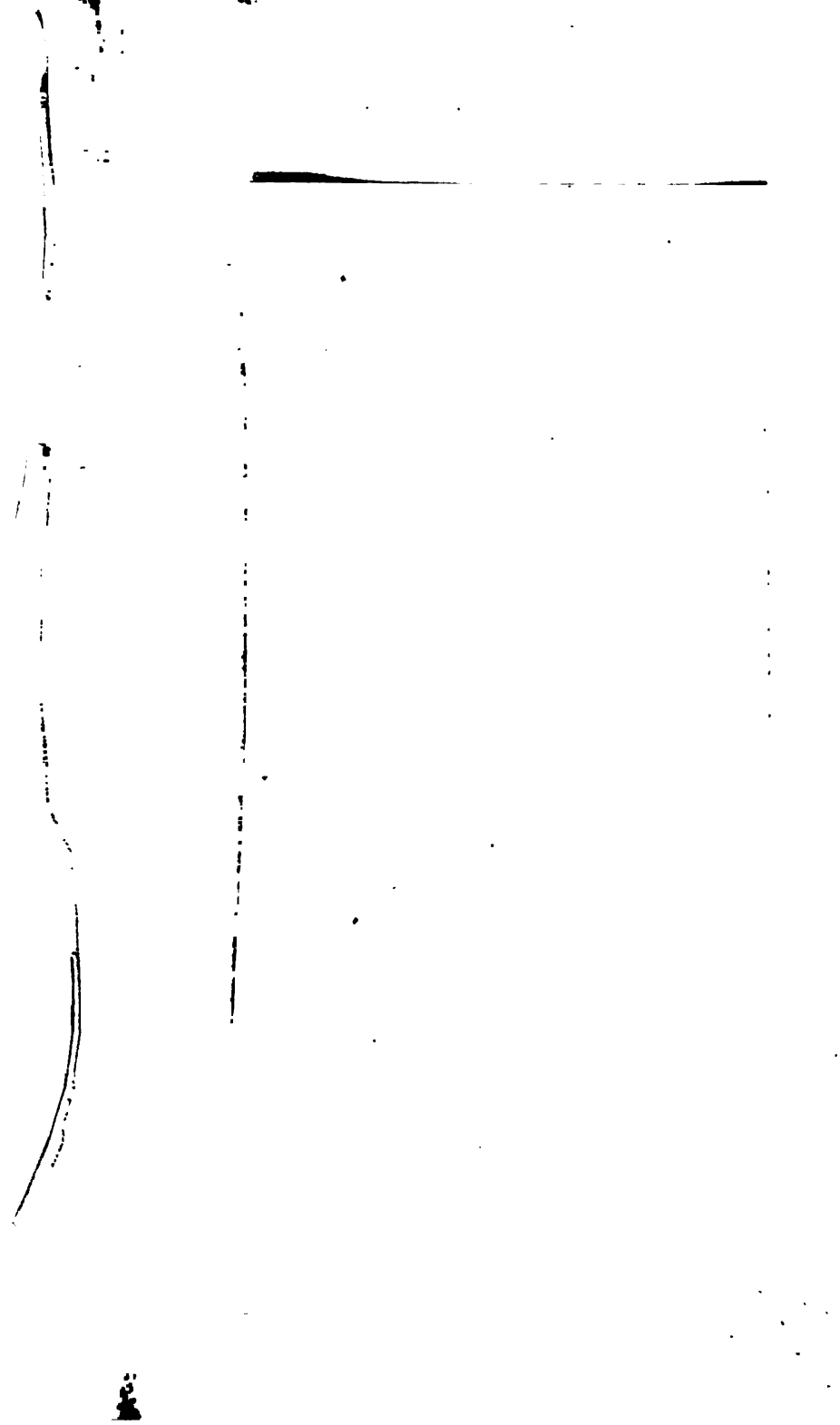

THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR

GENERAL REPOSITORY

OF

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1817.

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PREFACE.

THE delay that has taken place in the publication of the New Annual Register for the year 1817, has arisen entirely from the circumstance that its plan and arrangement are considerably altered:—these required preparations and labour that will not be necessary in future, and consequently a delay in the publication of the subsequent volumes need not be apprehended.

It is the object of the alteration to which we have just adverted, to give a more appropriate character to the literary portion of the work; for this purpose the Review, and the History of Knowledge, &c. have been entirely omitted, and in their stead will, in future, be inserted a general sketch of the state and character of the literature of the year. By means of this sketch, and of a short but particular character of each work, from which the literary extracts are taken, it is hoped that the interest and information of this part of the New Annual Register will be rendered at once more impressive

and instructive. The more minute parts of this new plan, as well as a more detailed account of the reasons, which led to its adoption, are given in the introductory chapter to the literary portion of this work.—Some further improvements are in contemplation, which will appear in our next volume.

The domestic events of the year 1817 possess very great interest, and will afford to the historian materials highly illustrative of the character, both of the government and of the nation. The disturbed state of the country;—the causes which produced or exaggerated this disturbed state;—the suspension of the habeas corpus act;—the trials for high treason, sedition, blasphemy, &c.;—and the debates in parliament, are pregnant with matter for deep and anxious reflection. On these topics we have dwelt at considerable length, endeavouring to elicit the truth as unmixed with error as possible, from the discordant but equally positive statements of the adverse parties. On one topic the voice of the nation proceeded as it were from a single breast. The death of the Princess Charlotte proved, that high and angry as political disputes are in Britain, they possess no power over the purest and most honourable feelings of our national character. The days that witnessed her death

death and funeral, were melancholy days to Britain. But they were also proud days; for they laid bare the heart of the nation, and showed it to be such a heart as no other nation possesses.

The finances of this country, always an important, a difficult, and a little-understood subject, possessed these characters in a higher degree than usual during the year 1817:—we have, therefore, dwelt upon them at considerable length, and also upon the state of our agriculture, manufactures, and commerce,—the sources from which all individual wealth, as well as all national prosperity, must flow.

With respect to the affairs of foreign nations,—those of the United States are, from several circumstances, of the highest interest and moment to us. The Americans, springing from our own loins, and most amply enjoying that liberty of which we boast, ought to be regarded by us with feelings of attachment and regard. To those who delight to watch the progress of states, every thing relating to them must be instructive:—To the philanthropist, who is deeply sensible of the wretchedness that overwhelms so many in all parts of Europe, America must appear as the country that is to receive and cherish these outcasts; and even to

the commercial men and the politicians of Britain, —if they are enlightened and well disposed, and if their views and plans are met with equal intelligence, candour and goodwill, on the other side of the Atlantic,—the prospect of mutual assistance and benefit between America and this country, must appear so distinct and well grounded, as utterly to root out all jealousy or fear of the rapid advances which the United States are making in population and wealth.

JULY 22, 1818.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1817.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1817.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks—Sketch of the Forms of Proceeding in Parliament—Opening of the Session of 1817*—Prince Regent's Speech—Attack on him on his Return from the House of Lords—Address to him from both Houses on this Occasion—Debates in the House of Lords on the Address moved in Answer to the Speech—in the House of Commons on the same Subject.*

THE meeting of parliament is always looked forward to, by the people of this country, of all descriptions, ranks, and parties, with no common degree of interest. In times of war they anticipate from the speech of the sovereign, and from the debates of members and their opponents, a prospective view of the measures to be pursued in the prosecution of hostilities, as well as of the financial means by which the expenses of war are to be defrayed. Our readers must well recollect the interest they felt at the approaching meeting of parliament, during the late protracted and arduous contest; and the attention which they paid to the debates at that period. It was generally supposed, that with the termination of hostilities the debates would in a great measure be stripped of their interest and importance; and that as the country, it was not only hoped but confidently believed, would gently sink into the arms of peace, tranquillity, prosperity, and plenty, so the proceedings of parliament would become languid and spiritless.

That this was not the case during the year 1816,—the first year after the absolute and perfect termination of hostilities,—our volume for that year has sufficiently proved. Britain was indeed at peace: she was no longer either opposed by the combined powers of Europe, as she had been at some periods of the revolutionary wars; nor was she their ally, as at the glorious termination of the contest. But peace had not brought prosperity or internal tranquillity: on the contrary, dissatisfaction had come forth in a more bold and undis-

guised manner, and had collected more numerous and active partisans than she had ever been able to do at any period of the war. Peace had returned, but it had not brought a revival of our manufactures and commerce: on the contrary, these —having been long thrown into an unnatural state, by the duration and peculiar character and tendency of the revolutionary war, and having accommodated themselves to that state, and actually derived vigour and nourishment from what, it might have been supposed, would have proved their poison—languished and drooped when the war terminated. In addition to the thousands who were necessarily thrown loose on society by the reduction of the army and navy, there were thousands more stript of the means of subsistence by the decline of manufactures and trade. The meeting of parliament, therefore, was looked forward to, by many, under the expectation and belief that ministers would propose, or at least adopt and support, some effectual measures for the relief of manufactures and trade. What these measures were to be, few had formed any very clear or definite idea; all, however, imagined that a diminution of the taxes would effectually remove the evil. But there were other subjects which it was naturally supposed parliament would discuss, the anticipation of which gave to their approaching meeting an interest as deep, though of a very different nature, as that which had usually preceded their meetings in time of war. We allude to the call which there seemed to be for their interference, in order to repress that spirit of dissatisfaction, and that apparent determination, in various parts of the kingdom, to carry through sudden and extreme changes in the constitution, by the most violent and illegal method.

There were subordinate topics, the probable discussion of which during the session of 1816 gave to the approach of that session no common degree of interest. We allude more directly and particularly to the poor-laws, or rather to the excessive pressure of the poor-rates—a burden which, the more heavy it grew, the less effectual it seemed to become.

Our last volume has shown in what respects, and to what degree, these anticipations of the proceedings and acts of parliament, during the session of 1816, were realised. In the first place, with respect to the relieving the distressed manufacturers, ministers justly contended that, unless they could create a demand for their goods, no relief they had it in their power to afford could be real or permanent. At the same time they expressed not merely their readiness, but their determination, to take off the pressure of taxation, as much and as speedily as it could safely and prudently be taken off.

In the second place, although ministers were fully aware of the prevalence of a very active and determined spirit of disaffection, and could not be ignorant that radical changes in the constitution were in the contemplation, if not actually planned, by many, who would not scruple to employ the most violent methods to effect these changes; yet, believing or hoping that the regular course of law was amply sufficient to protect the constitution against the measures of these persons, they were unwilling to have recourse to extraordinary means, such as would infringe on the liberty of the subject, or suspend for a time

a time the blessings of the constitution.

The pressure of manufacturing and commercial distresses and difficulties still continuing at the beginning of the year 1817, and the violences at Spa Fields (detailed in our last volume) having been committed after the close of the session of 1816, as well as manifestations of a turbulent spirit having displayed themselves in many parts of the kingdom,—the session of 1817 was naturally looked forward to, with no common interest and anxiety.

Besides these reasons for interest and anxiety, there existed another, which, however, operated less generally than those which we have detailed;—we allude to the financial measures that the minister might be supposed to adopt. The revenue during the year 1816 had fallen off very considerably; and even had it been as flourishing and productive as during the most favourable year of the war, yet it could not possibly cover the peace expenditure and the payment of the interest of the national debt. Hence those who felt an interest in this branch of political œconomy were anxious to learn in what manner the minister would extricate himself from the financial difficulties with which he was pressed; and by what magic he would render a revenue scarcely equal in amount to the payment of the interest of the national debt—equal not only to that, but the defrayment of a peace expenditure of nearly twenty millions.

Such were the principal sources of that interest with which, among most classes and descriptions of persons, the session of 1817 was anticipated.—It is surprising, however —when we consider how long the reading of the debates of parliament has been common among the people of this country,—how few there are who can explain or understand the forms of proceeding.

In fact, the forms of proceeding in parliament are but little known in comparison of other parts of our laws and institutions. They are regarded by many as mere arbitrary ceremonies, the reasons for which, if they did not originate in caprice, have been now altogether lost, as the Turks show the same reverence by uncovering their feet as we do by uncovering our heads, and as some of the South Sea islanders deem it as disrespectful to stand in the presence of their superiors as Europeans do to sit down. It will be found, however, on a little reflection, that those forms are of some importance, which keep up the distinction between a deliberative assembly and a tumultuous meeting, and that the species of discipline is not the least worthy of attention which preserves order in a body of which all the members are equal in authority. It is in fact by the strict observance of these forms, and by the introduction of the system of representation, or rather delegation, in modern times, that all the objections to a popular government have been done away.—An account of some of the forms of proceedings in the house of commons, and an explanation of some of the terms used in describing them, may be also of service to the readers of parliamentary debates.

Time of meeting.—The old parliament hours, as lord Clarendon tells us, was from eight in the morning to twelve. The afternoon was reserved for the business of committees. At present the house of commons meets between three and four, and prayers are immediately read by the chaplain —The morning is

occupied by such committees as happen to be sitting. As soon as there are forty members in the house, the speaker takes the chair; but if, at four o'clock, there are not forty present, he adjourns the house to the next day of sitting. The reason why this hour has been fixed upon for an adjournment, is supposed by Mr. Hatsell to be, that by act of parliament (12th William) it is ordered that members who are introduced for the first time into the house shall take the oaths of supremacy, abjuration, &c. at the table, between nine and four. When the king or his commissioners summon the house to the house of peers to hear the royal assent given to bills, or for any other purpose, the speaker, on his return, takes the chair without counting the house; but if any member demand that the house be counted, no business can be done till it appear that at least forty members be present; and if it happens, after four o'clock, that there are not so many present, the house is immediately adjourned.

In the house of peers three lords make a house, and very often there are not more than three present while judicial business is transacted; viz. the lord chancellor, the chairman of committees, and the junior bishop, who reads prayers.

Questions.—When a proposition is submitted to the house by the speaker, it is called "putting the question." It was anciently—in times when the proceedings of the house must have been much less regular than they now are—the practice for the speaker to collect the sense of the house from the debates, and thence to frame propositions. When he had done this, he used to "put the question" to the house—that is, ask them did they agree to this proposition? Hence the name originated. The present practice is, that a member who has a proposition to make shall put it in writing: he reads it, and delivers it to the speaker. When this "motion" is seconded, it is proposed by the speaker to the house. It cannot then be withdrawn, except by the leave of the house, at the request of the mover; and, till it is agreed to or negatived, no other motion can be discussed, with the following exceptions: 1st, A motion to adjourn—2d, A motion for reading the orders of the day—3d, Or, for the previous question—Or, 4th, from an amendment on the motion proposed. This general rule, which confines the attention of the house to a particular subject, and that digested into a regular proposition, is indispensably necessary to the dispatch of business; and it is to the want of such a regulation that much of the disorder in inexperienced popular assemblies, such as the national assemblies in France, and the cortes in Spain, is to be attributed. —A practice has prevailed in those bodies (drawn from the practices of the French parliament, which were judicial and not legislative bodies) of collecting the opinion of members, not simply by an aye or no to any question, but in any manner in which the individuals thought fit to deliver them. The member delivering that opinion was called an opinant. The inconvenience of this practice in a legislative assembly is, that, independently of the time consumed in the process, the various conflicting opinions are so numerous that no decision can be recorded, unless it be that—not of the majority, but of the greatest number who are of one mind. The opinants also frequently went, like all other makers of speeches, into matters quite irrelevant to the subject.

ject. The exceptions to the general rule in the house of commons are as necessary as the rule itself.

1. Adjournment.—Whatever subject is under discussion, any member may move "that the house do now adjourn," and this motion must take the precedence of every other; for as it cannot be calculated at what time any emergency may render an adjournment necessary, so the house cannot preclude itself from taking this step, notwithstanding it may not have decided on any motion which has been proposed to it.—A motion for adjournment may be repeated any number of times; and there was an instance in the last session, when Mr. Wynne moved the standing order for excluding strangers, that Mr. Brougham moved an adjournment three several times, on each of which the house divided.

2. A motion for the orders of the day also takes the precedence of other motions, and is employed to get rid of any proposition to which the house may not wish to give either an affirmative or negative. When a motion has been made, any member may move that the orders of the day (that is to say, the list of proceedings which have been ordered to be taken into consideration on that day) be read. The motion cannot be employed to put off the discussion of any proposition which is to be found among the orders themselves.

3. A motion for the previous question may be made to get rid of any other motion, whether it be found in the orders or not. On any proposition being submitted to the house, any member may demand that the house shall first decide whether "the question be now put," (this is called Moving the previous question), and if the house decide "that it be not now put," the original motion falls to the ground; but the mover is not precluded from bringing it forward at any other time, if he thinks fit.

4. An amendment may be proposed on any question;—the form of determining on it is this: The speaker reads the original motion, and states that an amendment has since been proposed; he then puts the question "that the words proposed to be left out," or "the words proposed to be inserted, stand out of the question." If the house agree to insert or reject any words, he then reads the question so amended, and it is again put to the vote; so that if the house, on hearing the whole of the question, think fit to reject it, they may still do so. This regulation prevents the house from being taken by surprise, or from admitting words which might, in combination with the rest of the motion, bear a construction which they might not agree to.

It is also to be remarked, that if any question respecting the privilege of the house, or the order of its proceeding, arise in the course of a debate, it must have the precedence of any other matter under discussion. This rule evidently originated at a time when the connexion between the house of commons and the ministers of the crown was less intimate than that which exists at present. As the king was always eagerly expecting the subsidies which the house of commons might intend to grant, that body readily perceived that the best way to secure its privileges from any hostile encroachment, was to make another business give way to the discussion of such subjects. Thus in the parliament which preceded the long parliament (1640), the lords, who were devoted to the crown,

took upon themselves to advise the commons to proceed forthwith to the business of a supply; but so far was this from answering the purpose of those who proposed it, that the commons immediately voted this a breach of privilege, and would proceed to no public business till the journals had been searched, and a protestation sent up to the house of peers, to be entered on the journals of that house.

The mode of coming to a decision on a question is this:—The speaker, having read the motion, desires those who are of that opinion to say Aye; he then desires 'those who are of the contrary opinion to say No.' He then says he thinks the ayes (or the noes) "have it." If no one contradict this declaration, the vote is recorded; but if it be contradicted by any member, the house proceeds to a division. In the first place, all strangers are ordered to withdraw; two tellers are appointed from the Ayes, and two from the Noes. The Ayes (or the Noes) are ordered to go forth into an ante-chamber of the house called the lobby, the other party remaining in the house. One teller for each party counts the number of those who remain in the house; the other two count those who went forth as they return through the door of the house: the numbers are then reported by the tellers at the table; and if the numbers be equal, the speaker is called upon for his casting vote. It is to be remarked here, that as the tellers are chosen from both parties, they keep a check upon each other, and it is necessary that they should agree in their reports, otherwise the house must be counted a second time.

Having thus explained the forms of proceeding in parliament, and the terms by which they are designated (for which we are convinced we shall receive the thanks of our readers) we shall now proceed to a detail of the parliamentary debates during the session of 1817.

The session was opened on Tuesday, January 28, by the prince regent, who delivered the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,—It is with deep regret that I am again obliged to announce to you, that no alteration has occurred in the state of his majesty's lamented indisposition. I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country, and of their earnest desire to maintain the general tranquillity. The hostilities to which I was compelled to resort, in vindication of the honour of the country, against the goverment of Algiers, have been attended with the most complete success. The splendid achievement of his majesty's fleet, in conjunction with a squadron of the king of the Netherlands, under the gallant and able conduct of admiral viscount Exmouth, led to the immediate and unconditional liberation of all Christian captives then within the territory of Algiers, and to the renunciation, by its government, of the practice of Christian slavery. I am persuaded that you will be duly sensible of the importance of an arrangement so interesting to humanity, and reflecting, from the manner in which it has been accomplished, such signal honour on the British nation. In India, the refusal of the government of Nepaul to ratify a treaty of peace which had been signed by its plenipotentiaries, occasioned a renewal of military operations. The judicious arrangements of the governor-general, seconded by the bravery and perseverance of his majesty's

majesty's forces, and of those of the East India company, brought the campaign to a speedy and successful issue; and peace has been finally established upon the just and honourable terms of the original treaty.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—I have directed the estimates for the current year to be laid before you. They have been formed upon a full consideration of all the present circumstances of the country, with an anxious desire to make every reduction in our establishments which the safety of the empire and sound policy allow. I recommend the state of the public income and expenditure to your early and serious attention. I regret to be under the necessity of informing you, that there has been a deficiency in the produce of the revenue in the last year; but I trust that it is to be ascribed to temporary causes: and I have the consolation to believe that you will find it practicable to provide for the public service of the year without making any addition to the burthens of the people, and without adopting any measure injurious to that system by which the public credit of the country has been hitherto sustained.

"My lords and gentlemen,—I have the satisfaction of informing you, that the arrangements which were made in the last session of parliament, with a view to a new silver coinage, have been completed with unprecedented expedition. I have given directions for the immediate issue of the new coin, and I trust that this measure will be productive of considerable advantages to the trade and internal transactions of the country. The distresses consequent upon the termination of a war of such unusual extent and duration have been felt, with greater or less severity, throughout all the nations of Europe; and have been considerably aggravated by the unfavourable state of the season. Deeply as I lament the pressure of these evils upon the country, I am sensible that they are of a nature not to admit of an immediate remedy; but whilst I observe with peculiar satisfaction the fortitude with which so many privations have been borne, and the active benevolence which has been employed to mitigate them, I am persuaded that the great sources of our national prosperity are essentially unimpaired, and I entertain a confident expectation that the native energy of the country will at no distant period surmount all the difficulties in which we are involved. In considering our internal situation you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence. I am too well convinced of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of his majesty's subjects, to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them; but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected: And I rely with the utmost confidence on your cordial support and co-operation, in upholding a system of law and government, from which we have derived inestimable advantages, which has enabled us to conclude, with unexampled glory, a contest whereon depended the best interests of mankind, and which has been hitherto felt by ourselves, as it is acknowledged by other nations, to be the most perfect that has

has ever fallen to the lot of any people."

On the return of the prince regent from the house of lords, the life guards were insulted, and gravel and other missiles were thrown at the royal carriage. The particulars of these outrages were communicated to both houses by lord James Murray, the lord-in-waiting, who was examined respecting them. The debates on the usual addresses in answer to the speech were adjourned; and both houses unanimously agreed to the following address:—"We his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your royal highness, humbly to express our abhorrence of the outrage offered to your royal highness on your passage from parliament—to assure your royal highness that we feel the deepest concern and indignation that there should be found any individual in his majesty's dominions capable of an attack so daring and flagitious; and to express our earnest wishes, in which we are confident we shall be joined by all descriptions of his majesty's subjects, that you will be pleased to order measures to be taken without delay, to discover and bring to justice the aiders and abettors of this atrocious proceeding."

To this address his royal highness the prince regent returned the following most gracious answer:—"This additional proof of your duty and loyalty affords me the highest satisfaction. Relying on the affection of the great part of his majesty's subjects, I have nothing to regret but a breach of the laws. I have ordered that the persons concerned in that outrage should be brought before the proper tribunal."

In the commons, the same day, the speaker having read the speech delivered that day from the throne, lord Valletort moved the address. His lordship considered that, although the late war had thrown considerable burdens on the people, yet we ought to be gratified that all the objects sought by it had been attained; nor ought we under the pressure of temporary adversity to give ourselves up to despair. The expedition against the government of Algiers, whether regarded with respect to its motives or its end, formed a subject of unmixed congratulation; nor was a renewal of aggression from that quarter to be apprehended. With respect to the wars in India, they had been forced upon us by a series of aggressions; but the treaty with Nepaul, combined with the wise arrangements of the marquis of Hastings, promised to secure the future tranquillity of the peninsula of India. He agreed that the house ought to enforce œconomy; but it ought to be borne in mind that the weight and dignity of a powerful government must be kept up; that this government was the guardian of social order; that our empire was wide, and our colonies spread over the whole face of the globe. He would enforce on their consideration, that nothing was so expensive as weakness, nothing so prodigal as insecurity. The house must be sensible that the prince regent was sincerely desirous of lessening the burdens of the people, and would adopt any plan, consistent with public security and public faith, that the house might recommend. The deficiency of the revenue was no ground for depression; the present distress was but temporary, occasioned by the transition from a state of war to a state of peace. The expenditure during the

the last year of the war, among the labouring classes of the community, amounted to 130 millions; in the year after it was only 70 millions: this joined to the great discharge of soldiers and sailors, effected a diminution of employment at the very time when there was a greater demand for it than ever. A mischievous spirit had been diffused among the poorer classes for the worst purposes: they had been told that the remedy for all their grievances would be annual parliaments; but he trusted that the house had the will and power to defeat every attempt to subvert the constitution, which, in spite of clamour, was still unrivalled, and acknowledged to be the most perfect that had ever fallen to the lot of man.

Mr. Dawson seconded the motion.

Mr. Ponsonby moved the following amendment:—"That we have seen, with the deepest concern, the continued embarrassments of our agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; the alarming deficiency of the revenue; and the unexampled and increasing distresses of all classes of his majesty's faithful subjects. Of these facts he was sure no one could have any doubt. That we are willing to indulge the hope that these distresses may be found, in part, to have originated from circumstances of a temporary nature, and that some alleviation of them may be produced by the continuance of peace; but that we should ill discharge our duty to his royal highness, and be guilty of countenancing a most dangerous delusion, were we to conceal from him our opinion that the pressure that now weighs so heavily on the resources of the country, is much more extensive in its operation, more severe in its effects, more deep and general in its causes, and more difficult to be removed, than that which has prevailed at the termination of any former war. That we are firmly persuaded that the same exemplary patience and fortitude with which all ranks have hitherto borne the difficulties under which they labour, will continue to support them under such burdens as may be found indispensably necessary for the unavoidable exigencies of the public service; but that to maintain this disposition it is incumbent on this house, by a severe and vigilant exercise of its powers, to prove to their fellow-subjects, that the sacrifices which it may be their painful duty to make, are strictly limited to the real necessities of the state. That while we acknowledge the gracious dispositions announced in his royal highness's speech from the throne, we cannot help expressing our regret that his royal highness should not have been sooner advised to adopt measures of the most rigid œconomy and retrenchment, particularly with respect to our military establishments; that a prompt and effectual reduction in this and every other branch of our expenditure, his majesty's faithful commons most naturally look to as the first step to relieve the sufferings, and redress the grievances, of which the people so justly complain; and that to enable themselves to assist his royal highness by their advice in the performance of a duty so imperiously called for by the present situation of the country, they will lose no time in instituting a strict inquiry into the state of the nation."

Mr. Bragge Bathurst replied to Mr. Ponsonby.

The hon. Mr. Lambe said, our calamities were produced by the war, though their complete pres-

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sure was not felt till the arrival of peace: they were thus connected with the peace in point of time, but they could not be traced to the peace as their cause. In this situation, the great object for us to pursue was, not to propagate a delusion with respect to the cause of our distress, but to take every means of alleviating it, or preventing its extension, by supporting and maintaining public credit. He stated this opinion, not from any fear that the recommendations of those who attempted to justify a breach of national faith would be attended to, but from a firm conviction, that breaking faith with the national creditor would bring no relief to the people, or tend to remove, in any degree, the embarrassments of the country. On the contrary, he was convinced that such conduct on the part of the legislature would aggravate and extend them. If we were to trust the dictates of experience, we had it in support of this opinion. Some time ago the complaints against the landholder were as loud as they now were against the fundholder: these complaints were now heard no more, for there was no reason for them. Rents had been reduced, the landed interest were straitened in their incomes, but who had benefited by the change? The distresses of the manufacturing and labouring classes, instead of being alleviated had been increased: they had been deprived of employment by the reduced circumstances of those who employed them; and found no advantage in the diminution of the income of those against whose wealth they clamoured. Any interference with the fundholder, he was convinced, would be productive of similar effects, instead of relieving our distress. Our situation should be supported with that firmness and patience that could alleviate every calamity, instead of leading us to attempt plans and expedients which might aggravate temporary sufferings into irretrievable ruin, by destroying entirely public confidence and national credit. But how were we to support public credit if we did not resort to such expedients? He would answer—By œconomy and retrenchment. Parliament, he hoped, was prepared for entering into œconomical reductions; ministers, he hoped, were prepared for the task; and the country, he hoped, was likewise prepared. He said, he hoped the country was prepared for it; for, although he meant no reflection against any particular individuals, he could not refrain from observing, that those who now called for œconomy and retrenchment would be sorry that they were adopted. A strict and rigorous attention to œconomy, and reduction of all our establishments to the lowest possible scale, must be productive of evils to certain individuals, and he was not disposed to under-rate their sufferings; but the national good and the public security were paramount to all other considerations.

Mr. C. Grant argued that the transition from war to peace was the cause of our present distresses; and added, that the scarcity of the present season would lead to increased cultivation the next, and contribute to raise agriculture from its depressed state.

The hon. member was proceeding, when he was interrupted by a message from the lords, announcing the attack on the regent, and desiring a conference. This was agreed to, and a committee appointed.

House of lords, January 29.—

Their

Their lordships, after going up with the address to the prince regent, proceeded to the consideration of the speech from the throne. The earl of Dartmouth moved the address, which was seconded by the earl of Rothes.

Earl Grey.—Before he proceeded to observe on those parts of the speech of the ministers delivered by his royal highness the prince regent, and those parts of the speeches of the noble lords who moved and seconded the address with respect to which it would be his painful duty to dissent from their sentiments, he would briefly advert to those parts of these speeches as to which there could be no difference of opinion. First, then, no one could more cordially and heartily than he did, join the noble mover and the noble seconder of the address, in paying the highest tribute of praise to the skill, enterprise, perseverance, and courage of the noble and gallant admiral who commanded the fleet in the attack on Algiers: no one could more cordially join in that just tribute of applause paid to the courage, resolution, and exemplary valour of the officers and seamen under his command; rejoicing, as he did, in this new accession of glory to the British arms, and particularly to that branch of our defensive force which ought always to be looked upon with favour, as the best and most natural protection of this country. But while he concurred in these just and well-deserved praises, he could not help expressing his regret, considering the heavy pressure under which the country laboured, that any necessity should have arisen for adding even the expense of that expedition to our already almost intolerable burdens; and while he expressed that regret, he could not help adding some doubt, whether the security and good effects which many expected to result from this enterprise would be of so permanent a nature as some were sanguine enough to believe they would be: but while he suggested that doubt, he wished most anxiously to guard himself against being understood as having any desire to detract, in the slightest degree, from the merits of those who were employed in the execution. Another topic introduced into the prince regent's speech, and into the speeches of the noble lords, was the Nepaul war. Here, again, he most cordially concurred in the tribute of applause paid to the officers and men employed in the prosecution and conduct of that war: but it would be too much to ask at present for any opinion of the house as to the causes and necessity of the war, since on that head no information had, as far as he knew, been communicated to their lordships. If any information had been laid before the house, he had not seen it; and he professed, that he at least was entirely uninformed on the subject of the causes and necessity of the Nepaul war, and was therefore in no condition to give any opinion upon it: and so he must avouch, if he were, in the present state of his information, to be called upon to give any opinion upon it. Thus much he had stated on that point, because there were some appearances of an intention to call for an opinion of the two houses of parliament on the subject of the Nepaul war. But there was one thing in this part of the speech which he must remark upon, and which he had observed with very considerable surprise—he alluded to the terms in which the termination of this Nepaul war was introduced into the speech. It

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was introduced in similar terms to those in which the conclusion of that most important war was mentioned which terminated with the capture of Seringapatam and destruction of the Mysore power—the most formidable, dangerous, and most inveterately hostile to the British authority in India. He certainly was surprised, and he believed those concerned in the Mysore war would be astonished, to see this Nepaul contest noticed in terms similar to those in which a subject of such vast importance as the Mysore had been mentioned. Leaving that topic, however, he came to another point in the speech, in which he had the good fortune to agree with the noble lords. They rejoiced at the assurances given in the speech of the prospect of a long continuation of peace, and congratulated the house and the country on that satisfactory prospect. No one could more sincerely rejoice than he did at any well-founded hopes, if such could be entertained, of the long continuation of peace: but he must at the same time observe, that he had great doubts as to the policy of those arrangements made by the ministers of government at the close of the war; and yet it was on the soundness of the policy which dictated these arrangements that any well-founded hopes of a long interval of peace must essentially depend. The subject was much too large for full consideration at this time; but it was by far too important, too deeply interesting, to be passed over without the fullest examination and discussion when the proper period should arrive; and a communication would probably soon be made to the house with respect to some modifications and alterations in these arrangements, which must bring the subject under their lordships' consideration. But if he might, even now, merely state his opinion, which he had not an opportunity of doing last year, he would say now, as he would have said last year, if he could have been present at the discussion of the arrangements, that he was not without very strong apprehensions that the system of policy on which they had been formed was highly dangerous to the security and constitution of this country, and to the peace and prosperity of Europe. These arrangements were, in his opinion, adverse to the independence of nations, alien to every view of sound policy and justice, subversive of every principle on which the balance of Europe had been held to depend, and destructive of every principle on which our own security and the peace and prosperity of the country were founded; dangerous to the character of the army employed in the support of the present government of France, and most dangerous to the constitution of this country. Without securing one great object of British interest in return, our ministers had assisted in transferring the minor states of Europe from government to government, while those who were at the head of these governments, at the moment they were aggrandizing their power by our assistance, hated us for our commercial eminence, hated us for our prosperity, made war upon us by adverse regulations, with as much inveteracy and detestation as ever Napoleon himself had felt against us. The noble lord (earl of Liverpool, we believe,) might smile, but the day would come for a more ample and particular consideration and discussion of that topic. That, however, was his (earl Grey's) view of the subject.

ject, If the governors disliked us, the people answered with a corresponding hatred, while they ascribed to this country the sacrifice of the rights and independence of nations. We called upon them to rise in defence of their own rights and independence, in opposition to France; the call was obeyed, and Europe was relieved from the power of France; and then, when their aid was no longer required, they found their rights and independence violated by those to whom they had been taught to look for the support of both. The discontents produced by these proceedings were murmured in secret, and directed chiefly against this country, by which they considered themselves as having been most unjustly deceived. This, in his opinion, was the character of the policy which produced these arrangements; a policy which in France appeared already to threaten the most disastrous consequences.—With respect to France, one of two systems might have been adopted: we might have conciliated the population of that country, by not interfering in their internal concerns, after having overturned that government against which alone, as was professed, our hostility was directed. This was what he (earl Grey) would have preferred. If that, however, had been forbidden by the disordered state of that unhappy country, when we had unsheathed the sword and conquered, the ministers ought, if that course was open to them, to have assumed that right of conquest which their arms had given them, and demanded the utmost that they could think necessary for our security, and to have reduced the power of France in such a degree, that whatever might be the feelings of the population of that country, we might have looked on without fear or apprehension of the consequences. Neither of these plans, however, did they pursue; but adopted a third course, which had the disadvantages of both the others, without the advantages of either. Without having reduced the power of France, so as to deprive her of the means of endangering our security, British troops were kept there to maintain the present family on the throne; and we increased her enmity without sufficiently diminishing her strength; and the time, he was greatly apprehensive, might not be very distant, when, in order to gratify the general feeling of hostility, the government of France would find it necessary to go to war with this country, and employ against it that power which we ourselves had created. He could hardly have had very sanguine hopes of a long continuation of peace under any arrangement that could have been made with France; but if there was any arrangement which was of all others calculated to render the long continuation of peace almost impossible, it was precisely that which has been adopted. That was his opinion of the arrangements under which the prospect of a long-continued tranquillity had been promised us: that was his view of the assurances which had been held out of permanent peace. Their lordships, however, would have an opportunity of considering and discussing that topic when the communication as to the change of the terms on which our troops were to remain in France should be made to them; and the subject would deserve their lordships' most particular attention, if it should appear that the changes and modifications were such, that any part of the expense of maintaining these troops

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in France was to be borne by this already overburdened country.—Having thus stated his opinion as to the first part of the prince regent's speech, and of the address in answer to it, he now came to that part of it which, in point of interest and importance, far surpassed all the other topics which it contained; he alluded to the internal state of the country; a state which the noble lords acknowledged to be of great distress, and which he considered as altogether unparalleled in the annals of this country. The ministers held out to us, as they had always done, that they hoped the distress was but temporary, and that the present pressure would soon be succeeded by a new æra of increasing prosperity. That was a hope so congenial to the feelings of every man, whether considered as an individual, or as a member of a great community, that all must wish that the hope were well founded. But their lordships would ill discharge their duty, if they were to rely with implicit confidence on the hopes of ministers, or of the noble lords who had concurred with them in such flattering expectations, without some examination of the grounds on which these hopes were founded. If it was desirable that the belief should prevail among the people, that their distresses were but of temporary duration, in order to encourage them to bear with patience and fortitude the pressure to which they were for the present exposed, that belief could operate only so far as the conviction went, that the expectation of a speedy termination of their distresses was not without foundation. That the causes of this unparalleled distress were partly temporary, and that some alleviation of the pressure might be expected from the continuation of peace, he was not only disposed not to deny, but most anxiously desirous to believe: for, otherwise, the prospect must be neither more nor less than absolute despair. But he was at the same time of opinion that the causes of the evil were more deeply rooted, and more permanent in their nature, than some noble lords seemed willing to allow. The noble lord who moved the address had said, that similar difficulties had been experienced at the close of the American war. He had heard it stated on some occasions before, that the country had been in a similar state of distress at the close of the American war; and it had been held out to us that, as an æra of extraordinary prosperity had then succeeded, we might reasonably expect a similar termination to our present difficulties. He (earl Grey) was not then of an age to have a share in the deliberative councils of the country; but it did not appear to him, that either in degree, in extent, in character, in symptoms, or means of cure, the situation of the country was at all similar to that under which it at present laboured. There was a deficiency, it was said, in the produce of the revenue, as compared with the expenditure even at that time; but the amount of taxation then was about 12 millions;—and was it the same thing, a deficiency on 12 millions, and a deficiency in a revenue of five times that amount? They might as well say, that as the country advanced in taxation, it was so much the better able to bear the weight of additional taxes; that the addition of the weight of one pound to the load of a horse already on the point of sinking under his burden, was the same thing as the adding a pound weight to the burden of

of a horse whose load was not greater nor heavier than he had full strength and powers to carry; that a drop of water added to the contents of a vessel already full to the brim, was the same thing as adding a drop to the contents of a vessel not more than three parts full; and that the diseases of age were as easily got rid of as the diseases of youth. A year had already elapsed since the close of the war in 1815; and nearly three years, or from two to three years, had elapsed since the close of the war in the year 1814, (with the exception of a three months' war,) and that with out any mitigation of the distresses of the country, which appeared to be rather increasing. In the year 1783, the year after the close of the American war, there was no settled government. Three different administrations had been in office during that period, and for three months there was hardly any administration at all; and, till the administration of Mr. Pitt was confirmed, in 1784, it was impossible that any regular system could then be adopted to alleviate or remedy the distress of the country. What was his remedy then? He imposed new taxes to the amount of a million. In 1785 he imposed new taxes: and in two years from the conclusion of the treaty of peace, instead of a growing deficiency in the consolidated fund, as was now experienced, there was a growing increase; and Mr. Pitt was enabled to show, as a proof of the growing prosperity of the country, an increase in one quarter to the amount of 600,000*l*. These circumstances proved that there was no similarity between the condition of the country at that time and its situation at present. The remedy then applied was that of additional taxation to the amount of a million, afterwards increased to 1,200,000*l*. for the purposes of the sinking fund. If the country was now in no worse a situation, the same cure might be applied. At that time, in from two to three years from the conclusion of the peace (little more than the time that had elapsed since the close of the war in 1814), the country began to experience the blessings of peace, and there was a considerable clear surplus in the consolidated fund. Was that the case at the present period? What might he state to be the deficiency now? The supplies of last year were 35 millions, and the ways and means did not exceed 20 millions, leaving a difference of 14 millions between the revenue and the expenditure. But if the matter were examined more minutely, he was persuaded there would appear a much greater deficiency—a deficiency of no less than 18 millions; and while the surplus of the consolidated fund had been estimated at three millions, it would probably appear that there was no surplus at all, and that the deficiency was not less than 21 millions! He challenged ministers to meet that statement when the time of examination should arrive. The speech of the prince regent, and the noble lords who had spoken before him in their speeches then, adverted to reductions calculated on principles of sound policy—words a great deal too loose and too general, and savouring strongly of a measure of reduction very different from that which the present situation of the country demanded;—but of that, a word presently. What was the amount of the intended reduction? Was it to be 5, 8, or 10 millions? If the noble earl (Liverpool) can say that the expenditure is to be reduced to 19 millions, then what means has he

to meet it? Was there any surplus of the consolidated fund? He would venture to say, that if the noble earl took the whole produce of the sinking fund, there would be a deficiency of nearly one million and a half. In addition to this, he had to advert to a subject not at all noticed in the speech, and one which was the chief cause and foundation of all the present distresses of the country—he alluded to the immense mass of paper currency, which had circulated at a depreciation of about 20 per cent., and was now in a great measure suddenly withdrawn, or restored to its proper level. There was no such difficulty at the close of the American war. For some time the evil of the bank restriction was not felt, and it afforded a facility in carrying on the war which astonished even the most sanguine; so that some, with a new species of morality, considered it as a particular dispensation of Providence, as if it had been one of the blessings of Providence to afford facilities for war. In 1810 the consequences of the restriction began to appear. The chancellor of the exchequer then felt that it was impossible to add to the already almost intolerable load of taxation; that it was impossible to increase the taxes without serious injury to the foundations of the national prosperity. What followed? Retrenchment and economy? No; but shifts and expedients to disguise the evil for a time, and throw the burden upon some future period.—What were the original causes of the restriction? The accommodation afforded by the bank to the government, and the quantity of specie sent to foreign countries. Yet last year the government had received a similar accommodation, which must be repaid before the bank could resume its cash payments. (Earl of Liverpool, "No.") The noble lord said No: but their lordships would see how that would turn out when the subject came to be considered. They had heard, too, of a loan to be made by certain individuals of this country to the French government. It was always desirable to leave commerce free and unfettered; and it was said that the repayment of this loan was not guarantied by our government. He wished, however, that ministers would make an explicit declaration on that point. The effect of such a transaction was not doubtful, when it was considered how ill the country in its present situation could bear the loss of such a mass of capital: and ministers would incur a heavy responsibility if they afforded the least encouragement to that loan. If ministers could state that they had given no countenance to the transaction, there was no object of British interest so minute that it ought not, in any future arrangements with the French government, to be preferred to the interests of those concerned in this loan. He could hardly, however, conceive that so great a risk would be incurred without some communication to government: and if ministers had even gone the length of taking measures to prevent it, the proceeding would not have been without precedent, for Walpole had brought a bill into parliament to prevent a similar transaction. From the speech of the prince regent the only thing he could discover was, that there was to be no trenching on the public credit; by which he understood that the sinking fund was not to be touched, and that no new taxes were to be imposed. By what means, then, did they propose to meet the deficiency? Was it by adding to

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the debt, and increasing the national difficulties? He hoped not. If ministers were to resort to borrowing, or to the issuing of exchequer bills, it could not be said that no new burdens were imposed upon the country; for the issuing of exchequer bills must ultimately operate as a burden on the nation, and was only adding to the amount of our debt, without making provision for the payment of either the interest or the principal. Now, however, their lordships were told, that ministers were disposed to make reductions; but it would be the duty of that house to insist upon a reduction and retrenchment very different from that which appeared to be promised in the speech. They must have a severe, rigid, unsparing œconomy; not such a plan of reduction and œconomy as appeared to be intimated by the vague and general words—sound policy; but calculated upon a view of the unparalleled distress of the country, and a consideration of what necessity would permit. They must consider, not what government would think it sound policy to have, but what the country could afford to pay; and if they could not raise their means to their establishment, they must reduce their establishment to their means. The strictest œconomy must be introduced, even in those particulars where, in ordinary circumstances, a liberal expenditure would not be improper; and the splendour of the crown must now be found, not in the gaudy trappings of the court, but in a just regard to the distressed situation of the country. However painful it may be, the claims even of meritorious services cannot now be listened to with that attention which in ordinary circumstances they ought always to command. The question now must be, not what ought to be done, but what could be done. He was far from wishing to encourage the delusions which had been industriously spread among the people; that any reduction in that course of expenditure would afford any sensible alleviation of the burdens under which the country so severely suffered; but he did say, that government was bound to show the people of this country that the expenditure was reduced to the lowest possible terms, and that no sacrifice was required of them, and that no source of expenditure was continued, except what was demanded by the most imperious necessity.—There was another topic introduced in the speeches of the noble lords, which he could not think of without the most painful sensations—he alluded to their observations on the attempts said to have been made to inflame the passions of the populace, and to excite them to acts of riot and sedition, with reference to the unfortunate occurrence to which their lordships' attention had last night been particularly directed. No one could feel more strongly than he did the atrocity of the outrage which their lordships had mentioned—an outrage which justly called for the severe censure of their lordships, and which ought to be visited with all the powers of the law, both for punishment and prevention. But, however just and proper it was to expose that outrage to the censure of their lordships, he saw no strong grounds, from the statement of last night, for suspecting that there was any criminal design against his royal highness's life. There could be no wish, in any quarter, to encourage the belief, either at home or abroad, that such an execrable purpose could have existed in the mind of

a single individual in the country. He rejoiced to find, that if there had been attempts on the part of any description of persons to inflame their discontents into disaffection, such attempts had failed, and all their efforts had been without success. There was, therefore, nothing that called for any extraordinary means in this respect; nothing that required the exercise of any powers beyond the usual administration of justice. He could not, therefore, but deprecate any attempt to involve in one common censure those who honestly sought a reform in the legislature, even on principles which might be regarded as impracticable with persons disaffected to the constitution. Certainly no one had ever been more personally objectionable to those reformers than he had been; but though they might continue to stigmatize him as a person who had forfeited their confidence, and whose moderation was hateful to them, still, though he thought their views, to the extent to which they were carried, would, if attempted in practice, lead to the most ruinous consequences, he would not follow their example, and pronounce a condemnation on their intentions. He hoped he should not hear it stated, that reform and retrenchment were subjects which the great body of the people ought not to discuss. After all the privations which the people of England had with such unparalleled fortitude borne, he trusted they were not now to be deprived of their constitutional rights. The liberty they enjoyed was their best consolation under all the difficulties they had to encounter; but if they should find parliament more eager to impose restraints on their freedom than to relieve their wants, then, indeed, he believed their discontents would rapidly and alarmingly increase. On all these grounds he could not refrain from opposing the address. It did not afford a just view of the country; it did not hold out that strong pledge of retrenchment and œconomy which the present state of the country required, and which alone could satisfy the public mind. The noble earl then concluded, by moving an amendment to the address, which embraced all the principal topics of the speech.

The earl of Harrowby ably and strenuously argued against the adoption of the noble lord's amendment. Were there no other objection than their want of adequate information as to many of the points which it embraced, it would be sufficient ground for its rejection. He differed widely from the noble earl as to his comparative view of the actual distresses of the country. With respect to the close of the American war, every one who remembered that period must know it was impossible to go beyond the deep despondency that then prevailed. Of this it would be sufficient to say, that of an increased debt which required an interest of 4,800,000*l.* the whole increase of the revenue applicable to that purpose did not exceed 1,700,000*l.* A comparative view of the commercial circumstances of the country at these different periods, he argued, was greatly in favour of the present. Again, with respect to the public debt at those periods, in the former it accumulated with a rapidity before unknown, and there was no thought of laying up a portion of our resources for its gradual diminution. Nothing could be more unjustifiable than to say that inordinate taxation is the cause of all our present difficulties; at the same time

time these various sources of national prosperity are still unimpaired, a great diminution of taxes had already taken place, and in future there would be grounds for still further reduction. The policy of the paper issues, instead of deteriorating the country, had enabled her successfully to persevere in the late arduous and eventful contest; and it was one of the means of her present powerful and imposing attitude. The good which that system produces incalculably outbalances its partial and temporary evils. It has realised the most beneficial results, especially with reference to our commercial prosperity; and all the unfavourable predictions which were so freely advanced of it have, in the event, proved totally unfounded, as well as (thanks to Providence and the spirit of the country) other predictions which were hazarded in 1791 and 1792. He also differed from the noble earl with respect to the continental policy of his majesty's government, and he denied that the European powers were in the least alienated from or unfavourably inclined towards this country; as, among other points, their placing by common consent a British chieftain at the head of their combined armies went a great way to prove. Respecting the noble earl's remark touching the latter part of the speech, he felt it his duty to say a few words:—As to the circumstance of the outrage in question, they were all called upon to speak in terms of horror and detestation: on this, he trusted, they all felt in common; but his real belief was, that the attack upon the person of the prince regent was aimed at his life, and which they concluded, from the intelligence received yesterday, and from the impression it made upon their minds. There was no doubt of an intentional attack upon the life of the king; and he had no doubt of that of yesterday being aimed at the life of the prince. There had been numerous publications tending to excite the populace to acts of sedition and violence; not only against their own government, but against almost every other system of regular government: dangerous doctrines were broached in different quarters, and the people seemed to be told that much was to be expected by the removal of a person acting contrary to their interests. He had to trust, therefore, that the consideration of that part of the subject would be properly taken up, and such steps taken as the case required; especially when such important considerations were involved; as he was satisfied that, however they may differ in opinion as to many of the great transactions of the times, or respecting this or that measure, they would all agree, when they looked at the manifold and inestimable blessings of the British constitution, in sincerely panegyrizing its merits.

Earl Grosvenor said that the only conclusion he could draw from the noble lord's statements was this—that though the country was in a bad state at the close of the American war, it was now in a much worse. So far was our income from exceeding our expenditure now, that it fell greatly short of it; and the deficiency threatened the most serious consequences to the country. But, notwithstanding the general distress, he derived a far more melancholy view from the conviction that ministers were determined to resist every reasonable suggestion of œconomy and reform. This conviction gave him far greater alarm than the situation of public affairs,

gloomy as that was. If the present objects of ministers were pursued, and their present principles maintained, their system must terminate in a military despotism. He could foresee no other result.

The earl of Aberdeen observed, that the noble earl who moved the amendment had, in the course of his speech, condemned the late treaty of peace concluded at Paris. That treaty he would however assert, and was prepared to prove, was the best that could be adopted, either with respect to our own security, or to that system of liberal policy which it was our duty to maintain towards a conquered people. With regard to the œconomy so much insisted on, he was fully convinced that every practicable reduction would be made by his majesty's ministers. He had no doubt that they would reduce the expense of every department to as low a state as was consistent with the existing situation of the country, or, he might say, with sound policy, though the noble earl had expressed his dislike to that term.

Lord St. John supported the amendment.

Earl Bathurst defended the conduct of his majesty's ministers. What they had stated last year was, that they had then made reductions in the establishments as low as the circumstances of that year would allow; but they were then far from saying, that these were the only reductions that could be made, or that future years would admit of. He would appeal to their lordships if this had not been their uniform language; and whether they had not absolutely denied that these were to be the utmost limit to the reductions of the peace establishments. Whether the reductions were made to the utmost extent that they could possibly admit of, would now be a fair subject for the consideration of parliament. He would not say that the military establishments could not be actually reduced lower than was now proposed; but, at least, in the opinion of ministers, they were as low as the actual safety of the country would admit. He would readily allow, that there was nothing in the present address which bound their lordships to approve of the objects of the war with Nepaul. Near the close of the last session the house had been told, that that war was closed; but in consequence of the refusal of the chief to sign the treaty which had then been concluded, a renewal of it became necessary on our part, and the praise contained in the speech was solely intended for the ability and valour with which it had been conducted, and brought to a successful termination; and as to the language in which the praise was conveyed, being nearly the same as that applied to the conduct of a noble personage now present, on account of the conclusion of the Mysore war, he did not think that noble person would think his conduct disparaged by the comparison. The noble lord who moved the amendment had spoken of the utter detestation in which the house of Bourbon was held by the people of France; but until he produced some evidence in support of his assertion, their lordships could not admit it to be well founded. The only evidence he had seen to such an effect was contained, perhaps, in a few paragraphs of a newspaper; but nothing was more common in this country than for newspapers to make attacks on all the crowned heads of Europe. The noble earl then spoke on the nature of the loan which some capitalists of this country

try were preparing to advance to the French government. He must say, that he knew of no law to prevent the capitalist of this country from making the most beneficial application of his capital, particularly in lending it to a government in a state of amity and alliance with this country. But this loan would not, as the noble earl seemed to imagine, press exclusively on the English money market; on the contrary, it would be advanced by a variety of capitalists of all nations, without discrimination; and he was most happy to learn, that a very considerable portion of it would come from the monyed men of France. He stated the fact with pleasure, as a proof of the consolidation of the French government, and of the consideration and confidence which it enjoyed among its own subjects, as well as affording a pledge that the duration of peace would be lasting. He would not now go back, as had been done by the noble earl, into a consideration of the terms of the peace that had been concluded with France; that peace had already obtained the approbation of the house, and he believed of the country. But if the noble lord believed that the main object of that peace was to maintain the Bourbons on the throne of France, he was completely mistaken. The first object, he (lord Bathurst) would admit, was to give support to that family, as the most likely mode of securing the general peace of Europe; but there was a second object, to secure the fulfilment of the indemnities stipulated in the peace of Paris; and thirdly, to occupy the frontier towns of France, until the left bank of the Rhine was adequately secured by the erection of barriers against the future aggressions of that country; more particularly after the treaty had confirmed its territorial integrity.—With respect to the first of these objects, why was it thought desirable? Chiefly because the whole French army had showed itself radically hostile to the Bourbon family. That army was now disbanded; but if it had been left in full force, there is little doubt but it would have operated to the immediate overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. The noble earl next adverted to the spirit of discontent and disaffection which the address alluded to as having manifested itself at home. Whoever had noticed the systematic attacks that had been made, must have remarked, that they were not directed so much against the ministers of the crown, as against the personage who exercised the functions of sovereignty. There was nothing that malignity could invent that had not been assiduously propagated against him; and it would remain for the house to consider what further measures were necessary to counteract such nefarious objects.

The marquis of Wellesley.—In the present arduous circumstances of the country, there remained at least one source of consolation, one advantage for their lordships, that the distress which prevailed had now attained a pitch of magnitude which could no longer be disguised—which it was no longer in the power of any master of the art of disguise, nor of Hibernian metaphor, to conceal or wrap up from the observation of parliament. It was a distress of the most dreadful magnitude that ever threatened the existence or well-being of any country; and he was bound to express his astonishment, that on an occasion of such dreadful importance, so unexampled in the history of the

world, an address should now be proposed so inadequate to the importance of the crisis, and to that which the wants both of the crown and the people so imperiously required. This was the occasion when the cry of an afflicted people should be faithfully laid at the foot of the throne. And here he must complain that the meeting of parliament had been so long postponed. It had been too long disused, merely for the convenience of ministers: it was to him a matter of astonishment and regret, that when ministers had seen those distresses growing up from hour to hour, and from day to day, and from which the people implored relief, ministers should turn a deaf ear to their complaints; and that when parliament did meet, such a speech should be delivered from the throne—a speech containing no one distinct expression, involving no one principle for the guidance of ministers, and offering no one pledge whatever that inquiry should be made into the state of the nation; not calling upon them to examine into all the national bearings, and, if the calamity was great, to state it fully and distinctly; not for the purpose of inducing despondency; but with a view fully to state our difficulties, and to meet them with fortitude, together with the principles on which the only relief could be procured. The address was a mere echo of the speech from the throne: but the real distinction between it and the amendment proposed by his noble friend was, that the former was a mere respectful capping of mutual compliments between ministers and the house; while the latter, though far from being disrespectful, contained a plain statement of the difficulties in which the country was involved, and a resolution that parliament would make a radical inquiry into their nature and amount. The president of the council (lord Harrowby) had indeed told us, that the amendment of his noble friend was calculated to excite an uncalled for despondency; but all that was wished for was a declaration that you would enter into a serious examination of the state of the country, and adopt corresponding principles of public retrenchment. Was this, he would ask, calculated to spread despondency among the people of England? to diminish our dignity in the eyes of our allies? Could we entertain the low and wretched idea, that we could gain any character in Europe by attempts at concealment? How could we parade over the continent an idea of our dignity and consequence, while it could not fail to be universally known that a real canker was corroding, and would at last consume the vitals of the country? Could our real situation be concealed by means of any boasting disguise? No; it was only by a full inquiry into the state of our resources, and an unsparing retrenchment of all unnecessary expenses, that the government could acquire any real dignity either abroad or at home. His noble friend had, in the course of his speech, distinctly stated his opinion, that some of the causes of our distresses were of a temporary nature: but it should not be forgotten, that the prosperity of our commerce sprung chiefly from temporary causes during the continuance of the war, and that a total change was produced in the operation of these causes by the return of peace. He would say, indeed, that for some years prior to the peace, both the revenue and the commerce of the country had assumed

sumed an inflated and unnatural magnitude, but by this time they were reduced to their natural level. It was a great delusion, therefore, to assert that the causes of our distresses were of a temporary nature, and would be shortly overcome. He would mount up, however, to what appeared to him the grand original causes of all; thinking, as he did, that their lordships had hitherto merely argued on the proximate causes, as if they were the only ones that deserved attention. In this light he had always viewed the paper-currency of the country, though he had always viewed it while in office as a part of the necessary evils arising from the monstrous expenditure occasioned by the war. The original cause of our difficulties was that expenditure; but he did not therefore think that the war originally, or in its progress, was unjust or unnecessary. He gloried in the honour, and in all that the country had gained by it, from the small share which he had had, but especially from the interest he took in a relative whom he felt as dear to him as himself. What was the advantage we had gained by the war? It was in fact a question of life; and if that life were secured, would not the ministers allow us the means of life in respectability and comfort? Shall it be said, that we live, and that is all? Their lordships had been told that at the close of the American war the circumstances of the country were nearly the same with our present. On this point he possessed an actual advantage over the noble lord who made the statement, in point of age; an advantage which he could have wished to resign to him for almost any other balance. Though in close correspondence with many of the distinguished persons of that day, he had no recollection of any degree of despondency prevailing among them. He had always heard a conviction stated, that the vigorous exertions of the parliament of that day, in enforcing public œconomy, would speedily relieve the country. But the comparative difference in our expense and burdens should also be taken into account. At that time the country was comparatively young; the long continuance of war had not succeeded in using, if he might so speak, its resources. We should consider also the effect which the war had had on our commerce. It was known that manufactures had in that period sprung up all over Europe. Not only were the governments of different continental states adverse, but also the whole people hostile, to our manufactures and commerce. So much was this the case, that we had actually seen some of the people of the friendly state of the Netherlands sacrificing their self-interests and making an *auto da fe* of our manufactures.—Another cause had been the imprudent cession made to France of some of her eastern possessions, by means of which a large portion of the trade of our own settlements now went through that channel, instead of enriching the commerce of this country. The difference, therefore, between the state in which we came out of the American war was strikingly manifest. The doctrine of the ministers was, that the revulsion from a state of war to that of peace was the cause of our distresses; just as if they proceeded not from war but from peace. This was completely reversing the old adage, that war was the cause of suffering, and not peace. So much as to the causes, which he did admit were only temporary, and which had also last

year

year been held forth as merely local—local was the favourite word. Now, however, it may be justly said:—

"Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris"—

so universal was the calamity. He admitted that the causes of the national distress were merely temporary, and the exertions of parliament might make them still more temporary. With this view he should contend that the military establishments might be reduced: secondly, he must conceive that it would be endeavouring to propagate a great delusion, to state that the civil establishments of this country did not require revision and reduction. He meant no reflection on the honourable men who now enjoyed such offices. Let them stand forward now, and manfully declare that they will not be any obstacles in the way of reduction. He would tell such gentlemen, it must be done; the eyes of the whole country were upon them,—the eyes of the British public. Would they not then adopt the vigorous amendment of his noble friend, instead of the milk and water address of the noble lords opposite? The circumstances of the times were so altered, that reductions were now requisite which were never even thought of before; and no minister, however successful in other respects, could be said to deserve well of the nation, who should not recommend the most rigid œconomy in every branch of the expenditure. This was not a hasty opinion, but one which he had formed after the most earnest deliberation; and so convinced was he of its utility and importance, that to support it he would sacrifice his health, nay his life, if necessary, provided parliament could be induced to carry it into effect.—This peace had not brought with it the usual benefits of peace; we were not delivered from that unconstitutional evil, a standing army: the burdensome expenditure of our establishments was not reduced in proportion to our reduced means: the channels of national wealth and prosperity had not been opened. These were the principal topics that occurred to him; and the main object on which he insisted was, that in the present state of the country it was not merely the duty of ministers to give a general pledge to be œconomical "as far as the safety of the empire and sound policy would allow;" (large words these, but of little definite meaning;) but they should have given a distinct pledge of what they intended to do, and to what extent they thought reduction would have been compatible at once with the safety and the means of the country. The noble marquis then adverted to the expedition to Algiers, and applauded the victory obtained by lord Exmouth. As to the war in India, it seemed to him to be necessary, as far as he could, from imperfect acquaintance, understand the causes of it; from recollection of the territory of Nepaul, he had some doubt whether an undue importance had not been given to that expedition. He came now to that part of the speech which alluded to the supposed efforts employed to inflame the public mind. It would have been as well if the noble lords had pointed out some of the attempts made to depretiate that parliament of which those noble lords professed themselves to be such strenuous defenders. The noble lords, it seems, were great friends to the constitution, and of course great friends to parliament: indeed, they seemed to have shown their friendship in a way which was the most likely

likely to maintain friendship, according to an old saying, that "friends should meet seldom, and part quickly." But what could be thought of these advocates of the constitution, who, at a time of peculiar distress and emergency, suspend that very constitution which they pretend is so essential to our very existence; who, while the sufferings of the people are increasing from day to day, defer, till the very last moment, the assembling of that parliament which alone can provide remedies for the calamity, or check the discontent that everywhere prevails? With respect to those also who in all directions were crying out for parliamentary reform, he did not hesitate to avow an opinion, that, whatever the motives of these people might be, their plans all rested on principles which were diametrically opposite to the spirit as well as practice of the constitution. Universal suffrage and annual parliaments were not only unknown in the history of our constitution, but were subversive of its very nature. The very statement of reform, so understood, is revolution. Not only do its principles tend to the subversion of our own beautiful fabric, but they would, from their very terms, destroy and extinguish all order, all government. "But what then?" said the noble marquis; "do I say, that because these reformers are in error they ought to be silenced? Do I say that your lordships ought to check an Englishman's best privilege—the right of talking and speaking about the constitution of his government? Do I recommend to your lordships to employ coercion to repress the mistakes of opinion? Oh, no! my lords. Your lordships assemble here for better and nobler purposes. Such, my lords, is my view of the constitution. I was born under the influence of this glorious constitution: I was educated in its principles: no man owes more to it than I do: no family owes more to it than mine. I have therefore reason to love and admire it, and I would gladly lay down my life to support it. *Quod adolescens amavi, non deseram senex.* These are the principles by which I am prepared to abide. I would spend my health, my time, my life, in recommending to your lordships every mode of retrenchment and œconomy: but I would never give up my constitutional principles: by these principles I will stand or fall." The noble marquis concluded by supporting the amendment.

Lord Sidmouth should have thought, if the noble marquis had not declared to the contrary, that he desponded of the state of the country, for he certainly never heard a speech more calculated to excite despondency. If the distresses were indeed permanent, what remedy could be found for them? All inquiry was useless, where the calamity was without cure. The noble marquis considered the address as inadequate to the emergency of the times. Now if he, as a party concerned in the wording of that address, could be supposed to divest himself of a natural partiality, he would say, that he considered the speech as one immediately adapted to the occasion. Its peculiar merit lay in its candour and explicitness. The nature of the distress was not disguised, and his royal highness was advised to state, that every mode of retrenchment would be adopted that was compatible with safety and sound policy. Was there any thing wrong in this? Was sound policy to be banished from the British councils?

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What expenses can be reduced will be for the future consideration of your lordships. Government does not present any plan, but leaves it to the determination of parliament. He could not help thinking, that the noble marquis had not given the due regard to the statement of the noble earl (Harrowby) with respect to the conclusion of the American war. He (lord S.) recollected a great and illustrious person, who succeeded to office after lord North, and who expressed his astonishment at the dreadful state of the country, as infinitely worse than he had expected. Then there was no sinking fund, and there was, moreover, a deficiency of three millions in the revenue. Whereas now (with all our distresses) there was a reduction of eighteen millions of taxes, which was two millions more than the amount of the whole taxes before the war. Distress was as general after the American war as now, and manufactures as much depressed. Indeed the manufactures now were beginning to revive; there was considerable activity at Manchester and Glasgow. There was also an increasing demand for our mineral productions, and for the copper of Cornwall. He did not mean to say that this revival was very extensive, but it was enough to avert ruin. As to the causes of these distresses, he would not now touch upon them, any further than to say that the causes were not one or two, but a rare and extraordinary combination. He believed that the noble marquis was mistaken in supposing that our manufactures stood in any danger from the rivalry of foreign workmen; the fact was, that foreigners had not money to pay for our articles: what surplus money they had was applied to repairing the ravages of war. What further could he say? The speech had given the assurance that retrenchment had been already set on foot; and parliament was encouraged to enter upon an inquiry immediately. As to the military expenditure, it was fit that he should state, that he did not think the amount was more than enough for the necessary demand for the purposes of the garrisons, dock-yards, and public peace. Indeed the army was reduced lower than it ought to be, or would have been, but for the deficient state of the finances. And as to the reductions already made, he had advised them with reluctance, because they at once augmented the public distresses, and the discontent which was the consequence of those distresses. In some respects, indeed, the evil is aggravated to others besides the poor sufferers: for the list of paupers is swelled by those discarded heroes, and of course the poor-rates are everywhere most burdensome. With respect to the allusion in the latter part of the speech, he could not think the regent was ill-advised in stating a fact which was notorious to every body. It was fit, however, that he (lord S.) should state to their lordships that he should, on Friday next, have a communication to make to the house from the prince, when their lordships would be able to inquire into the circumstances which have induced his majesty's ministers to express themselves as they have done. The noble viscount then contrasted the state of the country with what it would have been if Bonaparte had still been on the throne, where, he said, the opposition would have let him remain: we should have had an armed peace followed by expensive and ruinous war.

Earl Darnley recommended œconomy

nomy as far as practicable, and deprecated the adoption of any coercive measures against the people.

There was then a great call for the question, and the amendment was negatived without a division. The address was then carried.

On the commons assembling this day, they went, preceded by the speaker, to Carlton-house, to present the address. At five, the members having returned, the house resumed.

Lord Cochrane presented a petition from Bristol, signed by 20,700 inhabitants, attributing the nation's misery to the enormous amount of taxation and debt, and praying for parliamentary reform.

Messrs. Protheroe and Davis, the members for Bristol, said they were certain the petition did not speak the sentiments of their constituents, nor was the meeting where it was agreed upon attended by one-hundredth part of the population. —Ordered to lie upon the table.

Another petition from Saddleworth, in Yorkshire, was presented by lord Cochrane: it was worded in very strong terms. Considerable discussion took place whether this petition should be rejected or not. Messrs. Brougham, Brand, W. Lamb, F. Douglas, and sir W. Geary, spoke in favour of its being received, but disclaiming at the same time any knowledge or concurrence with the reformers out of doors, whose conduct they conceived would be prejudicial to that cause.

Messrs. Canning, C. Wynn, B. Bathurst, and C. Grant, spoke for its rejection, as a libel on the house. On a division, the petition was rejected, by 135 to 48.—A third petition from the township of Leeds, in the parish of Ashton-under-Line, was read, and ordered to lie on the table. A fourth, from the town of Ashton-under-Line, was rejected, because the signatures were not written on the same sheet of paper which contained the petition.

The adjourned debate on the address was then resumed.

Mr. Curwen said, that the speech from the throne was calculated to mislead the country, and that no faith could be reposed in the promise made by ministers of œconomy and retrenchment. He then drew a gloomy picture of the situation of the country.

Mr. Bankes reprehended the amendment, and conceived that the committee of inquiry, which ministers proposed to institute, would make a faithful report, and satisfy public expectation. Retrenchment in the expenditure was not an unmixed good, as many persons were thereby reduced to distress. Seventeen millions of taxes had been taken off last year, but our state was not at all improved. It was highly satisfactory to learn, that no fresh taxes would be imposed.

Mr. Brougham, after characterizing Mr. Bankes's speech as calculated to delude, and as much more dangerous coming from a neutral territory, entered into a variety of arguments to show the great difficulties in which the country is involved. "It seems to me," said Mr. Brougham, "that a committee to inquire into the state of the nation will afford ministers the best opportunity of showing why no attempt has been made to benefit our decaying commerce:" however, for the present, he [Mr. B.] was willing to postpone any further observations upon these topics, because of the absence of a noble lord, whom he hoped to have seen in his place, and who, he lamented, was not now present. "The policy which

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we are pursuing abroad is by no means calculated to promote the interests of our commerce: the continental system did not expire when Bonaparte quitted France, and if we do not alter the line of policy which we are at present pursuing, we shall perpetuate its existence,—a thing which it is very easy to do, as its renewal was with the concurrence of the people. No little or vain retrenchment will suit our present situation. Some establishments must be destroyed entirely, in others the reductions must be carried on to a great extent." In conclusion he said—He was an enemy, as much as any man, to certain delusions practised out of doors, respecting rights that never had an existence. He despised such efforts from the bottom of his heart.—To say that the whole of our grievances were owing to the want of an equal representation of the people was a great exaggeration. But the intolerable weight of our taxes stood foremost, in his opinion, in causing a continuance of the sufferings under which we laboured. He concluded with repeating his desire for a committee on the state of the nation, which would prove that our only alternative was retrenchment or national bankruptcy.

Mr. Canning began one of the most brilliant and argumentative speeches ever delivered in parliament, by saying, that he must claim the liberty, on the part of himself and his colleagues, of asserting, that they were equally as sensible as any gentleman who had taken part in that debate, of the extreme distress, and also of the perils, that pervaded the country. We had seen many important crises. Important indeed was that when parliament determined, at the commencement of the late war, to arm the nation against foreign hostility and domestic treason. Important above all was the crisis of the preceding year, when we were suddenly called on to exert all our energies to redeem the prize about to be wrested from our hands; but not less important than either, would be the result of this night's proceedings, which would decide whether or not we were to carry to the foot of the throne an address of our determination to stand by it, and do the best in our power to support it. What was it that so inopportunely interfered to prevent this unanimity? Must it be presumed that there was something in the address which gentlemen could not adopt without abandoning some principle to which they had attached themselves, or some pledge which they had given to their constituents? or must it be presumed, that the appearance of a division in the house upon such a question will be construed out of doors for more than it really meant? But what was the mighty difference between the address and the proposed amendment? It was, that ministers on their part echoed the sentiments of the speech from the throne, in recommending the institution of an inquiry into the national revenue and expenditure, with a view to œconomy and retrenchment, while the gentlemen opposite thought it better to say, that we should have a committee of inquiry into the state of the nation!—This was the only point of difference between the gentlemen opposite, and those on his side of the house. He should have supposed that the most fastidious critic would have approved of the sentiments so independently declared by his honourable friend (Mr. Bankes); for he had declared a sort of neutrality, and that he would not attach

tach himself to this or that side of the house; consequently, in theory, it would appear that he was a perfect model of an independent member of parliament. But how was he reviled and ridiculed, when he attempted to act up to this theory? The honourable gentleman opposite seemed to think, that on this, as on other occasions, they were at liberty to assume to themselves the exclusive right of feeling for the distresses of the country; that they alone feel them, and that government are callous and insensible to any thing of the kind. But he would tell those gentlemen that government had as deep a sense of the difficulties under which the different classes of the community laboured as any man, and far more than those who attempt to found a shallow popularity on public clamour. The causes of our present distress he firmly believed to be beyond our control. He would appeal to some of the best authorities in the country in support of this opinion. In the case of agriculture, for example, the difficulties were so great, that persons of the most extensive knowledge and best dispositions could not find suggestions that were practicable suddenly to overcome them. Every consideration had been given to this subject, and the difficulties had been found insuperable; yet they did not exclude any remedies that might hereafter be found practicable.—The difficulties of the country were great and severe; he stated the fact with regret and sincerity; but we were not without hopes that they could be overcome. He denied that taxation was the chief cause of the general distress, particularly in agriculture. There was an honourable and learned gentleman, whom he did not just now see in his place, who had written a very able pamphlet on this subject, in which he enumerated no less than thirteen causes for this distress, of which taxation was only one. This gentleman said that many of them were only of a temporary nature, and might soon be relieved, though, from what he had said to-night, he appeared to think that things would grow worse before they mended. But we were not entitled to consider things worse now than we could have imagined. This was not the occasion to state what were the reductions which government had to propose; but he would say, that in the intended reduction of the military establishment, one principle had been kept in view, the safety of the country. As to the colonies, they had their price, and when we risked them, we knew what we risked; but when we risked the safety of the country, and put to hazard the constitution of the empire, there was no price that could compensate us! This was the principle on which ministers were prepared to propose their estimates, and these only for a limited time, reviseable even during the present session of parliament. He thought this would show, that as much consideration had been given to the subject of reduction, as could possibly be bestowed on it. He denied that there was any comparison between this last war and that with America; for at the end of that war taxes were immediately laid on, to a considerable amount, to enable us to bear our existing burdens; but now, in the very first year of peace, nearer one-third than one-fourth of the taxes had been repealed; and in the second year of peace, ministers proposed to go on without imposing any new burdens at all.—The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to animadvert on

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the proposition of Mr. Brougham, for compelling the committee to report every resolution to the house as soon as they had come to it. Respecting the royal speech he observed, that if ever pains had been taken to separate a description of the deluded from the deluders, they had been taken in that most interesting document: yet the honourable gentleman opposite had accused ministers of treating the deluded people like insurgents and rebels.—He admitted that they were mostly deluded people who had assembled in Spa-fields; but amongst them was a waggon laden with ammunition, and surmounted with tri-coloured flags. Were these necessary materials for obtaining a parliamentary reform?—Those who were stigmatized in the speech were the deluders of the poor people who were suffering under privations, and who had heads wicked, and hearts hard enough to leave their starving auditors, and retire to their comfortable homes, after stimulating them to rebellion as a duty, and execrating charity as a vice!—[The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to descant, in a most animated strain, on the attempts to effect a revolution under pretence of obtaining a reform. Our limits will not allow us to follow him through the details of one of the most brilliant, eloquent, and impressive speeches that have been heard for years in that honourable house. We, therefore, for want of room are most reluctantly obliged to compress the remainder of his remarks into very brief limits, without the possibility of bestowing on them any portion of that justice which their importance would otherwise require.] He contended that no sort of reform in parliament could benefit the people; and whenever the subject should be agitated, it would be met by a direct and positive denial of its necessity. He, for his own part, would prove himself a most unwilling reformer at heart, and he was not ashamed to avow it. There was nothing either in the theory or practice of our constitution by which parliament could be reformed. Other countries, less acquainted with the genuine principles of liberty, might take the basis of our system to improve their own; but ours was happily adapted to all the purposes of our rights, privileges, and necessities. He trusted, when the time came, the house would repel with indignation the attempt to make them the mere creatures of the people, instead of the guardians of their rights; otherwise, from the moment they admitted the principle of necessity for a reform, the British constitution would be gone. We might be England, but we should no longer be that England which was enabled to give deliverance to Europe, and crush its oppressor.—Against all such theories he was determined to take his stand. He warned those who listened to these doctrines, that those who set the stone rolling were not always able to control its impetus. The honourable and learned gentleman had called them wild and visionary reformers, but they were in fact the masters of the honourable and learned gentleman, and of all those who called themselves moderate reformers; they made use of them as far as they suited their purposes, and treated their counsels, when they did not, with contumely and scorn. They well knew what they were contending for, and how far they would choose to go, although, God willing, care should be taken to prevent them. Who could

could believe that the wish of such persons was merely that the house of commons should do its duty better, when there was not one act which they were ever heard to approve, and when they were known at all times to describe the last twenty years as a continued period of calamity and disgrace? Whether the blame or the merit lay with the house, it was a period, however, which had immortalized our name, and saved our constitution. The honourable and learned gentleman had said, these radical reformers had nothing substantial in their projects; he begged to differ with him, they had nothing less than the whole land of the country. If the house would submit, like innocent lambs, they would soon find that they would be sheared to the very quick. The ruin of France had been accomplished by despising the first indications of mischief as too contemptible to deserve notice. It was indisputable, that the poison of doctrines at once the most pernicious and the most absurd, had been long circulating through the body of the community; doctrines not expressed in the diction of illiterate men, but penned in the well-wrought periods of practised writers. Let them hear the ingenious creed of these patriots of the soil. [Here Mr. Canning read an extract from a publication, entitled, we believe, "The Spencean Plan."] Among other principles it was stated, "that the only security for freedom was the restoration of the land to the people; and without that, even revolution would be unnecessary." Again it was declared, "that the people were the only proprietors of the soil." How far did the plans of the moderate reformers fall short of these principles? and how were they sure that when they set the whirlwind in motion, they would be able to direct its course? They would in all probability be its first victims; and if successful, the country itself would soon follow. The blazes of war had ceased, but the sun of peace had not attained its meridian: let not robbers and assassins take advantage of the twilight. England was not, he trusted, to be blotted from the list of nations, because, after an over-strained though necessary effort, she was sunk in comparative exhaustion. All that we had to do, was to wait patiently, to bear and to forbear; to restore what lord Clarendon called "the ancient good temper and good humour of Englishmen," and to abstain from all chimerical schemes, and all irritating invectives. Then he doubted not that, at the close of the session, painful and laborious as it must necessarily be, they would all join in a common sentiment of satisfaction, as they looked back at the dark phantoms which had appalled them at its commencement. The honourable gentlemen opposite wished for a committee to inquire into the state of the nation, instead of a committee to inquire into the revenue and expenditure. If the object on the other side was nothing more than to put the government into other hands, he for one should not envy them the inheritance; but to whatever hands it might be confided, and whilst any government continued to subsist in the country, his earnest hope was, that the constitution committed to its charge would be sacredly preserved.

Mr. Tierney observed, that the right honourable gentleman had talked a good deal of sudden transitions, and his speech certainly abounded in examples of them. The whole of his eloquence had

been thrown away upon a subject which was not before the house, and to which there was no reference either in the original address or the amendment. He (Mr. T.) avowed himself a friend to reform, but not to annual parliaments and universal suffrage; but thought it required mature and serious deliberation.

After some desultory conversation, Mr. Preston rose to speak; but the question being loudly called for, the house divided—

For Mr. Ponsonby's amendment	112
Against it - -	264
Majority in favour of the address - -	152

We have thus given at considerable length the principal speeches, both in the house of lords and house of commons, on the motions for the addresses, because, in the first place, in these opening speeches, both ministers and their opponents come forth fully prepared for attack and defence; and secondly, because, from the speeches on these occasions, may be collected more full and minute information regarding the views which each party entertain of the state of the country, than from any succeeding debates.

CHAPTER II.

Message from the Prince Regent—Debates on it—Committees of Secrecy appointed—Debates in the House of Commons on the Appointment of a Select Committee of Finance—Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons—Committee appointed to inquire into the Poor Laws—Debates in both Houses on the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, &c.—Petitions respecting the Poor Laws—Mr. Brougham's Motion on the Commerce of the Country—Lord Holland's on the Treatment of Bonaparte—Mr. Littleton's against Lotteries—First Report of the Committee of Finance—Adjournment.

HOUSE of lords, Feb. 3.—Viscount Sidmouth presented a message from the prince regent, similar to that noticed in the proceedings of the commons.

In the commons, the same day, lord Castlereagh appeared at the bar with the following message:—"George P. R. His royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, has given orders that there be laid before the house of commons, papers containing information respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations, in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tranquillity, to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects from his majesty's person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and constitution. His royal highness recommends to the house of commons to take these papers into their immediate serious consideration. George P. R."

House of lords, Feb. 4.—Viscount Sidmouth, in moving that the prince regent's message be taken into

into consideration, said, that their lordships might believe that it was not without the most painful feelings that his royal highness found himself under the necessity of making such a communication. It was, indeed, a most afflicting circumstance both to that illustrious personage and to his advisers, to feel themselves called upon, by their sense of duty to the country and the constitution, to inform their lordships' house that there did exist meetings and combinations in different parts of the country, for the purpose of endeavouring to alienate from his majesty the affections of his subjects, to bring his person and government into hatred and contempt, to endanger the liberty of the subject, and to overthrow the whole scheme and system of our laws and constitution: and their lordships might easily believe that such a communication would not have been made without the strongest conviction of its urgent and indispensable necessity. Their lordships would, he had no doubt, concur in the address which he should have the honour to propose in answer to the message, as it would pledge their lordships to nothing except to an examination of the evidence; for, as to the ulterior proceedings, he not only did not call on their lordships to give any pledge, but he would not choose to be himself considered as pledged. When this motion should be disposed of, he should propose that the papers communicated by his royal highness be referred to a committee of secrecy. After having said this, he need not state that he did not purpose at present to enter into particulars. He would refrain from all reference to any ulterior proceedings, and recommend that nothing should be said or done until the report of the committee should be laid before the house All that he had to request in the mean time was, that their lordships would abstain from making up their minds until the whole subject should be investigated. There was only one other point to which he felt it his duty to call the attention of their lordships, as it was material that it should be noticed. The atrocious outrage lately committed against the prince regent was certainly regarded with the utmost horror and reprobation by an overwhelming majority of the nation; and he felt it his duty to state, that the present communication was not at all connected with that outrage. Though that atrocious, that horrid outrage against the royal dignity had not been committed, his royal highness's advisers, with the information in their possession, would have still felt it their indispensable duty to have brought forward this proceeding, originating in a message from the prince regent, to be followed up by a reference of the papers to a committee of secrecy.

Earl Grosvenor said, that the papers must go to a committee; but he was convinced that meetings and combinations, if they did exist, were mainly provoked by the conduct of the ministers, who had set their faces against œconomy and retrenchment.

Lord Holland remarked, that ministers must not only prove that such meetings and combinations existed, but that a remedy for the evil was not to be had from the ordinary law of the land; for nothing short of this would justify their calling for the interference of parliament.

Lord Liverpool denied that there was any charge of disloyalty or disaffection intimated or insinuated in

the speech or message against the general body of the nation. A vast majority was, no doubt, sincerely attached to the laws and constitution; but many even of the well-disposed, but misinformed, might be misled by the artful and designing, and more particularly in a season of general and severe presssure.

Earl Grey and the marquis of Buckingham spoke to the same effect as lord Holland.

An address to the prince regent was agreed to; and the papers on the table ordered to be referred to a committee of secrecy, consisting of eleven lords, to be then chosen by ballot.

In the commons, lord Castlereagh, in calling the attention of the house to the prince regent's message, said, that the proposition he should submit could not be productive of any discussion. It had no other tendency than merely to call upon the house to acknowledge the gracious communication it has received, and of its intention to proceed to the examination of the documents that his royal highness had ordered to be laid before it. All he had to request was, that parliament would preserve a mind free and unbiassed, until it shall have received the report of that committee to which it was intended, under the confidence of the house, to refer the examination of the documents. There was, however, one point on which he was solicitous fully to explain. A rumour had been propagated that the present message had grown out of the late tumultuous outrage in the metropolis—an outrage on which there existed but one sentiment on every side of the house. —When the house was in possession of the proper information, it would feel, he had no doubt, satisfied, that had that disgraceful scene of turbulence and depredation never existed, his majesty's government could not have avoided to advise the present message, without an abandonment of those high duties that they owed the house and the country.

An address of thanks to the prince regent was voted; and lord Castlereagh having stated that the precedent of 1794 would be strictly followed, it was agreed that the papers should be referred to a committee of secrecy, and that the committee should consist of twenty-one members, to be chosen by ballot.

Feb. 5. The names of the members returned as the committee of secrecy were read as follows:—Lord Milton, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. William Elliott, lord Castlereagh, lord Lascelles, Mr. C. Bathurst, honourable Mr. Lamb, sir Arthur Piggott, Mr. F. Robinson, sir John Nicholl, the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, Mr. Geo. Canning, Mr. Charles York, Mr. Wilbraham Egerton, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Bootle Wilbraham, Mr. W. Dundas, Mr. Rose, sir W. Curtis, admiral Frank.

In a committee of supply the following sums were granted: 11,000,000*l.* to pay exchequer bills issued in 1816; and 13,000,000*l.* for the same purpose; 1,436,000*l.* in Irish currency, for exchequer bills issued in 1816 in Ireland; and 4,080,000*l.* for the same purpose.

Feb. 7. A sum of 24,000,000*l.* was voted for the payment of outstanding exchequer bills.

Mr. Calvert presented a petition of the corporation of London, praying for a reform in parliament.

On the motion of lord Castlereagh, the house went into a committee on that part of the regent's speech which related to the finances of the country. The labours of the committee, he was convinced, would be

be directed to the same object which his majesty's government had in view, a system of practical œconomy, commensurate with the interests, and at the same time with the security, of the country. The estimates intended to be submitted for approbation would include the army in France and India; the former of which was supported by the contributions of that power, and the latter by the government in India. The amount voted last year was 99,000 men; that is, for the united empire 53,000, for colonial purposes and abroad 46,000. The estimates for the present year would proceed upon a reduction in point of numbers and expenses; in the home service the diminution would be 5,000; in the colonial, a diminution of 13,000, making an actual reduction of 18,000; thus leaving the army at 81,000 instead of 90,000 men. The reduction had been made under a strong sense of the pressure of the moment, and from a conviction that the military defence might be dispensed with, and the protection of the colonies intrusted to the police. With respect to home defence, the house, perhaps, would not think any price too high which should secure its safety, particularly at a moment when the civil magistrates could not administer the laws without the aid of the military. The total amount of the force voted last year, with reference to the contingent alliance, was 150,000. This year he should only call for 123,000, or 81,000 for home and abroad, rank and file. The charge of the army, at present, was 6,538,000*l.*; for disembodied militia 220,000*l.*; and for regiments abroad 220,000*l.*; making a total of 7,050,000*l.* The commissariat department would amount to 500,000*l.* The extraordinaries of the army last year were 10.561,000*l.*—for the present they would amount to 9,230,000*l.* The ordnance for last year was 1,696,000*l.*; it would now be 1,246,000*l.* These reductions would make a total saving of 1,784,000*l.* The house would be aware that in this expense were included the half-pay, pensions, &c. so that the real prospective vote for the army was under 4,000,000*l.* excluding the half-pay, &c. to which the faith of parliament is pledged.—The noble lord then adverted to the navy charge last session; the number of seamen voted was 33,000, looking to a reduction of 10,000. Since then the pressure of the times had induced a further reduction, and instead of 23,000, the establishment would be 18,000, or taking it roundly at 19,000, because the royal marines would not be diminished. The charge for this branch last year was 10,114,000*l.* now it would amount to 6,397,000*l.* The noble lord having recapitulated the items, observed, that the total charge was 18,372,000*l.* to be provided for. In framing the estimates, government had in veiw, as far as consistent with our safety, to bring the expenditure of the country within the scale of its means in the course of the present year. He trusted the house would feel it no discouraging prospect, that, after so tremendous a struggle in war, ministers should have been able, in the first year of peace, to remit eighteen millions of direct taxation; and so soon after, to make still further reductions to the amount he had already stated. He trusted the house would see that these estimates were cast in the scale of œconomy and retrenchment. Still it could not be concealed that this was a year of peculiar pressure; and that

there was no individual in the country, however high or low, but who must feel the hand of Providence upon his means. This distress was general through Europe; and perhaps it had been less felt here than on the continent. Still the distress of the people had been very great, but the hand of benevolence had kept pace with it. He could assure the house that in no place had more anxiety been shown to relieve those distresses than in the highest quarter of all. The regent had come to a determination not to accept more of the civil list than his confidential servants would advise him to take for the dignity of the crown. For that reason he was to give up one-fifth of the civil list, which would amount to 50,000*l.* a year. His highness would have given more; but his ministers could not advise him, without endangering the dignity of the crown, and embarrassing the civil list. It was also the intention of the regent's public servants to give up a sum of 90,000*l.* from the government, army, and navy, &c. It was but a small sum in proportion to the distress of the country, but he trusted the people would receive it, as it was meant, in the pure spirit of œconomy and retrenchment. He proposed that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the financial state of the country, and that a committee should be formed by ballot for that purpose. He trusted both sides of the house would consider the question as for the public good, and not as a means of triumphing over one another. He then moved for a select committee to consider the receipt and expenditure for 1817,-18, and -19; and to report from time to time what reductions might be made in the expenditure.

Mr. Tierney was glad that ministers at last saw, what every body else had long seen, that the expenses of the country should be reduced to some reasonable proportion with its means. From the best estimate which he could make, he had no reason to believe that his results differed from those of the noble lord; there would be, under all circumstances, a sum of three millions to be made good. He was glad to hear that the sinking fund was to be spared. Nothing but evident and absolute danger, nothing but the prospect of peril threatening the very existence of the state, could induce him to consent to have recourse to that sacred fund. —The example in the highest quarter had certainly come late, but it was well that it had come. His royal highness had doubtless long felt for the public sufferings, and ministers should have sooner advised this honourable step. They must the more regret this delay, because the earlier adoption of the measure would have very much allayed the discontent which had so turbulently prevailed. He also thought it wonderful, that the reductions in the salaries of public officers had not been sooner adopted. They merited no praise for it, for it had been clearly extorted from them. And this proved that if the real majority of the nation was firm and unanimous, the house would comply with its wishes; which was perhaps the best answer to those pretended reformers who talked of a pure representation.— As for the proposed committee, the country must not be mocked with one which was to investigate every thing and do nothing; they must do something real; the people would not be content with the mere show of a remedy; the committee should

should be an efficient one; but it seemed to him, that it was intended to draw a veil over the public expenditure. The committee would have much to do, if it did its duty. Did the house know, that there were sixty persons now in that assembly, holders of offices, who might be dismissed from them at the pleasure of the crown? If these offices were not to be abolished, a question would arise as to their holding seats in parliament. Ministerial majorities were often made up of such votes: the only real road to œconomy was to reduce such influence.

The chancellor of the exchequer had reason to expect that the revenue would not turn out so defective this year as it had last; and he declared, that every satisfactory means would be afforded to examine the situation of the finances to the very bottom. The sum of 20,000,000*l.* would be the whole of the real peace establishment.

Mr. Brougham predicted that every salutary object would be evaded, by the overwhelming mass of papers with which the committee would be inundated. Such a committee could do nothing; patronage and influence would impede every endeavour at reduction. The house should look into the real situation of the nation. The public called aloud for a reduction; would they refuse to answer it? Destroyers of abuses and the abolishers of sinecures were to be formed out of those very persons who enjoyed them!—There would be a deficit in the revenue of twelve millions, which, it seems, were to be made up by a recourse to former subterfuges, and the old system of jobbing with the bank: would the house make themselves parties to such delusions!

Mr. Grenfell wanted to know what could be applied this year to extinguish debt, except by borrowing money.

The chancellor of the exchequer enumerated several items of expense and revenue. Taking old naval stores, the lottery, and other branches, there would be eight millions odd applicable, to which add fourteen millions, and there was a total of twenty-two millions, exceeding the supply by about 1,400,000*l.*

Mr. Brand observed, the proposed committee was not satisfactory; the people of England demanded something more; they were alarmed when they heard proposed retrenchments followed by enlarged salaries; and when they saw the office of the "clerk of the pells" in Ireland continued at a salary of 4,000*l.* a year, and other offices increased in emolument, it was not possible for them to restrain the expression of their indignation.

Mr. Wilberforce could not give an entire approbation to the appointment of the committee. His mind was pretty fully made up on this point, when he heard the noble lord say it might sit one year, or two years, or perhaps three years. If this were the case, what benefit could be expected from its labours? Could it be even expected to last out its full time?—Was there not one idea intimately associated with such a committee, namely, that the dissolution of parliament would put an end to its existence? With respect to the influence of the crown, it had increased very considerably; it in fact met every man every where. And while he deprecated any attempts to inflame the public mind, he by no means granted that the way to reconcile the people to their sufferings, and to quiet their minds, was by refusing to make such diminutions in every depart-

ment as could be effected without injury to the public service.

Lord Lascelles heard with great satisfaction the statement made by ministers; and believed that the concession made that night would be particularly gratifying, and be most thankfully received.

Mr. Ponsonby was persuaded the fate of the country was in the hands of that house; and it was necessary to show that they were determined to reduce the burthens of the people.—He approved of the resolution of his majesty's servants to abate a portion of their salaries: they owed it to the country: but he would go further, and say, there was no individual whatever receiving a salary that ought not to be willing to reduce it. He spoke this as an interested person, and he thought the reduction proposed was not sufficient; for his own part, he was ready to go further. But there were many situations held under government, where the emolument was so small, that it would be cruel to propose a reduction, and cruel to receive it.

The house then divided: for the committee 210—against it 117. There were other divisions, Mr. Tremayne having been proposed in the room of lord Binning, and subsequently of Mr. Huskisson; but ministers carried them.

Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. C. Wynne, Mr. Freemantle, lord Morpeth, lord Stanley, were all proposed as members of the committee, but they severally declined accepting the trust. —Mr. Tierney did not decline, but accepted under a reservation.

House of lords, Feb. 17.—The earl of Aberdeen presented the report of the secret committee appointed to inquire into certain meetings and combinations endangering the public tranquillity.

On the motion of the earl of Liverpool, the report was ordered to be taken into consideration on the 21st instant.

House of commons, Feb. 18.—In a committee of supply, sir G. Warrender proposed a vote for 19,000 seamen, including 6000 marines.

Feb. 19. Mr. Grenfell went at great length into the enormous profits made by the bank. In twenty years (since 1797) their profits had been not less than twenty-seven millions. He concluded by moving for a "select committee to inquire into the engagements now subsisting between the country and the bank, and to consider of the advantages now derived to the bank, with a view to the adoption of future arrangements, consistent with that good faith which ought always to be preserved on the part of the country." —After a short discussion, in which Messrs. Vansittart, P. Moore, Maryat, Huskisson, Manning, and lord A. Hamilton, participated, the motion was negatived, by 90 to 40.

Mr. Bragge Bathurst appeared at the bar with the report of the committee of secrecy.

As the report of the secret committee of the house of commons is more circumstantial than that of the secret committee of the house of lords, we shall insert the former. —"That it appears to your committee, after a most attentive consideration of the documents submitted to them from various parts of the country, that attempts had recently been made to take advantage of the distresses of the labouring and manufacturing classes of the nation, with a view not only to effect a parliamentary reform on the principle of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, but to cause the total overthrow of all our institutions,

tutions, and of every description of landed and funded property.

"That this system of general spoliation chiefly proceeded from the doctrines maintained by a number of societies distinguished by the title of 'Spencean,' whose tenets were principally drawn from the works of a visionary writer, published above twenty years ago. That at meetings of some of these societies it was urged, that parliamentary reform must be held out as the ostensible object of their efforts, and with a view to mislead their enemies: but that it was in fact only a half measure; and that the people ought to look to the possession of the land, and nothing short of that; and that as to the constitution, of which so much had been said, this country had no constitution, for it was not to be found in any book, nor could any man tell what it was. In other societies founded on the Spencean principles, it had been maintained, that the only remedy for the grievances of the people was, to hunt down the land-owners, and to deprive those still greater wretches the fundholders, of their pretended rights.

"It appeared also that these, and other societies of a similar character, had been guilty of the most blasphemous and impious proceedings; and that as they assumed to be of a convivial nature, their political discussions were followed by songs of the most inflammatory and seditious description, and by the recitation of profane parodies of the liturgy, and of various parts of the holy scriptures.

"That in order to extend the principles of these societies over the whole kingdom, the most active efforts were made by their various members; and in consequence those principles were disseminated in speeches at public meetings to the discharged soldiers and sailors, and to the distressed labourers and manufacturers of the country; and that in aid of this object, incredible activity had been used to disperse cheap, and in many instances gratuitous, publications unfolding the doctrines of the societies.

"That it had been proved to the entire satisfaction of your committee, that a number of the members of these various societies, acting in a body as delegates, conceived and declared, that in their opinion the objects which they had in view, might be and ought to be insured by an effort of the physical strength of the people to overpower the constitutional authorities. That they considered the first step which should be taken by them for this purpose, was by their individual exertions to discover and foment the discontents of the metropolis and its vicinity; and that returns of their proceedings were made by the individual delegates to the general body.

"That it appears to your committee, that a plan was formed, by a sudden rising in the dead of night, to surprise the soldiers; and in the terror which would be thereby occasioned, to set fire to the town in various places, and to take possession of the barracks, the Tower, and the Bank. That to assist in the execution of this project, a formidable machine was invented with which the streets could be cleared of all opposing force. This plan was, however, relinquished as premature; and it was resolved that it would be more proper to ascertain the strength of the popular party, by convening meetings under the pretext of taking into consideration the

the legal mode of redressing grievances; and a map of London having been examined, Spafields was selected as the place whence an attack on the Bank and the Tower could with the greatest facility be made. That the first meeting at Spafields was accordingly advertised for the 15th of November, and that printed and written placards were exhibited in all parts of the town, of one of which the following is a copy:—

"'Britons, to arms! The whole country only waits the signal from London. Break open the gunsmiths'. Arm yourselves with all sorts of instruments. No rise in price of bread. No regent. No Castlereagh. Off with their heads! No taxes. No bishops: they are only useless lumber.'

"That the intended insurrection assumed all the symbols of the French revolution. That a committee of public safety was formed, consisting of twenty-four members. That flags and cockades were prepared for the occasion. But that on the 15th of November, when the first meeting took place, there was no violence (although there was some plunder in the evening of the day); and that the meeting adjourned to the 2d of December, by which time it was hoped means might be found to accelerate the accomplishment of the projected undertaking.

"That your committee find that not a moment was lost in the interval between the first and second meeting, to take advantage of every circumstance which could further the attainment of the objects in view. Additional publications of an inflammatory nature were circulated every where. Endeavours were made to raise a general subscription for the support of those who had relinquished their ordinary occupations, to enable them to devote themselves to these purposes, which persons had hitherto chiefly been paid by a principal member of one of the societies. A plan was formed for the seduction of the soldiers, by raising hopes of promotion in the event of their joining in the approaching attempt; and exciting discontent among them by a story of the landing of a large foreign force in the country. It was again recommended, that the barracks should be the object of particular observation. Those quarters of the town where distress was most prevalent, were visited by individuals appointed to inflame the people. Those warehouses along the river, and those shops in various parts of the town where arms were deposited, were carefully noted. A plan was also formed for the seduction of the sailors, by offering them additional pay under the new government which was about to be established.

"That immediately before the meeting of the 2d December, many persons connected with these proceedings procured arms of various descriptions. It was thought that sufficient means had thus been obtained to carry on the intended operations for at least two hours, by which time it was supposed enough would be got from the gunsmiths' and other depôts to arm a considerable number of individuals. The manufacture of tri-color ribbon was encouraged, with a view of rendering it familiar to the eyes of the public.

"Your committee have further received undoubted information that a large quantity of pike heads had been ordered of one individual, and 250 actually made by him, and delivered

livered and paid for. It was also undoubtedly intended to liberate the prisoners in the principal gaols in or about the metropolis, in the hope of their concurrence and assistance in the intended insurrection. Addresses were introduced into some of those prisons, and recommended to be communicated to others, in which the persons confined were invited, in the name of the tri-coloured committee, to rally round the tri-coloured standard, which would be erected on Monday, December the 2d, and to wear tri-coloured cockades themselves. It was promised that the prisoners should be liberated by force, and arms were stated to be provided for them, and they were directed to be ready to assist in overpowering the turnkeys. A waggon was hired for the business of the day, in which the flags and banner or standard, which had been previously prepared, together with some ammunition, were secretly conveyed to the place of meeting. From this waggon, before the ostensible business of the day commenced in the other part of the field, the most inflammatory speeches were delivered, tending directly to excite insurrection, concluded by an appeal to the multitude assembled, whether they were prepared to redress their own grievances. A tri-coloured cockade was then exhibited, and the tri-coloured flag was displayed, and a number of persons followed it out of the field.

"The direction which they took was towards that part of the town previously designed: gunsmiths' shops were broken open, addresses and offers were made to the soldiers at the Tower to induce them to open the gates; but from the failure of the numbers expected to join the insurgents, no attempt was made to force the gates. An attack was, however, made upon the city magistrates assembled in the Royal Exchange, a shot fired, and a tri-coloured flag and cockade openly displayed, and seized on the offender.

"In reviewing the whole of the transactions of the 2d of December, your committee are firmly persuaded, that, however improbable the success of such a plan may appear, it yet was deliberately premeditated by desperate men, who calculated without reasonable ground upon defection in their opposers, and upon active support from those multitudes whose distress they had witnessed, and whom they had vainly instigated to revolt. That consequently it was not merely the sudden ebullition of the moment, or the unauthorized attempt of any unconnected individual.

"Your committee are further convinced, that notwithstanding the failure on the 2d of December, the same designs still continue to be prosecuted with sanguine hopes of success.

"Your committee having thus stated the general result of the evidence which has been laid before them, respecting the state of the metropolis, have now the no less painful duty of calling the attention of the house to what has been passing during the same period in different parts of the country, a subject of equally momentous consideration. The first thing which has here forced itself upon their observation, is the widely diffused ramification of a system of clubs, associated professedly for the purpose of parliamentary reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. These clubs in general designate themselves by the same name of Hampden clubs. On the professed object of their institution, they appear

pear to be in communication and connexion with the club of that name in London.

"It appears to be part of the system of these clubs to promote an extension of clubs of the same name and nature, so widely as, if possible, to include every village in the kingdom. The leading members are active in the circulation of publications likely to promote their object. Petitions, ready prepared, have been sent down from the metropolis to all societies in the country disposed to receive them. The communication between these clubs takes place by the mission of delegates. Delegates from these clubs in the country have assembled in London, and are expected to assemble again early in March. Whatever may be the real object of these clubs in general, your committee have no hesitation in stating, from information on which they place full reliance, that in far the greater number of them, and particularly in those which are established in the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and which are composed of the lower order of artisans, nothing short of a revolution is the object expected and avowed.

"Your committee find, from equally undoubted information, that the doctrines of the Spencean clubs have been widely diffused through the country, either by the extension of similar societies, or more frequently by the intervention of missionaries or delegates, whose business is to propagate those doctrines throughout every society to which they have access. It is the universal practice of these societies, to require from the members a small weekly subscription, which provides a fund for the expenses of these missionaries, and also for the purchase of seditious tracts, which are read and commented on at their meetings. Some of these tracts, now before your committee, inculcate in the most artful manner, the necessity of overturning what they call 'the privileged class,' as distinguished from the people, who are described as consisting of labourers, artisans, tradesmen, and every profession useful to society. A new order is declared to be the will of the people; rebellion is justified by the assertion that a nation cannot be a rebel; and all religion is disavowed, as well as loyalty, by the assertion, in answer to the question, 'Would you live without gods or kings?'—'We abjure tyranny of every kind.'

"It seems, indeed, to be a part of the system adopted by these societies, to prepare the minds of the people for the destruction of the present frame of society, by undermining not only their habits of decent and regular subordination, but all the principles of morality and religion. Your committee find, that there is scarcely any very numerous society, in the parts above referred to, of whose proceedings they have obtained an account, in which some of the leading speakers do not openly avow the most seditious opinions, and do not excite their hearers to be prepared for actual insurrection. Topics for discussion are selected with this view: amongst others the question, Whether the jacobin or the loyalist was the better friend to his country? Even where petitioning is recommended, it is proposed to be conducted in such a manner, by an immense number of delegates attending in London at the same time, in several parties, attached to each petition, as might induce an effort to obtain by force whatever they demanded.

manded. A general idea seems prevalent among those who compose these societies, that some fixed day, at no very great distance, is to be appointed for a general rising. They have been taught to look to the meetings in London as the signal for their operations, and have been in the habit of adjourning their own assemblies simultaneously to the same day; and it is a lamentable instance of the common interest which they feel, if not of the connexion which is formed with those most implicated in the outrages committed in the metropolis, that about Manchester and some other places, the greatest exultation was manifested previously to the meeting in Spafields on the 2d of December; and the taking of the Tower and the ruin of the Bank were publicly and confidently predicted. The news of the result was impatiently expected; the roads were crowded during the night with a number of persons, many of them delegates from the different societies in the country, waiting for the arrival of the mail coach; and the disappointment was not concealed, when it was ascertained that the riot had been quelled without much serious or extensive mischief.

"It appears that the confidence of the disaffected is such, that they represent the numbers inrolled as amounting to several hundred thousands, and that their societies are daily increasing; that in their lists they distinguish by particular marks those among their subscribers who are able-bodied men, and ready to act when required; and that they also keep a list of those who refuse to join them, in what they call a 'black book,' and threaten vengeance against these persons when the general insurrection shall take place. In some parts of one populous county, where nearly every village has already its Hampden club, the members make it no secret that they consider themselves as of no other use than as being ready to act whenever they are called upon: on their admission they are said to be listed; and receive a secret card with the words 'Be ready, be steady.'

"The habits and manners of these persons seem entirely changed; they already calculate upon the share of land which each is to possess, and point out the destruction of the churches, as the necessary consequence of their success. It appears that preparations are in progress in several places for providing arms: the demand upon gunsmiths, for every species of fire-arms, has been beyond all former example; the intention is professed, of having recourse for a still larger supply to those towns where arms are manufactured, and where they are to be obtained at a very low rate, from the general cheapness of labour at this time; or in case of necessity they are to be seized by force. The facility of converting implements of husbandry into offensive weapons has been suggested; and persons have been sent to observe the state of particular places, where depôts of arms for the public service were supposed to have been formed.

"Your committee find, that a system of secret association has been extended to the manufacturing population of Glasgow, and some other populous towns of Scotland; and although these societies have availed themselves of the same pretext, of parliamentary reform on the broadest basis, your committee are firmly persuaded, from the information which has been laid before them, that their ultimate object

ject is the overthrow by force of the existing form of government. That the time for attempting this enterprise was to depend on the simultaneous rising of the disaffected in England; with some emissaries from whom occasional intercourse appears to have taken place, and that some provision of weapons has been made by this association.

"Your committee have now submitted to the house what they conceive to be a fair and not exaggerated statement of the result of their investigation. They have thought themselves precluded from inserting, in an appendix, the information from which it is drawn, by the consideration, that unless it were extremely partial and incomplete, they could not make it public without hazarding the personal safety of many respectable individuals, and in some instances without prejudicing the due administration of public justice.

"On a review of the whole, it is a great satisfaction to your committee to observe, that, notwithstanding the alarming progress which has been made in the system of extending disaffection and secret societies, its success has been confined to the principal manufacturing districts, where the distress is more prevalent, and numbers more easily collected; and that even in many of these districts privations have been borne with exemplary patience and resignation, and the attempts of the disaffected have been disappointed; that few if any of the higher orders, or even of the middle class of society, and scarcely any of the agricultural population, have lent themselves to the more violent of these projects. Great allowance must be made for those who, under the pressure of urgent distress, have been led to listen to plausible and confident demagogues in the expectation of immediate relief. It is to be hoped, that many of those who have engaged, to a certain extent, in the projects of the disaffected, but in whom the principles of moral and religious duty have not been extinguished or perverted by the most profane and miserable sophistry, would withdraw themselves before those projects were pushed to actual insurrection.

"But with all these allowances, your committee cannot contemplate the activity and arts of the leaders in this conspiracy, and the numbers whom they have already seduced, and may seduce; the oaths by which many of them are bound together; the means suggested and prepared for the forcible attainment of their objects; the nature of the objects themselves, which are not only the overthrow of all the political institutions of the kingdom, but also such a subversion of the rights and principles of property, as must necessarily lead to general confusion, plunder, and bloodshed; without submitting to the most serious attention of the house, the dangers which exist, and which the utmost vigilance of government, under the existing laws, has been found inadequate to prevent."

House of commons, Feb. 21.—Mr. Curwen said, he had quite made up his mind not to go into a committee to take into consideration the present state of the poor's laws, unless there was a good prospect of obtaining effectual and speedy relief. He said that he had a variety of letters from Shropshire, Sussex, and many other places, stating they paid rom 18*s.* to 20*s.* in the pound. He calcula ed the number of paupers to amount to two millions and a half, and the amount

amount of subscriptions and poor's rates to be about 8,500,000*l.* which made on the whole 26 per cent. on the entire rent. These considerations, he said, required some attention—these evils called for some redress. Many lawyers of high eminence were of opinion that all property in the funds and elsewhere was liable to poor's rates; and by a quotation which he made, it appeared, that in the year 1663 it was resolved by the judges, that every person should be charged according to his estate; and by the 22d of George I. property in the funds was made chargeable. But he contended, if the houses of parliament should at any time say that property in the funds should not be charged, that then they would have exceeded their powers, and have acted in opposition to the laws of nature, and contrary to the immutable principles of justice. And as to the policy of taxing funded property for the poor, it was quite as politic to do so as to lay the income tax on it. The country had now been brought to a state of the utmost distress, and relief was now essential to existence. The poor's rates were one of the many causes which produced these melancholy effects; and now the greatest pains should be taken to equalize the burdens which they imposed. He calculated the amount of interest on funded property, namely, debentures, bank stock, India stock, South Sea stock, &c. &c. to amount to three millions and a half: if this, together with landed property, was taxed, even at a very low rate, it would yield a sufficient sum for the poor. He also observed, that money lent at interest should also be made chargeable. He was of opinion, that pauperism was more the effect of commerce than of agriculture; and he also observed, that the poor's laws were peculiarly oppressive upon persons who were not natives of England. After the natives of Ireland or of other places came into England in search of occupation, and after they had spent a long life in labouring for the luxury and comfort of the English, they were sent back to their native country, diseased, destitute, and infirm, forgotten by some friends, and deprived of others by the hand of death. He assured the house, that he felt his inadequacy to perform the task which he had undertaken; and before he concluded, he begged leave to conjure the noble lord to raise and immortalize his name, by lendingh is assistance to the melioration of those unjust and oppressive laws. He urged him to come forward; he entreated him to tell the house and the country what they had to expect, as every thing depended upon him. The honourable member concluded by moving that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the poor's laws.

Lord Castlereagh doubted whether all the sanguine views of the honourable gentleman could be realized by the labours of the proposed committee, but he certainly believed that much good might be reasonably expected from the measure. He assured the honourable gentleman, that he took as gloomy a view of the influence of the poor's laws, in breaking down the national character, as he could possibly do; and if they did not elevate the national character, by inspiring the population of the country with the wish rather to live on their own labour, than on what they could draw from the labour and property of others, he firmly believed that the English people would

would not in future ages be what they had been in times past. The present system not only went to accumulate burdens on the country which it could not continue to bear, but to destroy the true wealth of the poor man, the capability of making exertions for his own livelihood; for, if pecuniary relief went on with the laxity which now prevailed, and all the cunning of uncultivated minds was to be directed to the means of escaping from labour, and the enjoying the fruits of the labour of others, a national calamity might be said to be overtaking us by a double operation—in the increased burdens imposed on the country, and the diminution of the industry from which its resources were derived. Though, therefore, they could not set themselves against the statute of Elizabeth, yet they could look into it; and on doing so they would find that those objects which were within the original purview of the law, were the sick and infirm poor, and those labouring under temporary difficulties. Without any innovation, therefore, on the existing law, or shaking any of those claims which were supposed to exist under the law, he apprehended that no proposition was more clear than that when a man possessed bodily ability to work, the performance of work might be made the criterion of the condition entitling him to relief, and that this pecuniary claim might be connected with work. If that were made the basis of the poor's laws, there was hardly a parish in England, however small it might be, where the industry of those able to work, and applying for relief, might not be turned to advantage. In every parish they might find materials sufficient for relieving all the distressed of the parish by means of work, excepting children, and those whose advanced age or infirmity precluded them from exertion. But he would push this principle so far, that he would rather employ the labouring poor to dig a hole one day, and make them fill it up again the next, than allow them to remain idle, and expose themselves to the danger of losing the use of their hands and legs, and the power of making themselves useful to themselves and their country. Though this labour might not be immediately productive, it at least kept the labourers in a state which rendered them capable of future efforts, and thus averted one great danger to be apprehended from a great proportion of the labouring poor subsisting without effort at all. If the law did not receive some such correction in its administration, the evil would, at last, become too strong for the law.—The difficulty was the getting at personal property by taxation. With respect to the application of such funds as might be obtained from personal property, in aid of the general interest, on a principle of equalization, assisting such parishes as were already taxed to a given amount, he could never approve of such a system. By it, a parish which had once arrived at a maximum, would have nothing to do but to put its hands into the pockets of the rest of the country. There would then be no interest whatever to counteract abuses, and to watch over the due application of the parish funds. Let not the honourable member apprehend, when he touched on these ideas, that he wished to discourage all attempts to overcome the difficulty—he threw them out, because he wished them to go into the committee like statesmen, with correct ideas of the difficulty. He felt the utmost gratification

fication in supporting the motion for a committee.

The motion was agreed to, and a select committee appointed, composed of the following members :— Mr. Curwen, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Frankland Lewis, Mr. Bragge Bathurst, sir Thomas Baring, Mr. Rose, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Morton Pitt, Mr. Legh Keck, Mr. Dickinson, lord Lascelles, Mr. Holford, Mr. Davis Gilbert, sir James Shaw, Mr. Brand, Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Sturges Bourne, lord Stanley, Mr. W. Dundas, Mr. Robinson, sir Thos. Courtney.

House of lords, Feb. 24.—Lord Sidmouth rose and observed, that whatever differences of opinion might exist as to this and other measures in contemplation, he was confident that no noble lord could have read and reflected upon the report of the committee upon the table without the deepest regret, calculated as it was to shock every feeling of loyalty to the throne, and of affection for the illustrious individual exercising its functions ; and to cast a loathsome stigma upon the character and disposition of the country. Twice had a noble earl complained, that the report had been presented unaccompanied by any evidence or documents to support it; but he (lord S.) trusted that the house, instead of censuring its committee for neglect of its duty, would applaud the regularity and the prudence of its proceedings. The committee had thought fit to present to the house the conclusions and results at which it had arrived, instead of detailing information, necessarily of a secret nature, and producing documents which would put to hazard the safety of individuals from whom the important evidence had been obtained. These were motives that the house could not fail to approve ; and, actuated by the same feeling, his lordship held it to be incumbent upon him to observe the same restraint :—to that evidence which the committee had declined to furnish, he could not, with any regard to propriety, refer. There were, however, in the report, three prominent features, to which it was fit for him to advert in the first instance, and which merited the particular attention of the house. The first was, that no doubt was left in the minds of the committee, "that a traitorous conspiracy had been formed in the metropolis for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of a general insurrection, the established government, laws, and constitution of this kingdom, and of effecting a general plunder and division of property." In the second place, that the committee are deeply concerned to be compelled, in further execution of their duty, to report their full conviction that designs "of this nature have not been confined to the capital, but have been extended, and are still extending widely in many other parts of Great Britain, particularly in some of the most populous and manufacturing districts." And the third point, inserted at the close of the report, was a declaration that "such a state of things cannot be suffered to continue without hazarding the most imminent and dreadful evils ; and although the committee do not presume to anticipate the decision of parliament, as to the particular measures to be adopted in the present emergency, they feel it to be their duty to express their decided opinion, that further provisions are necessary for the preservation of the public peace, and for the protection of interests in which the happiness of every class of the community is

deeply and equally involved." These were the main points adverted to in the report; and it was impossible to read them without the utmost degree of grief and shame, that in this country, distinguished in former periods of its history for its zealous attachment to the laws and constitution, facts, but too indisputable, should have compelled a committee to make such a statement to the house; at a moment, too, when the fidelity and gallantry of the nation had placed it on the loftiest pinnacle of glory, and when it had become as well the admiration as the envy of the rest of the world. Was it at such a period that conspiracies to overthrow the government, and to destroy the constitution, were to have been expected? Was it at such a period that parliament could have contemplated being called upon for measures like those this night to be suggested? Unhappily, for a long series of years, but more especially since the commencement of the French revolution, a malignant spirit had been abroad in the country, seeking to ally itself with every cause of national difficulty and distress: it had connected itself even with the dispensations of Providence, and had endeavoured to impute the visitations of God to causes with which they could have no connexion. During the war it had been incessantly busied, not in aggravating our defeats, for we had known none, but in denying our victories, and misrepresenting them as the triumphs of our enemies. On the arrival of peace, its activity had been redoubled; and, while the people were suffering under a heavier pressure of distress than had been felt at any former period, it had employed itself in exaggerating calamity, and fomenting discontent. The purpose of that malignant spirit was to avail itself of the reduced and burthened state of the country, and to apply it to its own desperate purposes; for evidence had been laid before the committee, by which it unquestionably appeared, that the whole physical strength of the population was to be employed and organized by it, for the destruction of the most sacred establishments. That the distress arose, in a great degree, from unavoidable causes, he apprehended would be denied by few; yet this malignant spirit had represented to the ignorant and credulous, that their sufferings were to be attributed, not merely to the ministers of the day, but to defects in the constitution: the efforts that had been made, and nobly made, to mitigate every cause of complaint, had been treated as worse than nothing, and as increasing the evil they were intended to remedy; and this evil agent, whose deliberate purpose seemed to be to destroy all that was valuable, had at length plainly told the people, that peaceable entreaties were vain, and that by open violence alone could their grievances be redressed. Some of these measures of violence were disclosed in the report; and the horrid blasphemy with which this dæmon had enforced his system of bloodshed and treason, was language that could proceed only from so foul a source. Some noble lords had complained that prosecutions had not been instituted against the authors, printers, or publishers of these infamous libels; but it was but justice to government to state, that they had not neglected their duty with regard to those publications. As soon as they reached the hands of ministers, they were transmitted to law-officers of the crown, who found that most of the papers had

had been so artfully framed, as to render a prosecution extremely difficult and doubtful. Ministers had, however, strictly enjoined them to file informations in all cases where a conviction was possible, trusting with confidence to the loyalty and integrity of a British jury. Many prosecutions were now actually pending, the law-officers, of whose ability and honour his lordship was fully assured, not being of opinion that any proceeding of the kind could be earlier instituted: the delay had originated in the most conscientious motives. These seditions had been spread over the country in a profusion scarcely credible, and with an industry without example. In the manufacturing districts they had been circulated by every possible contrivance; every town was overflowed by them: in every village they were almost innumerable, and scarcely a cottage had escaped the perseverance of the agents of mischief. Hawkers of all kinds had been employed, and the public mind had in a manner been saturated with the odious poison. Clubs had also been established in every quarter with the ostensible purpose of parliamentary reform. His lordship would not assert, that some of them had not really this object in view; but he should belie his deliberate conviction if he did not also assert, that a very large proportion of them indeed had parliamentary reform in their mouths, but rebellion and revolution in their hearts. With respect to the means by which this dreadful purpose was to be effected, the report of the committee said much. Public meetings from time to time had been adjourned until all was ripe for action; and the first disturbance of the peace of the country took place on the 2d of December. On that occasion ministers would have failed in their duty if they had not made preparations adequate to the danger. His lordship's object would ever be to employ the civil power, and never to call in the aid of the military but in cases of absolute emergency; but, on this occasion, the civil power was incompetent to preserve tranquillity; and soldiers were so posted, as to be ready on the instant in every part of the metropolis. The consequence was, that the disturbances within the jurisdiction of the lord-mayor had been quelled in a few moments by a troop of life-guards, whom his lordship had deemed it his indispensable duty to dispatch after the rioters, even without the sanction of the chief magistrate of London. His lordship had directed them to proceed to Skinner-street, and to follow the rioters into all parts of the city: and in one situation a line had been actually drawn up, and some shots were fired, which put a speedy end to the disturbances. The trials of some of the chief actors ensued, and his lordship had not deemed it advisable (and he hoped it never would be thought so) that prosecutions for treason should be instituted but where the clearest case could be made out. He should always prefer proceeding for a minor offence, where it could not be shown decisively that it partook of the nature of a higher enormity. It had been said by a noble lord (lord Holland), that ministers were informed at that time of the treasonable purposes of the individuals engaged; in short, that they were acquainted with all the facts contained in the report. The noble lord was in an error; for the particulars of a conspiracy indisputably of a treasonable quality had not been communicated to ministers; and if they

had no intelligence, the noble lord could not blame them for inactivity. The circumstances that marked the atrocious character and designs of the meeting in Spafields did not come to the knowledge of ministers until three weeks before the meeting of parliament, so that no blame could be fairly imputed to them upon that account. The committee had represented that such a state of things could not be suffered to continue without hazarding the most imminent and dreadful evils. It referred not merely to what had been done, but to proceedings still carried on, for the furtherance of treasonable purposes; and that not merely in the metropolis, but in various parts of the country, where the seeds of disaffection were most likely to flourish; and the report stated a decided opinion, that some other measures were necessary to secure the good order and happiness of society. It was, therefore, for the wisdom of both houses of parliament, to consider and determine what those other measures should be, which were required to protect interests in which all classes were deeply and equally involved. That which prominently forced itself upon the feelings and attention of their lordships, was the imperious necessity of affording protection to the illustrious personage who, on the day of the assembly of the legislature, was not only exposed to insult and indignity, but even his sacred life endangered by the blind infatuation of the multitude. The house would not have forgotten what had been the proceeding on a similar occasion, when a similar attack had been made on the person of the sovereign; the act of the 36th Geo. III. c. 7, was passed to afford his majesty additional protection; and his lordship would ask, if the dreadful and atrocious conduct recently witnessed did not render it fit that the bill should, by amendment, be made applicable to the prince regent? It appeared before the house, that the enemies of the constitution, in the prosecution of their desperate designs, had made attempts, vain and impotent indeed, to seduce from their duty the soldiers and sailors who had fought our battles, and conquered our peace. The legislature had decided by a bill, which expired in August last, that persons guilty of such attempts should forfeit all right to the privileges they were entitled to by birth; and his lordship intended to suggest the revival of that measure for greater security. The clubs existing in all parts of the country formed another evil to be corrected, and to these the 39th Geo. III. would not apply, unless it could be shown that the clubs were connected together by affiliation; it did not seem, however, under the present circumstances, necessary that that connexion should be established to render the members amenable. The 39th Geo. III. by a wise provision, had put down the London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information, and some others, by name; and although it had been predicted, they had never been revived under new titles. It might be proper to adopt the same course with regard to some of the clubs now existing, and more especially with respect to one of them; and if they should endeavour to communicate their infection to the people under a new description, at least the legislature would have given warning, by marking the door where the pestilence raged. It was also in the contemplation of ministers to propose the renewal of a measure that had produced many salutary

salutary effects in 1795, and which had been renewed in 1798, and which had for its object the prevention of seditious meetings. Having stated thus much, his lordship felt that he should not discharge his duty, and should expose his conduct to severe self-reproach, if he did not state his conviction that parliament would not perform what it owed to the country if it stopped here. In many parts of the country proceedings were still carried on of a most dangerous nature, and which could not be brought to the knowledge of ministers but through the medium of persons who could not be brought into a court of justice. On this account yet more effectual provisions were indispensable, since bills to regulate clubs, or prevent seditious meetings, would not reach the most formidable and crying evils of which we had to complain. His lordship was most sincerely grieved to be the instrument, upon this occasion, of proposing a measure, the necessity of which was at all times to be deeply lamented, but more particularly in a period of peace. When we had no foreign enemies, it was the more to be regretted that domestic foes occasioned the suspension of some of the most important privileges of the constitution. Noble lords had much reprobated the communication of extraordinary powers to the servants of the crown; but it was one extraordinary quality of the British constitution, that the powers of the executive government could be enlarged, if by such means that constitution could be better secured.—The true question was, which was the more dangerous, to give additional strength to the hands of ministers for general protection, or to refuse it, and to hazard every right that was dear and sacred? He required the suspension of the habeas corpus act, in pity to the peaceable and loyal inhabitants of the country: he required it for the protection of the two houses of parliament, for the maintenance of our liberties, and for the security of the blessings of the constitution. He asked, that this power should be communicated without delay; for though in other measures the house might delay, here procrastination was ruin. To adopt the measure would be a wise precaution—to refuse it, a desperate infatuation; to suspend the habeas corpus act at the present moment would be to obstruct the commission of the most flagrant crimes, and check the hands of sacrilegious despoilers of the sacred fabric of the constitution. Under all the circumstances it was a great satisfaction to him to inform the house, that it would not be necessary or just to extend the operation of the bill to Ireland. Some time ago he had proposed a measure for suspending the habeas corpus act only in the sister kingdom, and it was the more gratifying now to declare, that the disaffected and disloyal in this country did not appear to have made a single convert in Ireland. All he asked of the house at present was, not to exaggerate, but not to under-rate the dangers to which we were exposed, and the difficulties with which we had to contend. It was not merely the lower orders that had united in these conspiracies; at least individuals of great activity, resolution, and energy, were engaged with them; and it became the house to meet their attempts with corresponding spirit, determination, and vigour. Such had been the advice of one of the most gifted and enlightened men that had ever lived; and who seemed, with a pro-

phetic eye, to have foreseen not only the immediate but the remoter consequences of the French revolution. The noble lord concluded by reading a long extract from the commencement of Mr. Burke's remarks; and then moved, that the bill upon the table be read a second time.

Marquis Wellesley said, that owing to several causes, there existed throughout the country a state and temper of the public mind, furnishing what lord Bacon had described as matter of sedition. For a long time back the general distress had produced (to use the words of the same author) a general discontentment. If the machinations of discontented persons threatened danger to the constitution, it became parliament to put restraints even on the general liberty of the subject. But having stated that principle upon one side, he had a few principles to state upon the other. It did not follow from this, that upon every allegation of conspiracy they should alter the existing law, or suspend, for a moment, the true bulwark of the people's rights. It should only be on a plain direct case, supported by clear, and he had almost said incontestable evidence. But when proved that treason did exist to a great extent, it should be proved, in addition, that it could not be put down by the ordinary laws. Upon his view of the question, there was another observation to be made. If it was shown to him distinctly, point by point, that the overt acts of 1795, 1801, and those of the present time, were precisely the same, unless they could show that the country was also in the same situation, he could not give his assent to the measure now proposed.—He would go a step further:— they should show him that the measures proposed were adapted to the condition, character, and circumstances of the present times, and were of a tendency to remove the prevailing discontents. There was this marked distinction to be observed, that in the former periods the great mischief apprehended proceeded from the agents of France—now there was no such apprehension. Before, the conclusion of the grand principle, which had extinguished jacobinism, was this, that the war was carried on for liberty and justice, and the rights of nations. But when they came to the peace, and what was unjustly called the settlement of Europe, those principles were violated, and jacobinism appeared once more. One of the ministers had said that war was favourable to commerce. This he stated, not as a particular proposition, but a general law derived from God and nature; and, therefore, he supposed peculiarly applicable to the commerce of Christians. From this it was inferred, that a great shock and convulsion must necessarily have followed the establishment of peace. His lordship contended, at great length, that government should have made arrangements with foreign powers for the protection of the commerce of this country, to the neglect of which he ascribed much of the present distress and discontent. He also charged them with having neglected to call parliament together, which was the natural way of resisting the evils complained of, and redressing the grievances that might appear to have led to them. He declared himself willing to concur in the measures for securing the person of the sovereign, preventing seditious meetings, and punishing attempts to seduce the soldiers and sailors; but he objected to putting into the hands of unskilful power the

the liberties of the people. The noble lord had said that Ireland was perfectly quiet, but he believed its tranquillity was something of the same sort as described by a friend of his some time ago, who said it was as quiet as gunpowder. Without meaning any disrespect to the committee, he trusted in God that parliament would not forget the advice of lord Bacon, in his Essay on seditions and troubles, that they would feel it was doing little to remedy the outward appearance without removing the matter of sedition. This was only to be done effectually by applying every effort of the state to the reduction of the public expenditure, and, above all, of the military charges.

Lord Liverpool said it was unnecessary, after what had fallen from the noble marquis (Wellesley) to revert to the situation of the country, and the conduct of those to whom its administration had been intrusted.—The noble lord had himself now admitted his participation in measures similar to those which the administration of this period felt it their duty to propose. There had been other committees, of which their lordships could not fail to recollect the committee of secrecy on the affairs of trade, and with which political matter was mixed. At the time that a noble friend of his (lord Sidmouth) was at the head of the treasury, a conspiracy against the life of the sovereign was formed; and though nothing more flagitious and criminal had ever been planned, yet no bills like those now submitted were then brought in, because it was regarded as an insulated transaction; and when once the traitors had been seized, tried, convicted, and executed, the conspiracy fell to the ground. He stated these things, in order to show that those persons who from their situations were best acquainted with the aspect of affairs then, and who reasoned by comparison now, were, perhaps, more justified in proposing the present measure than some noble lords imagined. But the noble lord must have a precedent like that of 1794. This however was not the question; for, if their lordships would refer to their journals, they would find more instances of the suspension of the habeas corpus act, which had taken place in peaceable times. There were, notwithstanding, seldom or ever two cases alike in all points; and he considered it sufficient to show the grounds of suspension in the present instance. He had little expected to find such objections to the late peace, circumstances which had left more liberty to Europe than at any former time. He would maintain that trade and manufactures in peace were greater than at any former time; and the real fact of distress was the agricultural one, when, from the depreciation of agriculture, the interests of trade declined. Let noble lords look to our restrictive policy in cases of this kind. But it was said, why was not parliament called at an earlier period? He should here consider it improper not to avow that government had long entertained great anxiety; but though there were clubs in embryo, though meetings were announced, and though thousands of seditious pamphlets were in circulation, yet it was not till within three weeks of the meeting of parliament that government were possessed of decisive evidence on those points; and it was even still later that government were prepared to substantiate the charges contained in the reports. Even since the committees had met, a most im-

portant kind of evidence had transpired. Besides this, he knew that several of the members of parliament felt it not proper to be called from their homes; especially when they considered the kind of interchange of charities from the rich to the poor, at the last season of the year. With respect to the habeas corpus act, he regarded it with as much veneration as the noble baron. He did not regard it as an act of Charles the Second, but venerated it as an anterior and integral part of the constitution. The question was, Whether there were sufficient grounds to intrust his majesty's ministers with the power they required for the conservation of the state? Domestic treason was worse than foreign treason. There might, indeed, be circumstances in foreign treason to take away its vital, its deadly stab. They had, according to their report, proofs of a system to overthrow the constitution of the country; and when they saw such a system, with most malignant spirits to set it in full motion, was it too much to ask them to intrust the legislature with powers at least adequate to its suppression? He thought the seditious and blasphemous intercourse of the conspirators more dangerous than in 1794: the conspirators of these days borrowed some lessons from the conspirators of those; they acted by word of mouth, by signs, by concealed and indefinable but understood ways. He felt the full importance of the question; he was prepared to meet it; and he would suffer no odium to frighten him from the stern path of duty. He felt what was more, the necessity of preserving the constitution; of, in fact, the preserving to every man his fire-side; and on these grounds he asked, for a very short time, the powers which were indispensable to the salvation of the state.

Earl Grey maintained, that this was the most unnecessary and uncalled for attack upon the liberties of the people to be found in the history of the country. In answer to the splendid situation in which it was said the peace had placed not only this country, but all Europe, he asked, was it to be found in Venice blotted out of the list of nations, or in Genoa, Lombardy, or Saxony? After dwelling on these points, to show how little care we took of the liberties of other nations, the noble lord contended, that, in the negotiation, we had been negligent of our own interests in respect to commerce. Nothing could justify the present measure but a pressing, undeniable necessity, not to be repelled in any other way, and until that were found he must oppose it. His lordship then proceeded to enumerate the instances on which the habeas corpus act was suspended since 1694, and showed that they were cases of actual rebellion, or of proved and formidable plots; and when the right to the throne was claimed by a pretender, backed by a foreign force, all of them different in danger, magnitude, and other circumstances from the present occasion; and yet, such was the jealousy of our ancestors, that in one of those cases the suspension was only granted from month to month.—Besides, the influence of the government is much greater now than it was at any of the periods alluded to: our laws had also since imposed stronger restraints upon the liberty of the press, and for putting down of conspiracy and sedition. He was not inclined to deny, that there are evil designs existing in the country to a certain extent; but if the means be utterly disproportionate to the object,

object, if they afford no probability of success, there is not a case made out for granting this extraordinary power. In the first place, the government knew their men, their description; and the report distinctly states, that they are the persons who took an active part at the Spafields meeting; persons known to them, and actually in their custody—men not like persons in former plots and conspiracies, referred to as precedents of rank, fortune, and influence, but wretches reduced to the lowest poverty and distress, which would have probably driven them to the highway, had not the discontent, from the distresses of the times, suggested the course which they had taken. These were the leaders, and the means they used were not preconcerted or previously arranged. There was to be a mob assembled, and they took their chance that they would have fallen into their views; and of this mob there might be about two hundred persons, and not more, who took an active part. The experiment, therefore, has been tried and has failed; and it is after this failure that the house is called upon for this extraordinary remedy. But the measure was not only unnecessary, but it was totally inapplicable to the case. The case was that of evil-minded men availing themselves of the public distress to carry their views into effect, by secret meetings, secret oaths, and seditious publications.—Now, the suspension of the habeas corpus act could not act upon these points. There are laws for the suppression and punishment of those offences; and to make a foundation for this measure it was necessary to show, that these laws had been exercised, and found insufficient. His lordship concluded an able speech with declaring, that the present was not that sort of emergency that called for the extraordinary power required by ministers.

The duke of Sussex said, there were some points in the bill which came more immediately under his view. He was witness to the greatest part of the examinations at the mansion-house, where he heard that the subscription to pay the Spafields' bills amounted to 10*l.* The waggon remained with a debt of ten shillings to this hour. The waggon had a stocking with about fifty balls. He could not allow mole-hills to be magnified into mountains. He looked to the question as one of life and death, and he could not consent to vote for the bill.

Lord Grenville was persuaded that nothing could justify such a vote in time of peace, but the evidence of more fearful evil, against which it was necessary to guard. He did not see it necessary to go into an inquiry as to former periods, in comparison with this. He certainly thought the present danger not less formidable on account of the character of the actors, and he could not look, without the utmost apprehension and alarm, at the doctrines that were spreading around. Though their ultimate success was unattainable, yet what might not result from even the fruitless prosecution of their plans? If we neglected to take measures against them, what might not be the consequences in the mean time? He was old enough to remember this metropolis five days in the hands of a lawless mob—a mob as insignificant, at first, as those who proceeded from Spafields to riot, and who would have accomplished their object if they could. Look to France. Let them reflect on the lives of men exhausted in blood in that country, and trace those calamities

mities to their origin. All was then produced by clubs, by filling the air with libels, so that a man could inhale nothing but sedition and blasphemy, directed to the perversion of ordinary minds. There had been an attempt in France to undermine all religion, and he had no doubt but that the same dreadful consequences were designed for the present times by those who had intended a complete revolution in the country. There had been a question agitated in the country for some time, in fact the question of reform in parliament; on that subject he should not at present give an opinion; but parliamentary reform was made to cover projects of a wild and visionary nature, and at the same time destructive of the constitution of the country. These societies ought not in many cases to exist. There was an opposition to the present state of things which ought not to be tolerated. If after the rebellion in 1745 meetings had been held to discuss the question, whether king George or king James had the best right to the throne, how would it have been regarded?

The duke of Gloucester voted for the bill, under a conviction that it was absolutely necessary.

Lord Holland considered that the government, by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, was made a government of will and not of law. It ought to be seen how great was the danger, and whether it was such as to require such a measure. He could not agree with the statements which had been made as to the effect of the circulation of irreligious publications, especially as the lower orders were principally strongly attached to particular sects. Their lordships had not proved that the law, as it was, would not remove the evil, nor had they shown that the new law would have any beneficial effect, nor that they had tried the old laws to their full extent. On every ground which he had stated, his lordship felt himself bound to oppose the bill.

Their lordships then divided, when there were—

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Their lordships then went into a committee, and reported.

The bill was then read the third time, and passed, and ordered to be sent to the house of commons.

In the house of commons, on the same day—The order of the day, for taking into consideration the report of the secret committee, having been read,

Lord Castlereagh, in adverting to the importance of the question he was about to bring before the notice of the house, stated that he had never felt himself in a more painful situation. It was his duty, and it had been the duty of other men in public situations during these latter times, to submit to the mortification of calling on parliament for extraordinary powers at periods of extraordinary danger; but severe as that duty was at all times, it must be peculiarly painful and grievous for him to find that it was now imposed on him, not at a period of war and confusion, but after the return of peace, and when it might have been hoped that tranquillity had been restored within as well as without the kingdom. He should have hoped, that after the dreadful record that the whole world had been furnished with, of the sufferings inflicted by a neighbouring nation on themselves and others, by an unprincipled overthrow

throw of all that was established and sacred; after the memorable lesson taught us by the fall of all those who had commenced the scene of plunder and devastation; after the dangers and sufferings in which all had been involved by the dreadful convulsion, we should, on the return of peace, on the close of a war that had so proudly rescued us from impending destruction, have sat down to contemplate in tranquil thankfulness the dangers we had escaped. He should have thought it difficult to find any individual in this country so devoid of all principle, or so prone to be acted on by profligate and abandoned adventurers, as to render it necessary to call on parliament for its interference. But much as he might have flattered himself that few of such a description could now exist, or that they were unlikely to occasion any great portion of evil, yet no one, he thought, could look at that desperate and audacious spirit which had grown out of the French revolution, without feeling, that so long as a spark of that spirit remained, so long as a hope could exist of gaining any thing by the confusion and destruction of all order and government, desperate men might arise, who would endeavour, at all hazards, even to the disregard of life, to make themselves masters not only of the reins of state, but also of all the property of this great country. It might be matter of surprise, that characters should exist bold and dangerous enough to risk their own existence in such a cause; but the character of the times in which we lived was such, that so long as there was a hope of gaining any thing by disturbance, so long would such men attempt to destroy the public peace. But while he was not surprised that such men should exist, it was a consolation, that if we had not passed the whole of the revolutionary dangers to which we had been exposed, we had surmounted a great part of the difficulties, and had escaped the acme of the trial; because we might congratulate ourselves, that the contagion was confined to the inferior orders of society, who, from want of information, were more likely to be operated upon by the attempts of designing men; though no one, who was not disposed to shut his eyes, would contend that no danger at all existed, however the noble lord opposite (lord Cochrane) might be disposed to depreciate the amount of it. The dangers had descended in the course of years from the higher to the lower classes, and became principally operative among the last, as they saw in the instances of the Luddites, and of the Spenceans, who promulgated the most absurd doctrines, calculated to impose upon and mislead the lower classes. These doctrines were calculated to destroy all the component principles of society, and were full of every transgression against the laws. Indeed, this absurdity might be supposed calculated to counteract their objects. Yet, with such evidence of treason before them, the house would not do their duty if they were to sleep under the danger. If he admitted the absurdity of the doctrine, as contrasted with the circumstances attending the earlier periods of the French revolution, it was not to be supposed that in the present case there were not considerable talent and ability employed in drawing off the unwary. Look at the documents of the Spencean society, and they would show great talent and ingenuity occupied in endangering society. Look at the various libels circulated

circulated against all sacred and established institutions, and it would be seen they were not the offspring of men of a very vulgar turn of mind, but of men of considerable talent and perverted education. His learned friend (the attorney-general) knew how difficult it was to treat many of these libels. But this was not all. There were many men, distinguished in station and abilities, who, if they were not connected with those meetings, conducted themselves in such a manner as to countenance their principles and their proceedings. They were recognised by the conspirators as their allies—as embarked in a common cause—and though they did not render themselves liable to the operation of the laws, yet in the deliberation of the conspirators they were referred to, and named familiarly amongst themselves as those who should compose their committees of public safety. He did not feel it his duty to name any one; but the conspirators considered that such persons so effectually aided and abetted their purposes, as to be persuaded that, as soon as an insurrection should have overturned the state, those individuals would be ready to declare themselves, and to put themselves at their head. Though they could not be charged at the bar of their country, yet in the eyes of God and man they stood responsible for the calamities which might fall upon the land, and for the lives which deluded individuals might pay for the treason which they had thus encouraged. Having made these preliminary observations, he should proceed further in what he thought a fair view of our danger, and what ought to be done to meet it. The report was from a committee, not formed of one party exclusively, but of gentlemen of various opinions in general; and he did not go too far when he observed, that this committee was unanimous that a conspiracy exists, having for its object the subversion of the institutions, laws, and constitution of the country. If the information proceeded to this extent, he contended that its object was not to be looked to as a future and eventual circumstance, on vague and uncertain grounds, but as a desperate conspiracy which threatened an explosion, and which had, in point of fact, exploded already. It was true, it had not been joined by all the evil-disposed who were expected to join it; yet it did appear, from the extent to which it went, and from the means provided, that they did sincerely look for some likelihood of success. In this respect there was an additional sign of danger compared with that of former cases: then the house judged from circumstances. He remembered no instance, except indeed in Ireland, of the seditious having gone the length of war, and attempted to seize the metropolis by force of arms, and overturn the state. Here was a proof of the dangerous circumstances in which we were placed. There was a character of wildness and desperation, in this treason of the lower classes; but the guilt and danger were more conclusive, for it left nothing to calculation. The fact of a conspiracy was established, and proceedings had gone so far as to attempt to levy war, and endeavour the subversion of the government by force of arms. But it would not be wise, in providing the proper means of guarding against dangerous machinations, to be regulated merely by the consideration of the violent and daring attempt to seize the metropolis and the government. He did not

not hesitate to say, that if the matter stood only on the transactions of that day, and if he saw no intention to organize the country in order to support that or similar efforts, he might have regarded the affair as contemptible, considering that the attempt was put down: but he should disguise truth if he narrowed his view merely to the metropolis, or separated that from the organized system carrying forward in various other places under the mask of reform. He did not deny, that some individual societies meant sincerely what they considered parliamentary reform; yet many of them had very different views, and considered what was called parliamentary reform as a sort of half-measure, or rather as an embarrassment. In this class there was a general purpose of co-operation by means of physical force, by which they expected to be able to control the legitimate authorities, and to force the legislature to those changes which they might demand. The house was not bound to trace these Hampden and Spencean clubs through all their bearings and ramifications, and have every particular of their various and different regulations. Nothing could be legally done against them except what was proved; but who doubted that almost all of them proceeded upon the principle of self-extension? The greater part of them put forth the mask of reform; for instance, the Hampden clubs, which were vehicles for sending forth the worst principles tending to revolution. Some might be sincere reformers; but the great mass received the Spencean doctrines among them. It appeared conclusive, then, that here was a most wicked conspiracy or subverting the constitution, and that the conspirators had proceeded to arms. The large meetings were meant merely as instruments for covering the evil design, and those most active in the clubs were among the most active to assemble such meetings as that in Spafields. It was not for him to examine into the views of the individual who had presented the petition (Hunt); but admitting all he said in his petition, yet it did not show that the meeting was not deliberately called to feel the pulse of the people; and that, because on November fifteenth they were not sufficiently ripe for action, the second of December was looked to, as the public mind might by that time become more exasperated, and so afford a fairer prospect of success. We must, therefore, look to our situation in a treason of this description, availing itself of all possible means and instruments: but the meetings were only part of their schemes; which he did not believe they yet abandoned, hoping, as they did, for a convenient moment for a desperate effort, after they had gradually more and more corrupted the minds of the unthinking, more particularly of the manufacturing class, who, of all classes, ought least to promote revolution.—Though agriculturists might retain a degraded and impoverished existence, a revolution always ruined manufacturers. They ought to look with horror at such a change: yet, unfortunately, they were exposed to the arts and stratagems of deluders, who exasperated and poisoned their minds. Such being the nature of our danger, he felt himself bound now to state the system of measures which ministers thought it incumbent on them to recommend to the house, with the view of strengthening the executive government. He then referred to a bill brought into the

the other house, and which would probably come before the house of commons—he meant the bill by which a temporary suspension of the habeas corpus act would be occasioned. The proposition of no public measure could give him such great personal pain. He wished to take the fullest responsibility. Though in the practice of the constitution the measure had been repeatedly resorted to, yet no measure ought to be adopted with greater repugnance. No law was so useful and so characteristic of the constitution as the habeas corpus act: yet they would betray their duty, even to the liberties of the country, if they neglected a measure above all others calculated effectually to provide for the safety of the state, and its security against the blows levelled at it. Perhaps the necessity for suspension might grow in a considerable degree out of the tenderness with which the crime of treason was treated. The crime lay under a greater jealousy of proof than any other in the evidence requisite to convict. It was required to be established by so many legal circumstances, as well as by the evidence of two witnesses, that the situation of the country might be such, that though the state were in possession of evidence which in any other case would send an individual to his trial, yet unless armed with the power now called for, it could not arrest a conspirator at the very eve of his deluging his country with blood, without running the risk, that for want of evidence on that particular crime, he should apply for a habeas corpus, and be at once restored to liberty. By the temporary suspension now proposed, the individual might be delivered over to the regular laws of the country. No gentleman on the other side of the house could feel more sensibly than he did for the most limited suspension of the charter of our liberties. Nothing but a case of the most imperious necessity, like the present, could justify such a measure. His majesty's government intended to propose it with every possible guard, to show the reluctance with which they adopted it, and their disposition to remit it at the earliest opportunity. He should not wish in the preamble to the bill to fix a longer period for its duration than the present session of parliament; so that it might naturally expire with it, unless fresh circumstances should arise to render its continuation necessary. He should also wish to render it a local measure. Nothing had appeared before the committee to require the extension of the proposed suspension to other parts of the united kingdom. The internal situation of Ireland was so tranquillized, as to show a noble example to the people of England, and to announce in that country a quick approach to that state of peace and loyalty which would do honour to the whole kingdom. He should now proceed to other measures, which, in consideration of existing circumstances, he should think it indispensable for parliament to adopt. A law had been passed, he believed in 1795, in consequence of an atrocious act then attempted on the person of the sovereign, as he was going to perform one of the most important functions of the legislature. A similar attempt had been made on the person of the illustrious individual now holding the highest authority in the state. A similar law would therefore be proposed to extend to his royal highness the prince regent the protection which the former act provided

vided for the better security of his majesty's person. On this branch of the subject he was sure there would not be two opinions in the house, but that it would be determined to be wise to extend to the prince regent the same legal protection in the discharge of the duties of his high office, which it had been thought proper to provide for the person of the sovereign in a similar situation. He should therefore propose to extend to the person of the prince regent those parts of the act of the 35th of the present reign which related to the protection of the person of the king. Another part of the plan which he would propose related to the attempts which had been made to draw over the soldiers to a participation in the crimes which had been committed. It had evidently been part of the hopes of the disaffected to succeed by seducing the military force; and it was proved that systematic attempts had been made to effect that purpose. The house, he was sure, would feel the necessity of protecting the soldier against such artifices as might tend to make him break his allegiance, and join in the crimes of his seducers; and it would be allowed that the most effectual way to succeed in affording this protection would be, to enact that those who should attempt to seduce soldiers from their allegiance, should for the future be considered guilty of the greatest crime, and punishable accordingly.—On this part of the subject he was sure there would be only one opinion in the house. He now came to a branch of the question which, when formerly agitated, had caused much discussion, and on which great difference of opinion had prevailed. What he alluded to was the debates in 1795 and 1799. But he was sure that all the considerations which weighed on the minds of the legislature at those periods, and induced them to pass the vote which declared the illegality of all secret associations for political purposes, and of all affiliations which admitted to a fraternity with such associations other classes of persons, whose sole object was the application of what they called "physical force," for the purpose of bloodshed and rebellion, would be acknowledged to occur more forcibly on the present occasion. The house had not hesitated, in 1799, to declare such associations illegal, by a law not of a temporary nature, but permanent and unrestricted as to the time during which it was to continue in force. It was far from the wish or the intention of the legislature by that act to oppose any obstacle to the exercise of constitutional rights.—What it was wished to oppose, was to put down that system, springing out of the French revolution, which sought, by means of societies and affiliated societies, to excite the people to rebellion against every government. That law considered the very principle of affiliation and fraternization so abhorrent to the spirit of our constitution, that the law against them was made permanent; but it had become inefficient by the accidental circumstance of the act of the 36th of the king then in force being only a temporary act, and it so happened that some of the operative clauses in the act of the 39th referred to the provisions of the act of the 56th, the existence of which was therefore necessary for the operation of the act of the 39th, in its executory clauses. When the act of the 36th expired, the intention of the legislature was from this circumstance defeated, and the act of the 39th of the king became inoperative. With respect

respect to this part of the subject, therefore, parliament would find it now not only necessary to revive the act of the 39th of the king, but also that of the 36th, commonly known by the name of the sedition act. At the time when the sedition act was passed, several meetings of a very alarming nature had been held, and threatened the most serious consequences. But none of the meetings at that time had proceeded to acts of open violence. The legislature then did what was very wise, in anticipating the designs of the agitators, and preventing all the mischiefs and calamities with which the country was threatened. But, in the present case, there was no need to exercise so much foresight; it was not necessary now to calculate on the probability of the acts of open violence, which, in 1795, when this act had been passed, were only guessed at and expected. Those acts of violence which, in 1795, had only been contemplated, had in the present case been put into execution. There was no extremity to which they had not now either actually proceeded, or at least carried so far as to make any doubt or hesitation as to their designs impossible. All the artifices—all the preparations—all the precautions which could make such crimes most dangerous, had in the present case been resorted to. A mob was assembled—their basest passions were appealed to—their cupidity inflamed—their most lawless appetites promised to be gratified—the means too were pointed out; and these agitators watched in the countenances of the deluded rabble the effect of their harangues, till they found them wrought up to the perpetration of the most horrid excesses and crimes. All this had actually been done. There were not only at these meetings the orators, but also those who absolutely went there to watch the effects produced upon the people. After all this, he would say that it would be most besotted, if parliament were to wait before it put these laws into force, till it should see there was really occasion for them by a repetition of the crimes. —When under less menacing circumstances the legislature had thought it necessary to enact the laws to which he alluded, there could be very little doubt whether, in the present times, it was not the duty of parliament to make these laws efficient, and to give that power to the government which it had formerly given. There had grown out of that law a good effect, which he hoped would likewise spring from it on the present occasion. It had been the means of preventing the exercise of the right of petition (which this act was, by no means, intended to infringe upon, but which, on the contrary, parliament was bound by every means to facilitate)—it had prevented that right from being made the indirect means of corrupting the public mind—not merely corrupting, but leading them on to the perpetration of every atrocity, high treason, felony, and rebellion.—He had no doubt, that when parliament spoke to the public on this subject, in the authoritative language of the law—when it was pronounced by parliament that by such means a few designing men were attempting to lead the many to the commission of such dreadful crimes;—when this was done, he had no doubt that all those criminal acts would expire under the moral influence of the law; that the public mind would be enlightened; the instigators would fall into merited disgrace, and

and such a change would be produced where the mischief was now begun, that it would not even be found necessary to put in force or to inflict the penalties which the act imposes. This branch of the remedy must also extend to the mode in which these pernicious doctrines had been disseminated. The most extraordinary assiduity and industry had been used in the circulation of blasphemy, every species of infidelity, and sedition. From the means used for this purpose, he deemed it necessary to have all seditious clubs and debating societies placed on the same footing as to criminality as they had been by the act of 1795. The same system which then prevailed was now renewed. There was scarcely a room in any public-house which was not occupied by some meeting of this kind. It was certainly with much regret that he found that some persons of such a rank in society as left them no excuse on the grounds of ignorance, should have gone to Hampden clubs and made speeches containing doctrines, which, to say the least, were of the most mischievous description. If ever there was a society that deserved to be marked with reprobation, and to have its name held up to the same execration as had been branded already by the legislature on such clubs as the United Irishmen, the Corresponding societies, and others of the same kind—the Spencean society was one deserving every mark of reprobation. A noble lord opposite (lord Cochrane) had chosen to say that this society did not consist of more than a hundred members. He could only say, that there was evidence before the secret committee, which proved, that at one point of reunion of this society in the metropolis, the number was far greater than that at which the noble lord thought proper to estimate; and this had appeared from no other evidence than that of the very officers of the society, who had, with a strange alacrity, made all their statements and disclosures with the utmost readiness. These men seemed to think, that when they called themselves philanthropists, the very name must disarm suspicion. It was one characteristic feature of these reforming societies, that they all professed the most unbounded benevolence, they were all philanthropists; all their plans and projects, no matter whether directed against our persons or our properties, were, if we believed them, conceived in loving-kindness to the human race.—They made no scruple of avowing that the object of their society was the destruction of private property; and thus, by a singular perversity, this society or association was formed on principles, the direct tendency of which was the destruction, from the very foundation, of the fabric of civil society. As to the other societies, known by the name of Union societies, it had been alleged by some individuals, that the London Union society had ceased to exist. On this subject he wished explicitly to state, that the committee had been put in possession of documents which proved the existence of Union clubs at Sheffield, Mansfield, and other places, which represented themselves as branches of the Union club in London. And this had been distinctly proved, that as late as December 1816, by the payment of 20*s.* to the Union club at Sheffield, or any of the other places, the person who paid this sum was made an honorary member of the Union society of London.—But really it was impossible for the

house to attend to all the shuffling special pleading shifts to which these societies resorted as to their names; for they seem to have a wonderful facility at changing names. No matter as to the name, whether they called themselves Union clubs or Hampden clubs, they seemed all actuated by the same spirit, they all passed the same resolutions, and the house must not attend to their paltry nominal distinctions—they must not be cheated by such means. The legislature would actually be drivelling if it attended to any such distinctions. The most pernicious doctrines might be hid under harmless names. But these societies were all founded on the same principles, or had all adopted them, and were therefore all equally deserving the reprobation of parliament. The Spencean doctrines were recognised and inculcated by all of them, no matter by what name they called themselves.—And why the Spencean doctrines? Why was it on this that they all more especially agreed? It was for this—because they were founded on the principle of plunder and participation of property. It was by plunder that they hoped to work on the mind of the poor deluded tradesman. They were all on the same agrarian principle—the equal division of property.—These wretched mechanics occupied themselves in discussing agrarian laws, and schemes for making all England a sort of parish property. In their goodness, however, they proposed not to destroy the present land-owners, but to allow them pensions out of the parochial funds. All this was described in florid language. He had the Spencean creed in his pocket: it was drawn up with much ability and considerable eloquence. It was worth buying for a curiosity. They held out to their converts the same delusion that Bonaparte used to encourage his armies with—namely, that at the end of the war they should all obtain certain lands; and he believed these philanthropists and promoters of a golden age would, after fighting and triumphing in the sacred cause of mankind, find themselves just about as near obtaining their promised rewards of acres, as Bonaparte's soldiers were to getting their landed remunerations. This system was clearly nothing but a cloak under which to fight against what were called the privileged orders, the land-owners, and those monsters, as they were termed, the fund-holders. Such, however, were the rewards held out for traitorous exertions. On the whole, the measures which he should propose, as the most wise which parliament could adopt, were—

1st. The temporary suspension of the habeas corpus act.

2d. To extend the act of 1795 for the security of his majesty's person, to his royal highness the prince regent, as the person exercising the functions of royalty.

3d. To embody into one act the provisions of the act of 1795, relative to tumultuous meetings and debating societies, and the provisions of the act of the 39th of the king, which declared the illegality of all societies bound together by secret oaths, or if not by secret oaths, which extended itself by fraternised branches over the kingdom; and to make it enact, that the nominating delegates or commissioners under any pretext, to any other society of the kind, should be considered as sufficient proof of the illegality of such societies or associations.

4th. To make such enactments as

as should be thought most effectual to punish with the utmost rigour any attempt to gain over soldiers or sailors to act with any association or set of men, and withdraw them from their allegiance.

He was anxious that the house should observe the distinction which he wished to make as to the duration of these measures. Some of them it would be thought wise to enact as permanent laws, but others might be merely for a time. Particularly, the law against seditious meetings and debating societies was one which ought not to be continued longer than should be thought absolutely necessary to obviate the present temporary danger. When that law had been first introduced, the time during which it was to continue in force had been limited to three years from the end of the session when the act was passed. On the present occasion, he anxiously indulged the hope, that by the complete exposure of the nature of the doctrines which had been so industriously inculcated, the associations in question would fall to pieces by their own absurdity, and that it would not now be necessary to extend the duration of this measure so long as at the time when it was first proposed, and when the country had a double contest to maintain, against a foreign as well as the domestic enemy; he would therefore wish this act to endure till after the commencement of the next session of parliament, when it might be renewed if circumstances should seem to render it necessary, or if not, it might be suffered to expire. In calling the attention of the house to this important subject, he had endeavoured not to overrate the danger with which these associations threatened the country; he held them in the contempt and disgust which they deserved. But then, the evil having come to such a height as to require the interference of parliament; when the legislature was called upon to put it down, and to free the people at large from the bondage to which a few mischievous individuals endeavoured to subject them, prompt and efficacious measures were necessary. If it were properly dealt with, all this treason would soon decay; if parliament took from the conspirators their hopes of success —if they were made to feel that the legislature watched their proceedings, and had both the power and the resolution to arrest the progress of their diabolical designs, then the evil would be overcome. But in order to overcome, all these must be exerted.—He hoped that the spirit of the laws, and of those to whom the execution in this particular case was to be intrusted, would be sufficient assurance to the house against any sinister use being made of the extraordinary powers with which the proposed measure might arm any of the branches of government. He particularly alluded to a noble individual in another house (lord Sidmouth), of whose wisdom and moderation the parliament and the country had had such ample experience. In submitting these measures to the house, he (lord Castlereagh) was fully aware of the odious nature of some of them, and he felt the utmost repugnance at being obliged to bring forward such propositions. But as the very excellence and distinctive mark of the British constitution was the power of extending or modifying the laws so as to meet existing dangers, he felt that the ministers of the crown would betray their best duties if they allowed any feelings of repugnance on their part to prevent them

from coming forward with those measures—from using those precautions, no matter how odious to any particular class of men, which the dangers of the times required, which were demanded for the safety of the state. It was in the discharge of this paramount duty, yet still with painful reluctance, that he had called the attention of the house to the report of the committee. Upon that report he rested the necessity of the measures which he thought it expedient to propose for the adoption of the house; and the first measure on which he called for its opinion was, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectual prevention of seditious meetings and assemblies."

Mr. Ponsonby.—Under the circumstances in which he now felt himself called upon to offer himself to the notice of the house, he felt extremely apprehensive that, in stating his sentiments, something might inadvertently escape from him, which as a member of the committee he ought not to divulge. All that he had therefore to request was, that if any thing of this kind should fall from him, the noble lord (Castlereagh) or some other member of the committee would immediately interfere and stop him. The noble lord had said what was quite true when he stated to the house that the committee were quite unanimous. And he would say as the noble lord had said, that there was nothing affirmed in the report which he (Mr. Ponsonby) did not firmly believe to be founded in fact. All that the noble lord had stated to the house, as far as he (Mr. Ponsonby) knew, was quite correct. The noble lord mentioned the several remedies which he thought most fit to be applied to the present distempered state of the country: and these he sought in the revival of the whole or some part of the provisions of three or four acts of parliament. It was proposed to extend to the person of the prince regent the same protection which in certain cases the legislature had deemed necessary to the person of the king; and in this extension for his own part he entirely concurred. He thought it better that this protection should be afforded by a separate act of parliament, than by incorporating the person of his majesty with the person of the prince regent, because, in the spirit of our laws, there were certain attributes in the crown which were not in the person of the regent. To that measure proposed by the noble lord, which related to the crime of seducing troops from their allegiance, he also agreed. When parliament gave the crown a military force, it assumed the power of giving or refusing it—but when it was given to the king it became the king's army, and the law must not leave matters so loose with respect to it, as to allow the possibility of any question arising whether it shall be the army of the king or the army of the mob.—The noble lord then proposed to unite two acts—the act of the 36th of the king, which had expired, and that of the 39th, which still existed—and by incorporating these two acts to compose a fit remedy for the present evils. On this point the noble lord had stated his intentions in such a way, and had been so little explicit, that it was not possible for him at present to deliver any positive opinion. But thus much he would say, that he would not make any objection to the introduction of the measure. In short, such was the impression made upon his mind that he wished to go every length which

duty

duty and propriety would allow, in strengthening the hands of government on this occasion. As to the various societies which had been mentioned by the noble lord, foolish and criminal as they were, he agreed that nothing could be more absurd or contemptible than they were. Yet he could not well imagine, that if these societies were allowed to run on and extend themselves, they might in the end become far from contemptible. He agreed that social meetings, originally intended for good purposes, might easily be perverted to something very bad and mischievous. But while he thought this, he wished to guard himself from being construed to pledge his support to all the details of the measures of the noble lord, although he gave his cordial assent to their introduction. But he was sorry to say that there was another bill to which he could not assent, for the suspension of the habeas corpus act would meet with an opposition from him as perfect and as firm as his support to the others. This measure, however, he should not debate by anticipation, as it was not likely to come before the house on this night. With respect to the communication which had been made to parliament, it had his perfect approbation. If he had been in the cabinet, he would have advised a communication of the very same kind. So far as that communication went, he thought it right. But he wished that the noble lord (Castlereagh) had exercised as chaste a forbearance in stating what had been done by individuals at those societies. The committee, as far as he saw, had not involved the name of any particular individual, and the noble lord must pardon him when he said, that he had gone beyond his duty, in stating to the house what seemed as if the committee had found that the names of some individuals of high rank were involved in the proceedings of these committees. If the committee had traced these proceedings to any person—however high his rank—they would have had manliness and firmness enough to have stated the name of any individual so implicated. He might, perhaps, have mistaken the meaning of what fell from the noble lord. He did not know against whom the noble lord meant to excite suspicion, but certainly his words tended to excite suspicion against some one. On the whole, these were the only parts of the noble lord's speech to which he could not agree. As far as he understood the measures proposed by the noble lord, they met with his approbation, excepting only that which went to the suspension of the habeas corpus act. As to the last, from the very first proceedings of the committee, he was convinced that there was nothing to call for such a remedy. It was a power with which he would not intrust any ministry, although composed of his dearest friends, unless he saw that without it there was not means sufficient to protect the government and the constitution.

Lord Castlereagh explained.—As to the imputations which the right honourable gentleman thought he (lord Castlereagh) had cast upon any individual, he did not conceive that he had argued one iota more than the committee had reported. It was stated in the report that a committee of public safety had been appointed, and that it contained the names of persons who probably never thought of participating in the designs of the agitators, but who, from the consideration due to them, afforded a further

means of deluding the people. On this he thought there was fair ground to throw out a caution to those individuals, and that was all that he had done.

Fir F. Burdett said, that the impression made upon his mind by reading the report, was very different from that on the mind of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby). He complained that the long and multifarious speech of the noble lord (Castlereagh) had very much consisted of imputations against individuals not named in the report. He could not agree with those who thought that ministers had not made use of the report for the purpose of creating alarm; and therefore he conceived he should be neglecting his duty if he did not raise his voice *in limine* against those proposed measures, which originated in the absurd and selfish alarms of those who represented the nation as a nation of thieves and criminals ready to perpetrate atrocities of every kind.

The honourable baronet then inveighed against the absurdity of those who believed that the Spencean doctrines could be disseminated. He contended, if there really was cause for alarm, that the only constitutional measure which government could adopt was to arm the proprietors of the country in their own defence, and quoted the authority of sir William Jones, in a pamphlet written by him on the legal mode of suppressing riots; that as to the seduction of the soldiery, it was quite against the principles of the constitution to have any standing army. The noble lord talked of conspiracies. Were there no laws now in force to punish conspiracies? Were there no laws against illegal oaths—against treason? Had not the attorney-general power (and, as he thought, illegal power) to prosecute blasphemous and seditious writings or doctrines? and were not all these offences triable before officers, and indeed he might say by juries, appointed by the crown? If there were conspiracies, the noble lord must have known of them long ago; yet there was no mention of them in the speech from the throne. By concealing these conspiracies so long the noble lord had made himself a conspirator. As to the clubs which had been so much talked of, he did not scruple, in the face of all that had been said, to acknowledge that he was a member of several of them. He was one of these traitors and conspirators.—But as he had taken no oath of allegiance to the corruption of this house—as he had not bound himself to borough-mongers—as he owed allegiance to none but to the king, he had yet to learn the nature of his offence.. The truth was, that all this conspiracy originated in the dread of reform. Much was said of the Spenceans—but it seemed that the noble lord was at the head of another society of a far more formidable nature, namely—the Expenceans.—For his own part, he was no secret conspirator. He belonged to the Hampden club and to the Union club, and he had no hesitation in avowing it. But the noble lord was an old offender. The conduct of the noble lord in Ireland was not forgotten, and the same bloody track which he had followed there he wished to come on here. Was it not matter of history, that at the time to which he alluded, Ireland had been filled with scenes of atrocity which it curdled the blood to think on—which could not be named by any man of common feeling without shuddering, though the noble lord could allude

allude to them as calmly as if he were taking a dish of tea? He therefore warned the house not to allow the noble lord to lead them on in the same path. In this kingdom the noble lord dealt in retailing seats; in Ireland he had acted the part of a wholesale merchant, and had bought up the parliament wholesale; and then, when it had lost the affections of the people of Ireland, he persuaded it to commit suicide, and put an end to their existence by their own hands. The report said, that "few, if any, of the higher orders" were implicated in these proceedings. Who are those few? Why are they not named? This sentence alone was sufficient to damnify the whole report. The committee, it was true, included some members from his side of the house; but then only such of them as were notorious alarmists. One of them was a noble lord, who said that he could not mention the subject of reform without his nerves trembling. As to the proposal of gagging bills, it would be better to propose at once that to speak of reform in parliament was treason.

Mr. William Elliott began by saying, that he hoped the importance of the subject would be a sufficient apology for his saying a few words as to the motives which guided him in resolving upon a measure in which he should be sorry to see the house embarked without due deliberation. It was not his intention to answer the speech of the honourable baronet who spoke last. Declamations against the proposed measures, for the purpose of showing that they were not consistent with the constitution, would not advance them one step in the question. These measures were not proposed as speculative improvements on the constitution, but as essentially necessary to its safety. We might be in that situation which was not uncommon in human affairs—obliged to choose between two evils—obliged to adopt what was not good in itself, but which was necessary to prevent worse. The point at issue was, whether a portion of the community were to be permitted to pervert some of the rights of the people to means of positive evil, to the disturbance of the public peace, to the highest crimes against the state; or whether we should not rather consent to the temporary suspension of the rights thus perverted? The question was one of danger. Although on the whole he concurred with his right honourable friend (Mr. Ponsonby), yet he believed there was one point on which they differed, and on that point the question was as to the extent and magnitude of the danger. If an extensive plot had been discovered —with many men in arms—with leaders and all the preparations that could make such a plot most formidable—that would not be a question for legislation, but for the field.—We should then be at the very crisis which we were now bound to prevent.—The danger was, that a systematic attempt had been made to corrupt, morally and politically, the lower classes of the people. Some persons seemed to treat the whole matter with contempt because only the lower classes were involved; but he would say that it must be considered that in them was lodged the whole physical force, which, if a fit opportunity offered, would be employed against the state. Societies had been established—some openly avowing the design to overthrow all the existing establishments—to confound all rank and property—while

others were working under the mask of reform, in its most extravagant shape. He did not wish to be understood as speaking disrespectfully of the cause of reform in general. All these societies had the same ultimate object in view. They wished by all or any means to gain over the people to become their instruments, and then they knew that the other branches of the state—the aristocracy and the crown—would be as dust in the balance. There was no limit which could be set to the industry and assiduity with which these persons had propagated their doctrines. Libraries were collected, and the press employed for the propagation of blasphemy and sedition in every form, to propagate any doctrine which might work up and inflame the minds of the people. By such proceedings the very foundations of society were at stake. But when it went so far that arms were provided—when enterprises of the utmost atrocity were not merely contemplated but undertaken—then, indeed, strong measures were necessary. As to that part of the proposal which went to give power against suspected persons, in his conscience, he did think that this was a power with which the safety of the country required that the government should be intrusted for a time. It was necessary for the protection of the people themselves—it was necessary in order to save the state from the most dangerous machinations. As to what was said about libelling the people, whatever visionary projectors might try to put into the heads of the multitude, he and those who thought with him, had the interests of the people deeply at heart. Did not history prove that a very small but active minority was able to overturn any thing? Was there any man who could say, that if this spirit was not stopped—when so many manufacturers were idle—when there were so many discharged sailors and soldiers—it would not grow to such a height, that the most absolute power would be required to put it down?—A power little short of despotism would scarcely be sufficient. It was therefore for the protection of the freedom of the country that he supported this measure. As to what had been said by way of *argumentum ad hominem*, that when men were long in the habit of thinking in one way, their minds became prejudiced; this was certainly true. But if the proposition was true on one side, it was so on the other. If his mind was in that particular train of prejudice which saw danger where there was none, theirs was in another which saw no danger—where the great majority of the house and of the country saw it.

The honourable Mr. Lamb denied that the report was in reality what it was called, a libel on the people of England. It took the utmost care to distinguish between the sound part of the people and the incendiaries; between those who endeavoured to delude them, and the more worthy part of them, who had not been misled or excited. The honourable baronet, in order to throw discredit on the report, and on those of this side of the house who concurred in its statements and inferences, had described him (Mr. Lamb) and his friends as notorious alarmists. This giving of names was neither decent nor parliamentary, nor gentleman-like. —If this language was not consistent with the usage of parliament, he would then say, that the honourable

nourable baronet's expressions were not consistent with his usual good taste.—If he (Mr. Lamb) were to retort upon the honourable baronet, and call him, in return for notorious alarmist, a notorious jacobin, it would not be decent or parliamentary; and yet there might be as much reason for this charge on the honourable baronet, as for that which he had brought forward against others.—The honourable baronet had alluded, not very properly, to a noble friend of his (lord Milton) on a former debate, but he had entirely mistaken his meaning. He would not attribute motives to any one; but without meaning any thing disrespectful to the honourable baronet, he (Mr. Lamb) might say, that to censure as he (sir Francis Burdett) had done, and to deal about general imputations and insinuations, required, in order to justify it, a degree of talent, of wisdom, and of purity, which, with all his wishes to think well of the honourable baronet, he could never recognise him to possess.—With respect to the report he would say, that he firmly believed the truth of its facts and the justness of its inferences. It was founded on the best evidence that could be procured; and, above all, was qualified by the evidence of circumstances. There appeared to the committee to be danger, and danger of the most alarming kind. The danger arose from clubs determined to carry their objects by physical force. It was not the Spencean plan that appeared on paper, with all its absurdities about it; but it was a general system of combination cruelly oppressive in many cases, and highly detrimental to the interests of the country. Many had relied on the absurdity of the Spencean plan as destructive of its danger; but he (Mr. Lamb) was afraid he could not pay so high a compliment to the people in this or in any other country, as to suppose that the absurdity of a project, if the end seemed desirable, was a sufficient argument against any attempt to realize it. It was certainly wild and visionary, if viewed in all its parts; but its commencement in plunder might not be so objectionable to its adherents. It might be said of it, as was said of reform, that some would take steps and gain a beginning, some would go the length of Brentford, and others would pass on to Windsor. So the Spenceans would seize the property of the country, and wrest it from its present possessors, whatever might afterwards become of them or it. They reminded him of what Napoleon said when he was advised not to enter the palace of the Thuilleries before his coronation as emperor, "I will enter it to-morrow," said he, "and I shall not go out so easily as the last inhabitant."

Sir Francis Burdett explained.—He did not mean alarmists in a bad sense; but jacobin could not be used in a good one, as it generally passed for cut-throat.

Lord Milton, in explanation of his meaning on a former debate, said that he used the expression about reform touching a chord that vibrated without his control, not for the purpose of declaring that he was alarmed at reform, but for stating that it was a subject on which he was almost disposed to speak long, and in delivering his sentiments on which he might be tedious to the house.

Sir Samuel Romilly contended the laws were sufficiently strong, provided they were put into execution. He feared the utmost vigilance had not been employed by ministers;

nisters; in fact, he had heard of no prosecutions upon the subjects complained of, though some were of no very recent date.

The attorney-general said, that the government with reluctance introduced any measures of additional severity. The noble lord was not mistaken in calculating the effect of the existing laws, as his honourable and learned friend (sir Samuel Romilly) had stated. If statutes could be evaded, it was necessary to amend them. His honourable and learned friend asked what the law officers of the crown had been doing? They had looked long and anxiously at the subjects of the report's complaints, but they could not reach them. The most blasphemous and seditious publications, as they appeared every where, they were unable to restrain, from their numbers.—The rule on which he acted was to prosecute as little as possible. Formerly a single passage or article in a newspaper was all that those in his situation had to prosecute; now he could not follow up the twentieth part of the publications pointed out to his attention. They were distributed by children; and if any interruption was given them, there was the loudest clamour against the invasion of the liberty of the subject. He could tell the house, however, that some of these publications had been under consideration, and the delinquents would be sent before a jury of their countrymen. He would rather, however, err on the side of lenity, than appear to run down the liberty of the subject by numerous prosecutions.

The solicitor-general observed, that the report was not confined to the proceedings of one description of societies, but described an evil resulting from a combination of causes for which the law at present furnished no adequate provision. There was undoubtedly a law for the punishment of riots, but there was none at present to prevent them. He knew of no provision made by any statute that could be applied to these societies, which acted independently of each other, though upon principles common to all, and assuming even the same denomination. Had his honourable and learned friend (sir Samuel Romilly) looked into the 39th of the king, cap. 79, with his usual accuracy, he must have seen, that those associations to which he had referred were not within its meaning; and his own opinion was, that they had been organized for the purpose of evading it. The object of the act was certainly to prevent unlawful confederacies: but it did not extend to societies which communicated with each other by delegates at public meetings; and, perhaps, this was an omission in that act.

Mr. Brougham protested against the concessions demanded by ministers, who this day called upon parliament to pay down the constitution by instalments—this night the suspension of the habeas corpus bill, to-morrow the gagging bill, and the next, the whole residue of our once venerated laws and constitution in remainder. There were many circumstances proving that the committee, in recommending new laws to meet existing circumstances, were disgracefully ignorant of those now in force; and nothing evinced it more fully, than that the noble lord who brought down the budget of new laws, proposed measures which were an unnecessary exercise of legislation. The noble lord had launched out, not in charges, but in something worse than

than charges—namely, insinuations against certain persons, not excepting even members of that house, as giving countenance to the lower classes of reformers out of doors, in wild and exaggerated doctrines. He had said that members of that house, in the discharge of their public duty, had induced the lower classes of society to embrace dangerous principles, and they became responsible to God and man for the consequences resulting from them. But how should a member of parliament, in the honest discharge of his duty, be deemed responsible for the performance of actions which he had never contemplated, by persons of whose existence he had never been aware? He observed, that the whole system now proposed by ministers seemed intended for the purpose of dividing the members on the side of the house with himself, or diverting the attention of the people from their grievances; but he trusted that they would experience a signal failure in both, and particularly in their hopes of dividing the opposition. Before sitting down, he begged leave to say a few words about the unhappy persons now committed. If these bills passed, probably they would never have a trial; but if they chanced to obtain one, he hoped nothing that took place in that house would influence any person in their opinion of those individuals, whether acting either as judge, jury, or spectator. The sum and substance of his opinion on the measure was, that no new laws were necessary, save perhaps in a few matters of very little importance, such as submitting club and lecture rooms to more immediate inspection. With this protest against the measure, *in limine*, the bill might be brought in; but the house, in admitting it, were by no means pledged to support it in future.

Lord Cochrane made a few remarks against so violent an encroachment upon the constitution. He proceeded to state, that no resource would ultimately be left to the people but that of withholding their money from the tax-gatherer, when he was interrupted by a general cry of Order, and an appeal to the chair.

The speaker declared, that the language of the noble lord was nothing less than to encourage resistance to the laws.

Lord Cochrane said, nothing was further from his mind than the idea of active resistance; but he conceived he was justified in alluding to a passive resistance in withholding supplies which enabled the crown to subvert the liberties of the people.

Mr. Canning did not intend detaining the house long from that vote, on which to-night it appeared there was little practical difference of opinion; and he thought new arguments were little wanted in aid of a cause which was already completely triumphant. There were, however, some points in the speech of an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Brougham) on which he wished to offer a few observations. He had often remarked, that those who were most incredulous themselves, were the persons who drew most largely on the credulity of others; but never in his life had he seen this so strongly exemplified as in the course of the present debate, when the honourable and learned gentleman, doubting all that had been reported to the house by the committee, which comprehended some of his own friends, who were unanimous in giving it their sanction, called upon the house not

not to believe the extravagant fiction; that what they had heard was but a plot invented by ministers to defeat the combined efforts of the phalanx opposed to them, to investigate their conduct, and drive them from their seats. What could be more preposterous than such an idea? Those who could receive it must first believe that ministers had drawn up a set of extravagant principles to be circulated among the people, and afterwards sought out individuals frantic enough to adopt them, and to attempt to carry them into effect by physical strength. All this must be assumed; and then it must be supposed the several parts of this plot were so securely arranged, that ministers were not afraid of submitting them to a committee of that house; and, having done this, had succeeded in bringing over the whole of the committee, consisting of gentlemen in the habit of opposing them, as well as those who usually acted with them, to give this plot their undivided support. Of all he had ever heard, the hypothesis on which the house had been called upon to discredit what had been propounded to them, and which was supported by evidence, and to believe what had been thus suggested to them, and which had no foundation in fact, was the most extravagant. But it had been said, it was very extraordinary that it should appear from the report of the committee that government had information of some of the proceedings which were the subject of it in the month of November, and yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, advised the prince regent to prorogue the parliament. What was there extraordinary in this? Though certain circumstances connected with the subject of the report had come to the knowledge of ministers in the month of November, yet did it appear that at that period they wore that aspect which, on further inquiry, it was found they had assumed? Did it appear, if their character was what it had subsequently proved, that government were informed of it? Did it appear on the face of the report, that up to the first, or even up to the second meeting at Spafields, ministers had reason to believe those who appeared at them might be as ignorant of any serious design to attempt an insurrection, as that unhappy man had been whose petition had this day been laid on their table (Mr. Hunt), and who, in the innocence and vanity of his heart, it should seem, mounted the temporary rostrum prepared for him, and only intending to make a splash, had been unconsciously forwarding the views of those who had no object but rebellion? The members of the government, like every other individual in the nation, could not but know that a very strong feeling had been excited: they knew that in a time of great public distress the people were likely to be operated on by designing men, if not to the danger of the state, at least in a way likely to lead to much practical mischief, and their own undoing. They knew these things; but possessed of such knowledge, was it their duty to call all the resident gentry of the country from their homes at such a time, where it might reasonably be hoped their presence would have tended most effectually to check seditious practices? Far from thinking this would have been proper at that period, had they then actually been assembled in London, he should have thought their dispersion and their return to their several counties would have been a measure of infinite wisdom.

Ministers

Ministers had held it to be their duty to give the subject the fullest consideration before they determined to bring it in any shape before parliament, and he was surprised at the objections which had been urged that night against the course they had thought it their duty to pursue. Did it not seem from their general conduct, that there had been something like reluctance on their part to come to parliament for extraordinary powers? When it was seen that bad men were labouring to graft on distress sedition, to stimulate want to rebellion, and to make public calamity subservient to the views of those whose proceedings, though likely to end in their own destruction, might be dangerous to the state; they had then come to parliament for extraordinary powers; but was it wrong in them to wait, in the first instance, a reasonable time, till other means for averting the evil had been tried, and found insufficient? The honourable and learned gentleman had objected to the proposition now before them being submitted to their consideration, till it had been decided by the house that the laws already in force were not equal to the circumstances of the times. This question, he thought, ought to have been first disposed of; but he (Mr. Canning) would assert, that, practically, the house must be brought to decide on that question that night. If the house were of opinion that the present laws were sufficient, of course they would reject the present motion, and declare new ones to be unnecessary. The honourable and learned gentleman had admitted the danger to be pressing, but he was very angry with the report for not defining the extent of the danger. But he (Mr. Brougham) had fallen into a similar error. He had committed the fault of which he accused others; for, admitting the danger to be great, he (Mr. Canning) had in vain watched the course of the learned gentleman's speech, to hear him attempt to set limits to its magnitude. He had done nothing of the kind; nor had he said any thing in fact on this point, that could separate his (Mr. Brougham's) opinions from those of his friends in the committee. The danger to be apprehended, was that which might follow successful efforts to subvert the morality, the religion, and the loyalty of the people; and by a combination of the opposites of these, to accomplish designs abhorrent to the laws of God and man; designs, which not only went to subvert the constitution of England, but to overthrow the whole frame of society. But these projects were said to be visionary, and the learned gentleman thought they had never been of importance till they were brought into notice by persecution. Persecution! Did this character belong to the proceedings instituted against those who had set out on their career in opposition to all law?—But it was true that the schemes of these persons were visionary; and he would admit that they had lain by for twenty years without being found to produce mischief. It was not so much to these doctrines that he objected; but when their votaries went forth armed, to exert physical strength, not to accomplish their avowed plan—(that was impracticable), but to attack the existing system; and when their views were such, that having gained their first stage they were indifferent about what might follow, so the present order of things was changed, he was of opinion there was some danger. He did not impute to the

Spenceans

Spenceans that they really wished to divide the land; no, but he did impute to them that they wished to take it. Did he for a moment imagine that they would carry into effect their scheme for an agrarian division of property? No; but he sincerely believed (and all history taught him that the opinion was not ill founded) that they would labour hard to accomplish the spoliation of its present possessors. They all knew that in Rome this scheme had often been brought forward, and had always found partisans. But on the subject of parliamentary reform, there could be no doubt as to the dangerous designs of certain persons in the country. These were not only opposed by ministers, but the honourable gentleman's friends, and the honourable gentleman himself, were with them on this point. The learned gentleman himself had said, that if some of the plans brought forward out of doors were carried into effect, they must lead to ruin and confusion. Was there nothing alarming in these? he would ask—was there nothing alarming in plans, which gentlemen so friendly to the liberties of the people as the gentlemen opposite were, thought would be as ruinous, if reduced to practice, as they were absurd in theory? It was to check evils so alarming, and in mercy to those who were engaged in those designs to which he had alluded, that the measures now called for were required, in the hope that they would avert the necessity of having recourse to the last extremity of punishment. It was said that the numbers concerned in the late disturbances were not so great as to justify serious alarm; but he held the measures now under consideration to be necessary, to check the mischief in time, and to protect the many against the few, who failed not to make up in violence what they wanted in numbers. Had not the history of the last five-and-twenty years sufficiently proved, that the disaffected were not to be overlooked because their number was not great? Could it so soon be forgotten, how often the world had seen such sanguinary minorities riding in blood over the necks of their prostrate countrymen? Ought they to act as if they had not witnessed the scenes of the French revolution, in which the few were seen triumphant over the many, and in which the absurd and incredible theories of desperate men had been reduced to bloody practice? Who believed, when atheism was professed in France, and when it was declared by the national assembly, that the persuasion that "death was nothing more than an eternal sleep," was the only rational creed for man—who believed that such impious absurdity could flourish? Who would not have held up his hands at the folly which expected that professors of such opinions could make proselytes? But ought they to do this now, when they had seen what had followed—that proselytes had been made—that a great nation, robbed of its religion and its morality, had been robbed of the arms which might have saved her from anarchy? The sovereignty of the people had been asserted; and in their name it was known that France had seen the whole of the upper orders swept from the face of the earth; that earth deluged with the best blood of the people; and those crimes followed by a long train of horrors, which had ended in a tremendous, but comparatively salutary despotism. In what had fallen from the noble

noble lord on the subject of those concerned in the late disturbances having looked up for support to those who it might have been expected, from their rank in life, would not lend themselves to their designs, his noble friend had not meant to blame, but to caution those who might be thus applied to, lest, intending but to countenance the ostensible objects of particular meetings, they should be made the means of forwarding projects which could not be avowed, and raise a phantom of hope by which the disaffected might more easily cheat their deluded followers. But it was said, Who would take the lead in such cases after what had occurred? He thought this question had already been well answered. He did not know that any man would come forward to place himself at the head of a band of conspirators, but circumstances frequently made men.—It was not probable that Robespierre had from infancy contemplated the bad dignity which he had attained in his mature years. Men were formed according to the sphere in which they moved, from the habits and principles of those with whom they associated. Respect for religion was subdued when once the name of God was erased from the human heart: a heart so void was easily taught to hate its fellow-creatures. This borne in mind, let any man read but a tenth part of the publications now circulating in all parts of the country with a devilish zeal, and say, if there were not danger from publications intentionally directed against religion, to effect the destruction of that creed which was the best guard of all human virtue—the best consolation for human misery. These publications met the eye in all quarters, wherever distress was to be inflamed. Where politics were discussed, the business of the state being disposed of, insults to religion succeeded, as if to show that the relaxation of religion was infidelity. Under such circumstances, was it too much that government should ask to be armed with extraordinary powers? We had, in former times, differences enough in this country, but those of our time were very different from those of other days. In the civil wars, principle was opposed to principle; democracy was opposed to aristocracy, and democracy triumphed. Negation was not till now opposed to principle, and the work of destruction commenced for the sake of destroying. Independence was opposed to episcopacy, and independence triumphed, but negation was not opposed to God. It was left for reformers of modern date to strip the mind of all reverence for the Deity, in order to prepare the man to become a remorseless assassin. The same sense of duty which now caused ministers to apply for these bills, would cause them to come to parliament for still greater powers if these became necessary; but what they had asked they were satisfied would prove sufficient. Two of the four were approved by the honourable gentleman. The third he did not wholly object to, though he reserved to himself the right of criticizing it in its passage through the house. It was only the fourth that met with his unqualified disapprobation. The committee having declared that the ordinary powers given to ministers by the constitution were not sufficient, they had performed their duty by coming to parliament for new laws. They asked them not as a boon; but urged by duty, they were willing to receive them to protect the sound part of the people against the

the designing few. It was the joint duty of ministers and of parliament to preserve the constitution. Ministers had done all that it was for them to do: the constitution was now in the hands of the house, and it was for them to say whether or not it should be preserved—whether its internal beauty and external grandeur should be sacrificed or saved.

Lord Althorpe said, he should not oppose the introduction of the present measure, but should reserve the objections he had to make to some future stage of it.

The house then divided on the first motion—"That leave be given to bring in a bill for preventing seditious meetings."

For the motion - - -	190
Against it - - - - -	14
Majority for bringing in the first bill - - - - -	— 176

Lord Castlereagh brought in the bill for the more effectual prevention of seditious assemblies. The bill was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time.

The bills for rendering more penal the attempts to seduce the soldiers and sailors of his majesty's army and navy; and for extending the provisions of an act for the protection of his majesty's person to the prince regent, were brought in, and were severally read a first, and ordered to be read a second time, and to be printed.

House of commons, February 26. —Lord Castlereagh having moved the first reading of the habeas corpus suspension bill; Mr. Bennett expressed his surprise that the noble lord should not have adduced a syllable in support of a bill, which was to take from the people, not a trial by jury only, but all trial. It should be remembered that in the face of a report made in 1794, and another in 1812, both by secret committees, the persons accused by them were, when tried, acquitted, and the testimony of nine-tenths of the witnesses proved to be false. He suspected that the present report was founded on similar evidence. The idea of a handful of armed rioters taking the barracks by surprise—also the Tower and the bridges, was too ridiculous to dwell upon. And who were these conspirators? what were their means? Six men in a waggon, with a stocking full of ammunition! He dared any member of the committee to say that there was one nobleman, one gentleman implicated, or even any of the middle classes of society.

The lord advocate of Scotland said, he had given evidence before the committee. Early in January he learnt that secret meetings had been held in Glasgow; that a conspiracy was organized there; and that the members were bound by a secret oath.

Sir Francis Burdett said, if the present motion passed, he should propose in the committee some clause against the torture of prisoners who might be the victims of this measure; so that, if their personal liberty was to be restrained, they should endure nothing more. It might be said, that it was sought to suspend the act but for a short time; but no man who appreciated the value of liberty, or knew the horrors of a dungeon, could consider any time short that was passed in a prison.

Lord Castlereagh, in reply, said, the honourable baronet's speech was not made to convince the house, but was addressed to persons in another place.—Being called to order, the speaker said that all speeches made within those walls must be considered as delivered only to the house.

Messrs.

Messrs. F. Lewis, Wynne, Wrottesley, and Courtenay, spoke in favour of the bill; lords Russell, Althorp, and Rancliffe, with sir S. Romilly and Mr. Ponsonby, against it. The second reading was ultimately carried by 278 to 98—Majority 175.

Feb. 27.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the house do go into a committee on the habeas corpus suspension bill. Messrs. Curwen and Marryat spoke against it, and Messrs. Grenfell and Lockhart in its defence. The house then resolved itself into a committee. The blanks were filled up, and the report was brought up.

Feb. 28.—Sir James Shaw presented a petition from the common council of London against the suspension of the habeas corpus, which sir James considered as unnecessary.

Mr. Brougham presented a petition from Liverpool on the same subject.

On the third reading of the habeas corpus suspension bill, Messrs. Bankes, W. Quin, Protheroe, Lambe, the lord advocate, the attorney general, and sir Arthur Pigott, spoke in favour of the bill: Messrs. M. A. Taylor, Lyttleton, W. Smith, Tierney, sir S. Romilly, and lord G. Cavendish, spoke against it. The third reading was then carried, on a division, by 265 to 103; majority 162.

Mr. Ponsonby moved a clause which went to limit the duration of the bill to the 20th May, which was negatived by 239 to 97.

House of lords, March 3.—Lord Holland wished to be informed by the noble and learned lord (Eldon) on the woolsack, whether an individual, unfortunately detained in any prison by order of government, under the power given by the habeas corpus suspension bill, would have the means allowed him of petitioning parliament; or, if that should be thought to involve too much publicity, at least of petitioning the sovereign. He was the more desirous of being informed upon this point, because knowing the kind of regulation that was enforced in some prisons, it was of essential importance that an individual, placed in the situation he alluded to, should not be debarred from the free exercise of the right of making an application to the government respecting the circumstances of his case.

The lord chancellor said, that every individual arrested on suspicion of treason, by order of government, and detained under the provisions of this bill, had in his favour the presumption of law, which always supposed every person under accusation to be innocent, until proved to be guilty; and as far as he could answer a general question, every individual in that situation had the right of petitioning either the sovereign or the parliament; a right which the gaoler, in whose custody he was, had no right to deprive him of. He must observe, at the same time, that this privilege would not be allowed to be asserted as a mere colourable pretext with a view to other objects.

In the commons, the same day, some discussion took place on the second reading of the seditious assembly bill. The solicitor-general said that meetings called by lords lieutenants, justices of the peace, or the mayor, aldermen, or other officers of a corporation, or division of a corporation, would not be affected by this bill. Another opening to petitioning was left; for on a requisition being signed by seven resident householders, a meeting might at any time or place be con-

vened; but the justices who attended at such meeting would be authorized to declare it an unlawful assembly, if it proceeded to discuss any subject tending to alter matters of state, without the authority of king and parliament. Another regulation was, that any person propounding matters of that sort, or propounding any seditious matter, might be taken up for so doing. All those regulations were precisely similar to what had been introduced into the bill of 1797. The first object of the measure, therefore, was to prevent any meetings or assemblies of above fifty persons, except such meetings of corporate bodies, &c. as he had already mentioned, and except such as were called together upon a notice signed by seven householders. In the committee, however, it was his intention to propose a clause to prevent those meetings, so convened by seven housholders, from being adjourned, and to prevent their being held at any other time or place than should be at first specified, by way of adjournment. A second object of the bill would be to prevent the existence of debating societies, lecture-rooms, reading-rooms, &c. for admission to which money was received. He should further observe, that the 39th of the king had for its object to suppress by name certain societies, whose existence was regarded as prejudicial and detrimental to the state; it also declared other societies to be unlawful which were constituted in a particular way, such as imposing oaths, engagements, tests, declarations, &c. or having branches, divisions, employing delegates, &c. Another object of the bill would be to suppress a particular society or societies, calling themselves Spenceans, or Spencean philanthropists. If ever there was a society, the doctrines of which were utterly subversive of every well-regulated state, subversive of all property, order, and good government, it was that society. At the present moment there was an immense number of persons who belonged to it; and therefore, without inquiring whether it employed delegates or not, it was condemned by the very doctrines which it promulgated, and was rendered as unlawful as any corresponding society that ever existed. With respect to the using of delegates or missionaries, he was aware that many societies of the most exemplary kind did so: he believed the Quakers had persons who visited their different communities in that character, though under a different appellation, and therefore it would be a provision in the act, to except from its operation all societies constituted for charitable or religious purposes. The honourable and learned gentleman then concluded by moving the second reading of the bill.

Messrs. Bennett and Calvert, sir F. Burdett and lord Cochrane, were decidedly averse to the bill.

Mr. Baring remarked that the report said much of the prevalence of blasphemous doctrines. He believed the reverse was the case—that religious feelings existed very generally amongst the great body of the people—that with some it might be considered a period of enthusiasm, from a desire to dive into unfathomable mysteries, but that at all events there was no disposition to throw contempt on the venerable precepts of religion.

House of lords, March 4.—The royal assent was notified by commission to the habeas corpus suspension bill.

House of commons, March 7.—Mr.

Mr. Calcraft was nominated to the finance committee, in the room of Mr. Tierney, who was indisposed. Mr. Calcraft then presented petitions from the parishes of Langton and Swanage, in Dorsetshire, complaining of the poor-rates. One of these parishes had only 576 inhabitants, and 419 of them were receiving parish relief. The rates amounted to 18 or 19 shillings in the pound. The other petition was from a parish which contained 1300 inhabitants, not one in seven of whom were independent of parish aid. Here those rateable to the poor paid a guinea in the pound. In one of these parishes every farmer had given notice to quit, and in the other several, so that the rate next year would fall heavier on those who remained. Private charity (particularly a liberal donation from lord Eldon) had for a short time ameliorated the evil; but the subscription which had been raised, would be exhausted the 22d of this month. He should move that these petitions be referred to the committee on the poor laws; at the same time he must regret that there was no equalization of these burthens over all classes of property. The fund-holder should be made liable to the assessments which affected those less able to pay them.

Lord Castlereagh said, he wished to make only one observation on this subject. The house and the country ought always to keep in view, that a great proportion of the wages of labour of the country were paid out of the poor's rates. The farmers from a system, the bad effects of which had been already too much felt, had been long in the habit, in many parts of the country, of paying a great proportion of the wages of farming labour in the shape of poor's rates. This accounted, in a great measure, for the rapid rise in the amount of the poor's rates from 1½ to upwards of seven millions. He was convinced that in cases where 19*s.* or 20*s.* in the pound were paid for poor's rates, 15*s.* of that would be found to be wages paid in the shape of poor's rates. The country could not in any other sense have supported such a load of taxes.

Mr. Curwen observed, that with respect to the fund-holders, it was indeed true that a great part of the property of the country, for want of means at coming at it, had hitherto escaped from bearing its share. The more he contemplated the subject, the more he was convinced that the house ought, before they separated, to take some measures for subjecting the fund-holders to their share of the burdens of the poor's rates, without which it would be found impossible to continue to relieve the distresses of the country.

Sir C. Burrell said, he was convinced that when the fund-holder was trenched upon, and through him honour and public faith were violated, the present distress would be increased tenfold. He augured much from the present state of the funds, which held out a reasonable expectation that the monied interest would assist the landholders by way of mortgage, which could not be hoped for when the funds afforded 5 per cent. on money invested. He was convinced that any interference with the fund-holder would therefore be an injury to the land-holder also. He was surprised that the member for Carlisle (Mr. Curwen), who was remarkable for sound sense, should have joined in so wild a theory as the proposal for breaking faith with the creditor. He

thought it would be most desirable to increase the circulating medium, which would give a facility to the employment of the labouring cl sses throughout the kingdom, and do more to restore prosperity than any remedies which had been proposed.

Mr. Lockhart said, he was anxious to correct an erroneous idea which a noble lord (Cochrane) had either expressed or implied, namely, that it was in contemplation, by way of reform in the poor's laws, to propose to refuse relief to able-bodied men who were without employment. No such idea was entertained, he believed, by any member of the house, and certainly not by any member of the committee on the poor laws: the idea entertained by the committee, was to encourage industry, but by no means to refuse relief when industry was found unavailing. He agreed in what had been said by the noble lord (Castlereagh), as to the bad effects of mixing up poor's rates with the wages of labour, but he denied that this system had been voluntary on the part of the landlords.

Mr. Brougham protested as well against the proposal of the noble lord (Cochrane) as that of the honourable baronet, who had professed so much abhorrence of the noble lord's proposition. The difference between the noble lord's project for reducing the interest of the debt, and the honourable baronet's proposal for increasing the quantity of the circulating medium, was only the difference between two modes of bankruptcy, or, as had been well expressed by a celebrated writer on these subjects, the difference between secret fraud and open violence. The distresses in the manufacturing districts were under-rated; for the average rate of wages was not more than 3s.

The petitions were brought up and read.

March 12.—In a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed a vote of 18 millions of exchequer bills for the service of 1817. The chancellor intimated that it was his intention to pay off the unfunded debt of Ireland by exchequer bills raised in this country, the interest of which would be only four per cent. while in Ireland it was five per cent.—Agreed to.

March 13.—Mr Brougham, after a long and eloquent speech on the state of the manufactures and commerce of the country, moved, "1st, That the manufactures of the country are in a state of unexampled difficulty, that demanded the most serious attention of the house. — 2d, That that difficulty is materially increased by the system of restrictive policy, pursued with respect to foreign powers, which ought to be rescinded.—3d, That it is further increased by the severe taxation under which the country suffers, and which ought to be removed by every possible means.—4th. That the system of foreign policy pursued by the British government has not been such as to obtain for this country those advantages with respect to trade and manufactures, to which the just influence of Great Britain fairly entitled her." The first resolution having been put from the chair,

The honourable F. Robinson saw that no possible good could result from the adoption of this motion: he would beg leave to move, as an amendment, that the house should pass to the other orders of the day.

After

After the question upon the amendment had been put from the chair, Mr. Brougham begged to explain, that in what he had said of the watch trade and unemployed tailors, he meant merely to advert to them as developing some of the general symptoms of prevailing distress.

Mr. C. Grant thought that the object of the motion was to criminate his majesty's ministers on their foreign policy. On this ground he would oppose it.

Lord Castlereagh said he was willing to go along with the honourable and learned gentleman in admitting the existence of a great degree of distress; but the latter part of his speech was rather directed to wound the government than to point out the mode of relieving the people.

After an able reply from Mr. Brougham, the house divided. For Mr. Brougham's motion 63, against it 118; majority 55.

March 17.—In a committee of the whole house on the East India trade act, Mr. Robinson submitted a resolution that the privilege of trading to the East Indies should be communicated to Malta and Gibraltar:—the resolution was read a second time.

Mr. R. Ward stated that the ordinary and extraordinaries of the ordnance estimates were in the aggregate 749,000*l.* The charge for the ordinary service was this year 538,000*l.* which was less than the former estimate by the sum of 135,000*l.* The extraordinaries amounted to 211,000*l.* leaving a reduction under this head of expense of 104,000*l.* He concluded by moving for a sum of 248,000*l.* for the service of the ordnance till the 30th of June 1817.

House of lords, March 18.—Lord Holland moved for papers connected with the treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte at St. Helena. Humanity alone, observed his lordship, might justify such a motion; but the chief, if not the only motive for bringing the subject before their lordships, was a regard to the character of the country, of parliament, and of the crown. The heads of complaint made by his lordship were, 1st, that the liberty allowed to Buonaparte of riding and walking to several parts of the island had of late undergone considerable restriction. 2d, That he was not permitted to receive such books, journals, newspapers, and public prints, nor to subscribe for such publications as he thought proper. 3d, That Buonaparte had been refused permission to send a sealed letter to the prince regent. 4th, That the expense of Buonaparte's establishment had been curtailed from 20,000*l.* to 8000*l.*; and he had been told that this country could afford no more, therefore he must find the other 12,000*l.* himself. His lordship then observed, that if an extraordinary expense was necessary, it should be kept in view, that it was owing to the place where Buonaparte was confined; and it was unworthy of a great country, first to say, "I will place you in a situation where a great expense is necessary;" and then to come like a beggar and say, "You yourself must be at the greater part of that expense." The noble lord concluded by declaring, that documentary evidence would be the best confutation of the reports that had been spread, and therefore he should not satisfy his own mind without moving for, 1st, Copies of all the instructions to the governor or governors of St.

Helena, as to the personal treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte. 2d, Extracts of all such parts of the correspondence as had passed between Napoleon Buonaparte and the secretary of state, relative to the expenses of Buonaparte's establishment. 3d, Copies of such letters or applications of Buonaparte to the governor or governors of St. Helena, with the answers of the governor, as had been received by the secretary of state. 4th, Copies of all such dispatches as had been transmitted to the secretary of state relative to the intercourse claimed by Napoleon Buonaparte to be allowed between his place of residence and other parts of the island, with any remarks by Napoleon on that subject. 5th, Copies of any dispatches to the secretary of state relative to applications by Napoleon Buonaparte to the prince regent.

Earl Bathurst contended at great length, that the restrictions imposed on Buonaparte by Sir Hudson Lowe were justified by the instructions which he had received from ministers, and which were absolutely necessary to ensure his detention. He was, however, still allowed about ten miles of airing ground. His orders for books to the amount of 1500*l.* had been executed; but some of them being on military subjects, and very scarce, could not be procured either in England or France. It had been thought proper to withhold newspapers from him, because attempts had been made to correspond with him through their medium. All letters sent by him or his attendants were previously read, not by subaltern officers, but by Sir Hudson Lowe himself. Government intended that his allowance should be 12,000*l.* yearly.—Seeing no ground for the motion, he should oppose it.

The marquis of Buckingham and earl Darnley thought the statement of lord Bathurst satisfactory.—The motion was negatived without a division.

House of commons, March 18.—Mr. Littleton reprehended the dangerous, immoral, and fraudulent mode of raising money by lotteries. The gross sum accruing annually to the revenue from lotteries was 500,000*l.* He characterized the present scheme as being a fraud upon the public: the chance of any great prize was about 71 to 1. He feared that a certain degree of patronage formed one of the motives for supporting the present system of lotteries. In England there were four places of 500*l.* a year each attached to this institution, five of 350*l.*, one of 300*l.*, one of 230*l.*, twenty-one of 200*l.*, six of 100*l.* to 150*l.*; and he had no hesitation in saying, that these places were altogether sinecures. In Ireland, there was the first commissioner, sir A. Alexander, at 800*l.* a year; four other commissioners, at 200*l.*; two certificated commissioners, at 100*l.*; two comptrollers, at 100*l.*; one stamp comptroller, at 141*l.*; two clerks, at 60*l.*; two at 50*l.* There was Mr. Thompson, who had been an absentee 16 years, received 250*l.* a year: in fact, no lotteries had been drawn in Ireland for 16 years. The honourable gentleman concluded by proposing, 1st, That by the system of state lotteries, a spirit of gambling was promoted, destructive to the morals of the people, and detrimental to the revenue of the country. 2d, That this house will no longer authorize the existence of state lotteries.

The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr.

Mr. W. Ward, and lord Castlereagh, contended, that the evils flowing from lotteries had been greatly lessened; and that, if this source of revenue was taken away, it would be difficult to supply it by fresh taxes.

The motion was negatived, by 73 to 26.

House of lords, March 24.—The bill to prevent seditious meetings being reported, viscount Sidmouth proposed a clause to prohibit public meetings within a mile of the two houses of parliament when sitting, or of the courts of justice when sitting at Westminster.

Lord St. John thought the clause tended to embarrass the right of holding public meetings.

The earl of Rosslyn observed, that this clause would prevent the inhabitants of Westminster from exercising a privilege which was possessed by the inhabitants of every other part of London.

The clause was agreed to.

March 25.—The third reading of the seditious meeting bill was opposed at some length by lord Erskine, who concluded his speech with the following declaration:—"Just so was it with measures for keeping down freedom—in the sagnation of public sentiment, in the destruction of its vivifying principles, you encountered infinitely more danger than from its excesses. He did not now hold the opinions that he did when he formerly signed a paper upon the subject of parliamentary reform; he did not now hold these opinions to the same extent; and to those who said he ought to be consistent, he would say he was bound to nothing but a faithful discharge of his duties as a member of parliament. But let every man have the same freedom of opinions, and let not that freedom be shackled by unnecessary fetters. He thought this bill pregnant with danger to the liberty of the subject, from the powers given by it to a single magistrate to prevent, at his discretion, the right of petitioning from being exercised, and that magistrate appointed by the crown. With these views of the subject, and considering this measure as calculated to excite discontent, instead of allaying it, by the obsacles it threw in the way of the fair and proper expression of public opinion by means of petition, by its leaving to the discretion of a single magistrate to prevent every kind of meeting for that purpose, he felt it his duty to oppose the bill."

The duke of Sussex, following on the same side, contended that the measure was a serious infringement upon the rights and liberties of the subject.

Viscount Sidmouth proposed to withdraw the clause brought forward yesterday for the prevention of public meetings within a mile of Westminster hall; for the purpose of proposing an amendment, excepting that part of the parish of St. Paul's Covent-garden, and of the borough of Southwark, within the distance described in the clause. He also proposed to have this clause inserted in the permanent part of the bill.

The clause was agreed to; and the third reading of the bill was carried by 111 to 23.

House of commons, March 27.—Mr. Gilbert brought up the first report of the committee appointed by the house to inquire into all the reductions which, consistently with the safety of the state, could be effected in the public expenditure. The report was read; and began by stating that the subject was not new to the house, as in 1812 and 1813 measures had been adopted

in it, The committee had inquired, 1st, what reductions it was possible to make; 2dly, what compensations should be given to persons holding high and effective offices; and 3dly, what offices might be reduced which were considered in the nature of sinecures; and that all such offices should be as soon as possible abolished after the deaths of their respective holders. The committee recommended the abolition of the chief justiceship north and south of the Trent, of the auditorship of the exchequer, of the clerk of the pells, the four tellerships of the exchequer, the lord warden of the Cinque Ports, the governor of the Isle of Wight, and the commissary general of musters. The committee considered such offices ought to be abolished. In presenting this report the committee stated, that they had lost no time in considering the matters referred to them, and had made their report as early as possible; and had not omitted to attend to every measure of real and practical œconomy. —The clerk was proceeding to read the remainder of the report, but Mr. D. Gilbert suggested this was not necessary, as what had been read was sufficient to give the members of that house an idea of what had been done, and of what the committee intended still further to do.

The report was then ordered to be printed.

House of lords, March 31.—The royal assent was given by commission to the seditious meetings bill, and naval officers pay bill.

In the commons, the same day, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the house at its rising should adjourn till April 14.

CHAPTER III.

Lord Sidmouth's Circular Letter—Illness of the Speaker—Relief of the Poor—Salt Duties—Third Secretary of State—Catholic Emancipation—Debate in the Lords on Lord Sidmouth's Circular Letter—Army Estimates—Poor Employment Bill—Financial State of Ireland—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion on Parliamentary Reform—Resignation of the Speaker.

HOUSE of lords, April 16.—The house met, in pursuance of the vote of adjournment.

Earl Grey moved that a copy of lord Sidmouth's letter to the lords lieutenant of counties, relative to the circulation of seditious pamphlets, be laid on the table. Ordered.

April 21.—Lord Sidmouth laid on the table his circular letter to the lords lieutenant of counties of England and Wales, relative to the apprehension of persons selling seditious writings, moved for by earl Grey.

Lord Holland observed, that this letter alone was not sufficient for bringing the whole case before their lordships. When his noble friend moved for this letter, he had stated that it was his intention to move also, on another occasion, for the opinion of the law-officers of the crown referred to in that letter, and for the case laid before these officers. His noble friend, he understood, most undoubtedly meant to make that

that motion; and he was anxious that the noble secretary of state would now state whether he had any objection to the production of these papers. The letter of the noble lord had been, as there was reason to believe, already productive of some consequences which probably the noble secretary himself never intended. He did not mean to say that the noble secretary of state, or any of the persons concerned, were to blame; but it was a matter of great importance that the subject should be discussed; and that, in order to bring before the house the requisite information for that discussion, the case and opinion should be laid on the table. The person who had been molested was a Unitarian preacher, Mr. Wright of Liverpool.

Lord Sidmouth.—Their lordships' order had been complied with, and the circular letter which he had thought it his duty to publish was now on their table. Certainly it was not his intention that persons should be disturbed in their religious worship; and of the case which the noble lord mentioned he had heard nothing, except what he had just heard from his lordship; but it was a case that would probably have occurred, though no such circular letter had been published; and he did not see how it was particularly connected with that letter. He had no objection to produce the opinion; but he would oppose the production of the case, and would state his reasons when the motion should be made for its production.

April 28.—Earl Darnley, agreeably to his notice, brought the circumstance of the refusal of the city magistrates to grant a license to the Academical Society before the house, with the view of letting the country know, by the answer ministers might give, whether it was the object of the act to prevent all political discussion whatever.

Lord Sidmouth had no objection to state, that according to his belief, neither the framers of the act, nor those who supported it, ever intended that the act in question should put an end to all political discussion whatever. Their lordships might examine that act, and every clause of it, and see whether there was any clause which could by possibility bear such a construction as that which, according to the noble lord's statement, had been put upon it.

House of commons, April 14.—A considerable number of members attended at four o'clock, when, with their permission, Mr. Dyson read to them a letter he had received from the speaker, dated Kidbrook, April 13th. It expressed great concern that he was not able, through ill health, to attend his duty in the house on the present day, and his deep regret at the postponement of the public business which his absence might occasion. Though at present it was hazardous for him to attend, yet he hoped he should experience the re-establishment of his health in the course of a week.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that a duty fell on him which must be a painful consideration to all; but it was consolatory that it gave an opportunity to the house of passing an unanimous vote, in consequence of the ill health of their estimable speaker. His health had indeed been much sacrificed lately by his anxiety and late sittings in the chair; in which, those who had most observed his conduct, would be most deeply impressed with a feeling of his integrity, attention, and ability. He concluded by proposing an adjournment to Thursday

Thursday se'ennight. Unanimously agreed to.

April 24.—On the speaker taking the chair, the members crowded round him, and offered their congratulations on his recovery.

The honourable Mr. Bennet, after moving that the police committee be instructed to report their proceedings to the house from time to time, presented a petition signed by 5000 inhabitants of the town of Wolverhampton and neighbourhood, praying for a reduction of taxes, and other means of relief. They represented that they were in a state of the greatest suffering and hardship, in a great measure to be attributed to taxation; and prayed for a diminution. Their sufferings would be believed to be great, when it was known that several individuals in that neighbourhood were stated to have perished by famine. Employment had completely failed them; and if no other remedy could be devised for their distress, the petitioners prayed that they might be furnished with the means of leaving the country, and retiring to a foreign land. The petition was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

The honourable W. H. Lyttleton presented a petition from the parish of Old Swinford, in the town of Stourbridge, complaining of the pressure of the poor's rates, to which he wished particularly to call the attention of the house. The burthens of this parish were oppressive beyond the usual rate of imposition: the rate assessed on the house-rent was 29*s.* in the pound—on the rent of land employed in farms, 32*s.* in the pound; and on several kinds of land the rate amounted to the almost incredible sum of 61*s.* per acre. The population of the parish amounted to 4381: of these 1868 received parish aid. The whole of this burthen was laid upon 158 individuals, who were the only persons able to contribute. The parish was formerly exemplary for morals and good conduct, and had been reduced to this state by circumstances over which the sufferers had no control. The honourable gentleman begged to press the consideration of this subject on his majesty's ministers. He would not move that the petition be referred to the committee on the poor laws, but that it be laid on the table for their consideration.

The petition was brought up and read. It stated that the support of the poor had already ruined many of the former contributors, and would ruin others unless an immediate relief were obtained.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the subject had occupied much of his attention; and on Monday next he meant to move, that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration a proposition for enabling his majesty to issue exchequer bills to a limited extent, for the purpose of supplying loans on proper securities, to give encouragement for the employment of the poor. These loans would be advanced to corporations, to parishes, or to associations of individuals, who might be desirous to employ, in any public work, the poor in their neighbourhood, upon their giving security to the commissioners at whose disposal, or under whose management, the issue of bills should be placed, that they would be repaid. Security might in parishes be given on the poor's rate. Bills to the amount of between one and two millions would be sufficient to give the relief contemplated, and answer all the purposes of such a loan. He believed such

such a measure would not in any material degree affect the money market, which could afford all the issue without great deterioration.—The right honourable gentleman concluded by giving notice, by command of the prince regent, that he would on Monday move that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the propriety of issuing exchequer bills to a limited extent, to afford loans, upon security to be given, for the local and temporary relief of the poor, by encouraging works for the employment of their industry.

The honourable W. Lambe said, there was one point of view in which the measure intended to be proposed deserved the most serious consideration; and that was, whether it was to be considered as a means of temporary relief, or a substitute for all those other measures which were rendered necessary for remedying the evils which had arisen out of the system under which we have been so long acting. In this sense, the proposed measure involved the consideration of a system which had been already productive of serious inconvenience, and threatened further evils. He hoped, therefore, this plan of the right honourable gentleman was not the only one. He did not deny the propriety of this step, but he would protest against any reliance on its sufficiency. The subject was now pressed upon us by necessity: we saw the calamity under which the country laboured; we should not rest satisfied with palliatives, but should go at once to the root of the evil, and endeavour permanently to counteract its malignity.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that one object of the plan which he had given notice of submitting to the house was, to advance money to associations of individuals, and another to make these advances to public bodies. It was not intended that they should be made to single individuals for any purpose connected with the measure in question. The first object would embrace the support and encouragement of public works under certain limitations; and upon full security for the repayment of the money, the persons furnishing that security to take a counter-security upon the parochial funds.

April 25.—Sir B. Hobhouse presented a petition from the West of England agricultural society, praying for the abolition of the present salt duties, as injurious to the manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial interests.

Mr. Harvey presented a petition against the saving banks bill now before parliament, as injurious and unnecessary. Laid on the table.

On the motion for the second reading of the bill to authorize the granting of leases of tithes, Mr. F. Lewis, after some observations on the different acts empowering justices of the peace to levy the small tithes, and those not exceeding 10*l.* in amount by warrant of distress, expressed a wish that it should be an instruction to the committee, to provide for amending such parts of the late act as referred to this branch of their authority (the 53d of the king, c. 127), for the purpose of proposing a clause extending their power to the determination of complaints, or the recovery of tithes to the amount of 20*l.* The bill having been read a second time, this motion was put and carried.

Mr. Calcraft rose to make his promised motion on the salt duties In the course of his speech the honourable gentleman pointed out the impolicy of continuing the present enormous

mous duties, which amounted to no less than 3000 per cent. on a raw material of our own produce. Such a tax mixed itself with every thing connected with the price of labour and the subsistence of the poor. It fell with grievous weight on the prices of butter, bacon, fish, meat, and all the primary and indispensable articles of food among the lower classes. In this point of view its effects were as impolitic as they were unjust. The price of labour was not now regulated by the price of food; a redundant population, and diminished trade, had left it dependent entirely on such competition for it as remained. It was necessary, therefore, in the present circumstances, that the essential articles of subsistence should be exempted from taxation as far as was possible, consistently with the political safety of the country. His only object at present was inquiry; he wished for a full exposition of the case: and with this view the honourable gentleman moved, that a committee be appointed to take the laws relative to the trade in salt into their consideration, and to report their opinions from time to time to the house.

The chancellor of the exchequer did not think the proposition of the honourable gentleman could be at present entertained. The agitation of this question had occasioned already a deficiency in the receipt of the revenue of 80,000*l.*; and it was incumbent on the honourable gentleman to show either the possibility of finding a commutation, or of our dispensing with a revenue of 1,500,000*l.* As a measure of relief a bill was now under the consideration of the house, for allowing the use of rock-salt, duty-free, for the purpose of curing fish; and he was not quite certain that some indulgence might not be given to salt used for cattle. The right honourable gentleman then read an extract of a letter from the proprietors of several extensive salt-works, to the effect, that they were decidedly of opinion that the present motion would ultimately be injurious to their interests; and he concluded by saying, that the house would do well to postpone the consideration of this important matter until the bill in question had been fully discussed; and, upon these grounds, he felt it his duty to move the previous question.

Mr. Calcraft replied generally, upon which the house divided. For the motion 70, against it 79; majority 9.

April 28.—Sir H. Parnell presented a petition from the Irish catholics for emancipation; in which the objection to the interference of the pope in the appointment to vacant sees is proposed to be obviated by a concordat, to be procured from his holiness; that none but native-born subjects shall ever be raised to the prelacy; and that the election shall be exclusively in the hands of the native clergy. The Veto the catholics still refuse.

Mr. Wm. Smith presented a petition from the English catholics, praying that domestic nomination might be held a sufficient security to be taken from the catholics, as the condition of admitting them into the privileges of the British constitution.

Mr. Wilberforce presented a petition from a certain society, called the Academical Society, instituted for the purpose of literary, political, and philosophical discussion, and the promotion of general knowledge, complaining of the refusal of the magistrates to grant them a license, and praying the house to afford them relief.

Mr. B.

Mr. B. Bathurst professed himself ignorant of the motives of the magistrates on the present occasion. On the allegation of the petitioners, it appeared that the magistrates had refused the license, because they thought it was the intention of the legislature to prohibit all political discussion, and he must entirely disclaim any such intention on the part of the legislature. It might be within the discretion of the magistrate to determine whether or no a meeting were held for seditious or literary purposes, but it never could be the intention of the legislature to prohibit political discussion. The petition was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Brougham presented a petition from Birmingham, signed by upwards of 12,000 persons. It contained a statement, in humble and earnest, but touching language, of a degree of misery almost approaching despair. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

The chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his plan for the issue of exchequer bills for the relief of the suffering manufacturers and others. He moved two resolutions, which, after some discussion, were agreed to.—

The following is an abstract of the bill proposed.

"Exchequer bills not exceeding the amount of 1,500,000*l.* may be issued in Great Britain (at 2½*d.*) payable within three years.

"In Ireland, lord lieutenant may direct the issue of 250,000*l.* out of growing produce of consolidated fund there.

"Commissioners for the execution of the act in Great Britain to be named in the bill; for Ireland to be appointed by the lord lieutenant. To be sworn, and to act without salaries.

"Commissioners to examine parties coming before them on oath; and to class all applications, and to certify the sums required to the treasury in Great Britain, and to the lord lieutenant in Ireland, who are thereupon to direct the issue of exchequer bills, or advance of money, accordingly.

"Persons receiving advances for the use of any corporation or parish in Great Britain shall give their personal security, by bond, to the king.

"Mortgages of tolls, &c. shall also be taken, which shall have preference over all dividends and claims of proprietors; but not over claims of previous creditors without the consent of 4-5ths of them.

"Money may be advanced in Ireland in aid of works managed by commissioners appointed by the lord lieutenant on mortgage of the rates, &c.

"Trustees on roads may increase tolls to secure the payments to an amount not exceeding one-half of the original toll.

"Advances to parishes in Great Britain shall be made only on application of 4-5ths in value and a majority in number of the inhabitants, and shall not exceed the amount of the last half-year's poor's rates at Easter 1817; to be paid out of accruing rates within two years after Easter 1818: but such advance shall be made only when such last poor's rate was double the amount of the last three years' average.

"Amount of exchequer bills advanced to corporations, &c. in Great Britain, shall be paid with 5 per cent. interest, fifteen days before the exchequer bills become due.

"Sums advanced in Ireland shall be paid with 6 per cent. interest, by such instalments as the commissioners

sioners there shall direct, with consent of the lord lieutenant.

"Exchequer bills issued and not used, shall be cancelled.

"Treasury may repay other exchequer bills with sums paid.

"Clauses for securing repayment by process. Commissioners empowered to compound with bankrupts.

"Seven commissioners a quorum in Great Britain. The majority in Ireland, excepting in cases specified where they may act.

"The bank of England shall keep account with commissioners.

"Exchequer bills charged on aids of 1820.

"Commissioners to report to parliament.

"Vacancies in commissioners to be supplied in Great Britain by the survivors, &c. in Ireland by the lord lieutenant."

In a committee, a clause was added to the saving banks bill, directing the money to be vested in the hands of the commissioners for liquidating the national debt; the object of which was to prevent that fluctuation to which the property of the subscribers to saving banks would be liable, were it invested directly in the public funds, and negotiable.

Mr. Tierney made his promised motion on the subject of the third secretary of state, with the view, and in the hope, of saving 12,000*l.* a-year to the country. The right honourable gentleman, after stating the recent origin of this office, and the business belonging to it (chiefly colonial), which he thought could, as formerly, be managed at the office of the secretary for the home department, concluded by moving, "That a committee be appointed to consider the nature of the business transacted by the secretary of state for the colonial department; to ascertain whether the existence of that department was necessary, whether it could with convenience be transferred to any other; and what diminution of expense would thereby be effected."

After a debate of some length, the house divided: when there appeared for the motion 87, against it 190; majority 103.

Sir M. W. Ridley, in rising to move for a copy of the petition of the Academical Society in Chancery lane, to the quarter sessions of London, for a license to hold their meetings according to the provisions of the late act, said that he had to inform the house of another instance of the unwarrantable and oppressive construction which had been given to the late act. The Philosophical Society, established in 1808, for the discussion of political and philosophical subjects, applied for a license at the quarter sessions of London on the 14th of April. The magistrates required a list of the subjects it was to discuss, and a definition of what its title or constitution would allow it to introduce. The society refused to comply with this condition, and its meetings were in consequence suspended. If the magistrates of London, who were accustomed to expound the law, and to hear it expounded, who were men of education and information, were thus ignorant of the true construction of the late act, what would be the consequence of having its provisions interpreted by other magistrates, not so well informed, with a less vigilant public to watch them, and with fewer facilities of legal correction? The extent to which the zeal or the ignorance of such men might carry them, might easily be conjectured; and the danger to the liberties of the people from their conduct might easily

easily be admitted, when he mentioned, that in one part of the country a mineralogical society had been refused a license, because the magistrates were of opinion that the study of *mineralogy had a blasphemous tendency*. The honourable baronet said, if parliament did not interfere, all freedom of debate or discussion was at an end. The honourable baronet concluded by moving for a copy of the petition to the magistrates of London by the Academical Society that meets in Chancery-lane, for a license on the 18th of April.

Mr. B. Bathurst had no objection to the motion; and with respect to the case of the mineralogical society, the construction of the act was so absurd, that any law, however easily understood, might be perverted to any purpose by persons who could so far transgress the common rules of interpretation as had been done in this case.

April 30.—Mr. Manners Sutton obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend and consolidate the acts with respect to spiritual persons holding farms, for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices, and for the support and maintenance of stipendiary curates. He said that the bill would follow the course pointed out by the act of the 43d of the king, and conclude by re-enacting the provisions of the act of the 53d, with regard to the allowances to curates; and would allow the clergy to take a farm to the extent of twenty acres. The bill would also provide for suspending all prosecutions, on account of non-residence, for six months after the expiration of the act of the 54th. The eclesiastical year was made to begin on the 1st of January, and end on the 31st of December; and it was enacted, that all licenses for non-residence should in future be limited to two years, always ending on the 31st of December. With regard to the stipendiary clergy, the alterations consisted in little more than in what might be called a dislocation of the clauses in the former act.

Lord Ebrington wished to know whether there was any clause enabling the bishop to appoint a curate, wherever he thought the duty was not adequately performed by the incumbent.

Mr. Manners Sutton said, there was a clause of that description.

The bill was then brought in, read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday se'ennight.

The chancellor of the exchequer brought in a bill to enable the commissioners of the treasury to issue 1,500,000*l.* in exchequer bills, under certain limitations, for the furtherance of public works of utility, the encouragement of the fisheries, and the employment of the poor, for a limited time, securities being given for the repayment.—Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on this day se'ennight, and to be printed.

May 9.—Several of the petitions on the table from the British and Irish catholics having been read; Mr. Grattan briefly adverted to the favourable aspect of affairs under which the petitioners again urged their claims upon the attention of the legislature, and concluded by moving, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the state of the laws affecting the catholics, &c.

Mr. L. Foster opposed the motion. He contended that neither the Veto, nor the mode of domestic nomination, would afford a sufficient guard to the protestant establishment.

ment. Why did the Irish catholics object to the arrangement which the Prussian catholics admitted, by which the government, though protestant, nominated their bishops? The emperor of Russia, too, though of a schismatic church, appointed the only catholic bishop in his dominions. He referred to the revival of the order of the Jesuits, to the papal bull of the 19th March, 1816, enjoining resistance to all innovation, and to the approval, by the Roman conclave, of Dr. Gandolphy's book, in which the bishop of London was described as "the emissary of darkness, the father of lies," to show the necessity of getting some further securities than the catholics were disposed to grant. He believed that now, as in the time of Charles I. the population would go with the clergy in preference to the aristocracy. The clergy, at that period, excommunicated the duke of Ormond, lord Castlehaven, and several other noblemen, and then threw them into prison. The conciliating therefore of the catholic aristocracy was not enough. He then alluded to the attacks invariably made upon the protestants by the catholics in the north of Ireland after their processions; and concluded with protesting against going into a committee to grope for securities.

Mr. Yorke suggested that it should form one provision of the bill to be brought in, that nothing should be granted till the authentic ratification of the pope, as to the domestic nomination of the bishops, &c. should have been promulgated: and further, that there should be a clause introduced into the bill, enabling his majesty's government to enter into such negotiation with the pope. He would not object to the admission of catholics to civil and military offices, with a very few exceptions; but, as to allowing them to sit in parliament, he had great doubts. He should have no objection to seeing the Howards and the Talbots from this side of the water, and the Plunkets and the Barnevilles from the other side of the water, sitting in parliament; but he was afraid of the catholic body of Ireland, who were the most bigoted of any in Europe, and in civilization at least 300 years behind those of France or Germany. Still the matter was a fit subject of inquiry.

Sir J. C. Hippisley repeated his former opinions on the subject.

Sir H. Parnell contended that the arrangements and oaths consented to by the catholics, afforded every reasonable security that could be required.

Mr. Webber thought what was called catholic emancipation would be the signal of the overthrow of the protestant establishment in Ireland. Four-fifths of the Irish electors were catholics; and the result would be, that very few protestants would be elected members. In the Irish parliament of 1688, there had been only six protestant members.

Mr. W. Elliot supported the motion. As to Gandolphy's pamphlet, it should be known, a letter from the pope's legate to Dr. Poynter had since stated that the approval of that pamphlet had been surreptitiously obtained, and Dr. Gandolphy had, in consequence, been suspended.

Mr. B. Bathurst thought the catholics already had every indulgence that could be granted them, consistent with the security of the state.

Lord Castlereagh thought the present moment peculiarly favourable to an attempt to admit the catholics

catholics to participate in all the privileges of the constitution. The power of the pope to embroil the states of Europe on the score of religion was at an end; for at the congress of Vienna, he could assure the house, the question of religion was not alluded to, except to acknowledge the equality of all religions. A few catholic noblemen and gentlemen in parliament would contribute mainly to bring about that happy and conciliatory spirit so necessary to the peace of Ireland. They had the pope's authority to say, that there was nothing in securities required of catholics by the government of this country which ought to be revolting to the conscience of any good catholic. He looked at this question as he did at the Union, as necessary for the tranquillity and security of the country.

Mr. Peel gave the motion his decided negative.

Mr. Montague supported it.

Mr. Canning contended, that the admission of the catholics into parliament, and to civil and military offices, was pregnant with less danger than their perpetual exclusion. As to the question of securities, that was entirely in the hands of parliament, and he would take what might seem necessary, without consulting the pope or any other person.

After a reply from Mr. Grattan, the motion was negatived by 245 to 241.

House of lords, May 12.—Earl Grey rose to bring forward his motion relative to the circular letter of lord Sidmouth, observing, that what he had to submit to the consideration of the house, though merely a legal question, was one which involved points of the greatest constitutional importance, as seriously affecting the freedom of the press, and the personal freedom of individuals. He regretted that, with reference to topics of this kind, the character of parliament had materially changed from what it formerly was: of late years it seemed more anxious to add to the power and influence of the crown, the increase of the revenue, and of the military force. Adverting to the particular subject of discussion, he said that the opinion of his majesty's law officers, as referred to in the circular letter of the noble viscount (Sidmouth), had very properly been communicated to the house; but he would now move, in order to complete the communication, that a statement of the case upon which that opinion was founded, should also be laid before their lordships, in order to show upon what grounds such opinion was called for, and if the real case was fairly brought before the law officers of the crown. He had to request the most serious attention of their lordships to what would transpire in the discussion, as it may constitute the foundation of some future proposition to be submitted. The proceeding which gave rise to the present motion, he could not but regard as a most extraordinary procedure on the part of the executive government, as directly instructing the magistrates as to the performance of an important part of their judicial duty. As the noble earl proceeded in his discussion, he referred largely, and read copious extracts from the writings and decisions of the most established English law authorities; the general drift of his legal argument being to establish, that the ordinary magistrates or justices of the peace possessed no such legal power as they were assumed to be vested with in the circular letter of the noble secretary of state. Even from the opinion referred to itself, it appeared that, previously to the 48th of the king, there were strong doubts as to the exist-

existence of such a legal power even in a judge. He felt warranted in contending, that the act in question did not give such a power generally to the judges; and still more, he must protest against the existence of such a legal power as was claimed generally for all justices of the peace, to decide what was or was not a libel (which was the most difficult point in the whole system of the law), and upon their opinions of the cases, to exact bail from any man who was concerned in the publications in question. He had no difficulty in stating, from the best examination he was able to give to all the great law authorities of the realm, that he could not find any such power distinctly stated, as that now claimed for justices of the peace. No power of the kind was inferrable from the letter of the commission of a justice of the peace. In the opinions of lord Coke, no such power was delegated to inferior magistrates, even on suspicion of felony itself; as it militated against Magna Charta. The authorities of Hawkins, chief justice Hale, and Mr. justice Blackstone, were more or less to the same effect; in their opinions, the powers of these magistrates were expressly limited to cases of felony, treason, and breach of the peace. The sentiments of the last mentioned were in fact an extension of the opinion of serjeant Hawkins upon the point. In the opinion of chief justice Holt, the powers of those magistrates, even in cases of high treason, were not given to them by statute, but by the common law, as authorized conservators of the peace; and lord Coke seemed to entertain a similar opinion. But the noble lord dwelt with most force, and at greater length, on the consideration of the celebrated proceedings which took place before lord Camden, in the case of Mr. Wilkes. The decision of that most learned and revered lawyer was, he contended, in support of what he advanced, though the case respected a warrant of the secretary of state. The authority of lord Mansfield also, in certain cases to which he referred, was in furtherance of his argument. In this part of the discussion, the noble earl distinguished between the powers vested legally and constitutionally in a secretary of state, and those lodged in an ordinary justice of the peace; and seemed to admit, that in the former these powers were vested which were now assumed to be vested in the superior magistrate: and he descanted on the difficulty in legally deciding upon cases of libel, which were endeavoured to be simplified and defined by the admirable bill of a late right honourable friend of his (Mr. Fox), the greatest lawyer, of an uneducated man, he ever knew, and which was most ably supported by his noble friend (lord Erskine) then present; and he adjured the house not to lend its sanction to a new and anomalous power in the law, so dangerous to individuals, and eventually dangerous to the state itself. The cases referred to of Spence and Hogg, he argued, laid no foundation whatever for the opinions advanced by the noble secretary of state; and so far from the court of King's bench appearing in favour of the proceeding, the contrary seemed to have been the fact. The opinions given by the law servants of the crown could not, he thought, be without some degree of bias on their minds, and those opinions ought to be appreciated by their lordships. Independent of the objectionable considerations in a legal view of the case, such an interference on the part of the executive government, to influence the administration of justice,

justice, ought seriously to be deprecated. The whole presented a case of a dangerous and unconstitutional nature; and in deciding upon it, their lordships should seriously consider its probable consequences, either with a view to the eventual effect it might have on the conduct of the people on the one hand, or on the other in strengthening the overgrown power of the government, so as to create a power in its hands, not a little participating of the character of a military despotism. After apologizing to the house for his long detention, the noble lord closed a short but eloquent peroration by moving, "that a copy of the case upon which the opinion of his majesty's law officers, referred to in the circular letter of viscount Sidmouth, was given, be laid before the house."

Lord Ellenborough could assure their lordships, notwithstanding the research which had been manifested by the noble earl, that the authority given to magistrates respecting libels had met with the fullest and most impartial investigation, and was built upon such a foundation, that he had no hesitation in saying that it was perfectly legal. The question was, whether a justice of the peace might hold to bail, upon a case of a libel? and this he was certain justices were completely authorized in doing. Taking for the grounds of his opinion the grave and venerable authorities which had in several instances been adduced even by the noble earl himself, he could not doubt but that it would be allowed that the opinion was as well founded as it could be. First, he should refer to the respectable authority of my lord Hale, who had stated, that justices of the peace might issue their warrants for the apprehension of persons charged of crimes within the cognisance of the sessions, and binding them over to keep the peace, &c. Now if any person should take that passage of his lordship's opinion and read it, what conclusion would he come to? Certainly, that a libel was an offence cognisable by the sessions. He should then refer to the very same authority which had been quoted by the noble earl, Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown. There it was stated, that a magistrate might convict for high treason, for a breach of the peace, &c. Now, what was a libel? Though not a forcible breach of the peace, it was evidently a breach of the peace by act and in reality. The only question seemed therefore to be, and that was what could never for a moment be doubted, whether libel was an offence coming under the cognisance of the quarter-sessions? Lord Camden, if thoroughly examined, would be found also to be really an authority in favour of the power being granted to justices; for he stated such offences to be under the cognisance of conservators of the peace. What would the country do without some such power as that which had been given to magistrates? Were persons to be allowed to disturb and inflame the public mind for many months without being brought to justice, or without a chance of their being for some considerable time prevented from publishing seditious libels? The country would not be secure without some such mode of protection, and he wondered that any noble lord could for a moment even imply any thing against such a power. It was a necessary power which the country required for its good government; and if there had not been such authority for such a power to magistrates, he should not have thought that house justified in adjourning even a single day without passing some bill for granting such

a power. With respect to Mr. Wilkes's case, he should say a word upon what had been dropped by the noble earl. It had been said that that gentleman had not been guilty of a breach of privilege of parliament; and why? because what he had been guilty of did not amount to an actual breach of the peace, but it had never been stated that Mr. Wilkes ought not to be held to bail for a libel. With all the authorities which he had stated, with the authority of Hale, lord Camden, Mr. serjeant Hawkins, and with the number of witnesses in the recognisances which he had produced, for so long a period, he could not help declaring it as his opinion, that there was a very great foundation for the opinion which had been stated, and he conceived it the most necessary and the most beneficial measure that in the present times could have been adopted.

Lord Erskine dissented from the opinion of the chief justice and the law officers. If their law was correct, how happened it that it had not, in a single instance, been acted upon, in the numerous prosecutions for libel soon after the French revolution? If the law had been so clear, why did not lord Sidmouth write his letter at once, without referring to the law officers? Did the attorney-and solicitor-general venture to say this was such a general practice as his noble and learned friend had stated? No; they only said that the contrary opinion had not been established. Was there ever an instance within this century, for centuries past, of a magistrate going into a bookseller's shop to look for libels, and then, on his own authority, to hold the party to bail? Yet this might be done, if the present opinion was law. Could any thing be more dangerous to the security of the subject? He would only say this—that when he was counsel, and during all the time he practised at the bar, he never had the smallest idea that a justice of the peace could hold to bail for a libel.

The lord chancellor concurred in opinion with the chief justice and the law officers; but protested against being bound by his present opinion, if the matter came to be argued before the house on a writ of error. He objected to the production of the case moved for, because it was hardly possible on any such occasion that some particulars should not be stated by the ministers of the crown which it would be highly improper and inconvenient to disclose. In 1794, it should be recollected that a proclamation had been issued, requiring the magistrates to take notice of the numerous libellous publications which were industriously circulated at that period.

Lord Holland maintained that the justices had not legally the power of committing in cases of libel. He felt gratitude to lord Sidmouth for the peace he had negotiated in 1801, and the good-humour with which he had let down the harsh and domineering character assumed by the preceding government. But he had of late assumed an attitude of menace; and done more to curtail the liberties of his country in the last three months, than he had done all his life before to defend them.

Lord Sidmouth expressed his satisfaction that his conduct had been justified by such high legal athorities as the lord chancellor and the lord chief justice. The country had been inundated by cheap seditious and blasphemous publications, which had now a wider range of mischief, as more persons could read than formerly, and there were more ale-houses to which the lower orders resorted. His attention had been

called to the subject by the country magistrates, and it was his duty to consult the law officers.

The bishop of Chester rose to explain respecting Mr. Wright, of Liverpool. He had never given any opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of the conduct of the magistrates towards that gentleman; but had merely related what he had heard—that he had impugned a fundamental doctrine of christianity.

Earl Grey said, that Mr. Wright had been held to bail for opinions not only common to unitarian christians, but even to distinguished prelates, as the reverend prelate well knew. He then contended that nothing had been advanced on the other side to shake the arguments he had urged. The cases on which they relied were unsupported by any statute, or any decision of a court of justice. He was astonished at the insinuation of increased danger because there were a greater number of readers now than formerly. Did the noble secretary mean to say, that the christian religion stood on such infirm ground, that it was to apprehend an increase of danger from an increase of knowledge? As to parodies on sacred compositions, he thought the prosecutions ought to commence a little further back; and he read from the Anti-Jacobin a parody on one of the psalms, in which the Courier, Star, Morning Chronicle, and Morning Post, with Coleridge, Southey, Priestley, &c. are called on to praise Lepaux, the French director. If justice were to be dealt impartially, he thought the author of this parody, whether in the cabinet or any other place, should be looked after, as well as the subject of the present prosecution. The motion was then negatived, by 75 to 10.

In the commons, the same day, a motion by sir C. Mordaunt for the second reading of the Birmingham poor-rates bill was, after a long debate, negatived, by 103 to 36. The object of the bill was to make the whole of the ground-renters in Birmingham liable to the rate.

In a conversation respecting lord Sidmouth's answers to the Reading magistrates, Mr. H. Addington stated that lord S. had directed that the state prisoners should be treated with all practicable lenity; and Mr. B. Bathurst asserted that they were under the care of the sheriff, and not of the justices, and that the secretary of state had a right to give directions as to their treatment.

The game preservation bill, introduced by sir E. Knatchbull, was read the third time and passed; and a clause was added to it, for punishing persons destroying game by night.

The house having ordered that the army estimates should be referred to the committee of supply, and the house having resolved itself into that committee,

Lord Palmerston said, that in rising to call upon the house to vote the supplies for the army for the whole of the year, he did not feel himself bound to follow the arrangement which had been hitherto usual in describing the different classes of force which it was proposed to maintain. He should therefore (thinking it the most consonant and perspicuous mode) divide the whole of the establishment for which he now intended to call upon the house to provide, into four classes. Under the first class he included the whole active military force employed within the kingdom, that was to say, the regiments of the line, the staff, the volunteers and yeomanry, and the public offices. Under the second class he included the active

force employed out of the kingdom, including the troops in France and in India. The third class comprehended that description who were remunerated for past services, such as the half-pay, Chelsea pensioners, &c. The fourth class was composed of that part of the establishment which it was intended to reduce in the course of the present year, but for which some supply would be required, as the reduction was not yet completed. The labours of the finance committee made it unnecessary for him to trespass at such length on the time of the house as he might otherwise have felt himself bound to do. The general and comprehensive statement in the second report of that committee, would enable gentlemen to satisfy themselves on many points. To the comparative statement in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh pages of that report he particularly referred. It would there be seen that on the total amount of force for this year, as compared with that for the preceding year, there was a diminution of 1,738,000*l.* But in that statement was included the disembodied militia, which he did not take into the account in what he had now to submit to the committee. There would therefore, by making an allowance for this, be on the whole force of this year, as compared with the last, a saving amounting in round numbers to 1,800,000*l.* By referring to the 23d page of the same report it would be found, taking the more narrow view, and taking only that part of the army which was an actual charge on the revenue of the country, that there was a diminution in the number of men for the service of this year as compared with the preceding, of 35,000 rank and file, or (including officers) 40,000. In addition to this, however, he had to state to the committee, that orders had been recently sent to the Mediterranean for the return of the 2d battalion of the 14th regiment, which was to be reduced as soon as it reached this country. Taking the reduction of that battalion into account, there would be a reduction on this branch of the force of 36,000 rank and file, or 42,000, including officers and men, compared with the numbers of last year. If the aggregate of the military establishment, including the force in France, was taken, and allowance was made for the 2d battalion of the 14th regiment of foot now on their way home to be reduced, there was, on the whole, a reduction of 53,000 rank and file, or 61,000 officers and men, from the amount of the force last year. By this reduction in the number of men there would be a reduction in the amount of the supplies for this year to the extent of 1,800,000*l.* Whether the extent of this reduction would give satisfaction to all, he would not venture to say; but at least he was sure that to a majority of the house it would appear satisfactory. At least it showed, that in the interval between the last session of parliament and the present, his majesty's ministers had not been inattentive to the sufferings of the nation, but had lent all their efforts to make such reductions in the military establishment as would materially reduce the public expenditure, and thus not only soothe the feelings, but alleviate the distresses, of the people. Reductions such as those which he had mentioned could not be easily or quickly made. It was not a glance of the eye, or a stroke of the pen, that was sufficient to effect them. When the nature and extent of our military establishments was considered; when it was

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remembered that they were scattered through our settlements in every quarter of the world, it would be allowed that it required the most laborious and patient examination on the part of his majesty's government to enable them to submit to the house the reductions which he had mentioned. It would be seen by referring to the 25th page of the second report of the finance committee, to what extent the military force of the country had been reduced within the last two years and a half. At the end of 1814 (which was the earliest time at which the work of reduction could have been commenced) the amount of the whole military force of the country was 228,594 men. Last year the amount of the force kept up was 99,000 men for the general service, including the colonies, 30,000 for our army in France, and 20,000 for Great Britain and Ireland. For the present year the amount would be as follows, viz.—80,000 men for the general service, including the colonies; 20,326 for the army in France, and 17,360 for Great Britain and Ireland. It would be hardly necessary for him to recapitulate the different stations on which these were employed. With respect to the details of the reduction, the following were the most prominent statements:—The guards had not this year been exempted from bearing their share in the reduction; for from each company in the guards there had been a reduction of one serjeant and ten men. The total number of men reduced from the regiments of the line in the last year were taken at 13,000. The expenses of the recruiting department for this year were taken at 130,000*l.* less than they were last year. In the staff, great reductions had also been made. In this department two hundred and fifty-seven officers were reduced. The public departments and offices were those in which the least reduction had been made; and it was easy to explain why they were the branches of the public service in which reduction at this time was least practicable. The whole amount of the reductions in the public offices was between 19,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* When the nature of these offices was considered—when it was considered that the very process of reduction for the time increased the amount of business in these departments, it would be admitted that those were not the departments in which the greatest reductions could be expected. In the office of the commander in chief particularly, there was a source of business, which perhaps could not be considered as likely to be permanent, but yet which was for the time occasioned by the process of reduction. Many officers fit for service being placed upon half-pay, feeling their capacity for the public service, naturally came forward and submitted their claims to be employed to the commander in chief. He was sure the house would sympathize in the situations of these persons, and he was also sure that the house would not carry the reductions so far as even to deprive the commander in chief of attending to such claims, and giving the claimants at least the poor satisfaction of knowing that their claims were not treated with neglect. The committee would see by the statement in the report of the committee of finance, that considerable reductions were made in his (lord Palmerston's) department. But as to that branch of the department in which the correspondence was conducted, there could not be any reduction at all

The number of letters of authority and of warrants inserted in the books of the office, afforded the best criterion as to this. In the year ending the 17th of March 1791, the number of letters in his department was 7004; in the year ending in March 1800, the number was 14,703; in the year ending in March, 1816, it was 92,320; in the year ending in March 1817, the number had increased to 105,904. So far, therefore, as reduction could be founded on the diminution of business, it would be allowed that at least in this department the reduction could not yet be made. The number of clerks in the war-office had also been considerably reduced. Among others, he stated, that the number of clerks, of the highest class, had been reduced from six to four. A similar reduction was made in the second class. The chief inspector of the foreign branch, who had a salary of 1,095*l.* a year, was also reduced. Several clerks in minor departments had been reduced, and, besides, several vacancies occurring, from death or resignation, had not been filled up. On the whole of this department, compared with last year, there was a reduction in the expense to the amount of 5,921,000*l.* In the adjutant-general's department there was a reduction to the extent of 3000*l.* In the quarter-master general's department, 1736*l.* In the department of the commissary general of musters, 1714*l.* In the volunteers there was a reduction to the amount of 3407*l.* In the military college there was a reduction of 5564*l.* As to this item he was bound to notice the very handsome conduct of the governor of that college, who, when called upon to state what reductions could be made in that department, began by drawing his pen through 500*l.* a year, the allowance of his own table. This certainly was only such conduct as was to be expected by those who knew the character of the gallant officer. In the sum for pay of general officers, there was a diminution of 3620*l.* which arose from the casualties during the year. Since 1814, when the arrangement now acted upon with respect to the pay of general officers was introduced, 54 general officers had died. It was intended, pursuant to the report of the committee of finance, to alter the arrangement, by which there were now three rates of pay for general officers, by assimilating the pay of generals and lieutenant-generals, instead of having as now one rate for major-generals, one for lieutenant-generals, and a third for generals. It was intended for the future that officers promoted to the rank of generals should not receive the unallotted pay till the whole number of general officers was reduced to 120, which was intended to be the number to which the permanent establishment would be limited. In the estimates for the present year, those for the different garrisons were separated from the staff. Under the second of the four classes into which he had divided the military establishments, namely, that which included the half-pay and pensions, there was an increase in the present year to the amount of 958,000*l.*; the obvious cause of which was the reductions which had taken place. In the third class there was a reduction of 238,000*l.* In consequence of the report of the committee of finance, a new arrangement was proposed with respect to pensions and allowances to wounded officers. He would take leave to say, that he did not entirely approve of a new arrangement. According to that now acted upon, the amount of the pension increased

creased with the rank of the officer. What was now intended, was, that all officers for the future should receive the pension only for the rank which they held at the time they received the wound. There had been an increase in the allowances for superannuations in exchequer fees: there was a diminution in the present year to the extent of 92,000*l.* The Irish barracks, and the Irish commissariat, were not included in the estimates for the present year. On a general view of the amount of the whole estimates, there was a diminution of 1,800,000*l.* as combined with the last year. The total amount of the estimates for the present year was 6,682,000*l.* From this, however, were to be deducted the reductions which were now in progress and would be completed in the course of the year, and the amount would then be 6,385,000*l.* But of this sum again it was to be considered, that a great part was required for the third class, which included the remuneration of past services, which amounted to about 2,591,000*l.* leaving the total amount of the estimates for the active services of the present year, 3,794,000*l.* for the 1st class. In 1783, the amount of the estimates for active service was 3,059,000*l.* and in 1791, after several years of profound peace, it was 1,626,000*l.* When it was considered that the amount of the soldier's pay was doubled since 1791, and that the colonies and possessions of the kingdom were now so much more extensive than they then were, it would not be wondered that the estimates of this year were now only about 500,000*l.* more than double what they were in 1791. The noble lord concluded by moving the first resolution, "that a number of men, not exceeding 121,035 for land forces, be voted for the service of his majesty in the present year."

Mr. Calcraft thought the force proposed much too large for the circumstances of the country. With respect to the report of the finance committee, as he did not become a member of that committee until after the second report was drawn up, he did not hold himself responsible for any part of that report; and he could not help observing, as to that report, that it was very extraordinary that establishments should be voted, or their amount determined, before the statement of the probable income of the year was laid before the house. In 1792, all the services now to be performed were performed by 40,000 less than the number now required, excluding the force in France. He did not mean to say that the establishment of 1792 was capable of performing the services now required. But ministers were at least bound to show the reason for so prodigious an increase. With respect to the colonies, he could not help observing with satisfaction, that the numbers tallied completely with those he himself had proposed as sufficient last year: though he was then told that no reduction could be made. In more than five or six instances the present numbers tallied with what he had then proposed, so that ministers had adopted the opinions of himself and his friends; but, on this occasion, he must say, they were a full year in arrear of their duty, as they ought to have made those very reductions a year ago. No doubt next year they would find, that what they think impossible now can be done then. For the considerable reductions that had already been made, the country was, in his opinion, indebted to the firmness of the house in refusing the income tax

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and the malt tax, and also to the debates on the army establishment. If it had not been for the discussions that had taken place, though apparently disregarded at the time, he was convinced that we should not have seen the reduced establishments of the present day, but which, as taken altogether at 140,000 men, he still thought too high. The gentlemen opposite ought to explain why this force is necessary. There were 17,000 yeomanry cavalry in addition to this large force, merely for the service of Great Britain. In 1792 a force of 12,000 men was found amply sufficient. How came it that the country was in so different a state now as to require such an addition? It was known that the grievances of the people arose very much from the burthens of taxation: and if this amount of force was to be kept up, it must be seen that it would be impossible to diminish these burthens. Now, if gentlemen thought that a large military establishment was better than to relieve the public from their burthens, he must beg leave to say that he totally differed from them. Believing, however, that still further reductions were in progress, he should not go into minute details at present; but there were one or two topics which he could not help touching on. The first was, the subject of foreign half-pay. Many foreign officers who received half-pay were now in Hanover on full pay and in actual service. He thought this a most improvident regulation, and one which ought to be corrected. Another topic was the half-pay officers reduced before the 24th June, 1814. Their case was extremely hard, as being limited to the old rates of half-pay; and thus a partiality or preference was shown to foreign officers who had served in our army. It did not appear to him that the reductions had been sufficiently extensive in the public departments connected with the army. He did not think that of the commander in chief likely to be sufficiently reduced; but he would press upon ministers the necessity of reducing that, and every other department, to the lowest possible rate that is at all compatible with the business they have to transact. If he saw any chance of being supported, he should move for a considerable reduction to be made in the present established force, as being too large for the circumstances of the country. He hoped the noble lord would yet give some explanation of the necessity of maintaining so large a force.

Mr. Lyttleton could not refrain from calling the attention of the committee to the half-pay of our officers both of the army and navy; though he should only indirectly touch on the latter, as not connected with the subject under consideration. The case of the officers in both services was this:—When they receive their half-pay, they are obliged to make an affidavit that they do not receive any other emolument under the crown. This might have been a good regulation formerly; but at present he did not see any reason to induce government, whether from œconomy, or any other circumstance, to adhere to it now. The noble lord had admitted that reductions in the army caused great distress; and this was the time, of all others, when officers were suffering the greatest degree of distress, owing to the extreme pressure of taxation, and the increase of the number of these persons. The honourable gentleman descanted at considerable length in behalf of those meritorious gentlemen, whose half-pay was not merely a bare

a bare remuneration for their past, but a boon for their future services; under these grounds, he argued for the policy of their obtaining the means of a genteel subsistence, by being allowed to fill civil offices, which must be filled by somebody. He concluded with hoping that these excluding affidavits would be abolished.

General Walpole objected to the amount of force appropriated to the defence of the West India colonies, particularly that at the Bermudas.

Mr. Warre contrasted the amount of the life guards at present with their establishment in 1796, when they only consisted of 875 men. They were now absolutely double what they were at that time; and in his opinion they were kept up merely for show and splendour. He then adverted to the force in Jamaica, the charge for which in 1802 was only 864*l.* but was now 4816*l.* The total charge for the staff in the colonies was 74,000*l.*; while in 1792 it was only 17,000*l.* and was now more than treble what it was in 1802. It was singular that in the windward and leeward islands the staff exceeded what it was for the whole of the colonies in 1792. He then alluded to the Compassionate Fund, the principles of which he praised. He wished to see it increased, on account of the numerous families who received benefit from it, and he hoped some addition would be made to it. He took this opportunity of asking whether lord Camden's example had been followed by any other gentlemen?

Lord Palmerston, in reply, denied that the garrisons were precisely the amount of what the honourable gentleman (Mr. Calcraft) had suggested last year. But he thought it hard and unfair, if they were, that ministers should be accused and censured for doing what he had recommended. Respecting the Hanoverian officers, he had stated that, their time of service being limited, they could not, by law, be called back to employment in this country on full pay, while the full pay in the Hanoverian service was not quite equal to the half-pay in this. It was deemed desirable to have the benefit of the services of these officers in Hanover, as they had made a distinguished figure under the duke of Wellington: and there was no mode of accomplishing this, but by permitting them to retain their half-pay, which made no pecuniary difference to the public, because they could not be employed in this country. Respecting the addition made to the half-pay in 1814 the rule was, that the augmented regulation was to be given to all officers reduced subsequent to that date in 1814. It was thought there was not sufficient ground for giving the increase to officers who had not come forward to offer their services during the war. Respecting the force in Jamaica, he showed that it was now only increased by 300 men more than in December 1792, when it was 2,900, it being now 3,200. The life guards and blues were placed on the same establishment as the other regiments of cavalry, and there was no reason why they should be of a lower amount than those other regiments that were deemed efficient, as they had most important duties to perform. As to the staff, any person at all acquainted with the alteration that had taken place in the internal state of the army, must know, that a much greater staff was necessary now than at the close of the last war. It would remain for the house to decide whether they thought the advantage, in point of discipline, would

would justify the increase. He would venture to say, that as long as the present organization of the military force existed, it would be impossible to revert to the same staff as at the period alluded to. Some persons were of opinion, that in many of our colonies we had even some below what we ought. Respecting the principle on which the allowances of theCompassionate Fund were framed, he did not think any considerable addition could be made to the scale of them, without throwing a great burthen on the public.

General Ferguson alluded to the very great hardships of the artillery corps that were sent to Jamaica.—They had no prospect of ever returning; and they went out with this idea, considering themselves as condemned men. Some of them had been in the island twenty-six and twenty-seven years, and many of them fifteen. The little chance they had of coming home made them desperate, and they gave themselves up to every military crime; the consequence of which was, that military punishments were above a hundred-fold more than in other regiments. He called on the noble lord to put an end to this barbarous system of expatriation.

General Phipps considered the observations of the honourable general respecting these military men to be an attack on the noble lord at the head of the ordnance department.

General Ferguson distinctly denied that what he had said was liable to such an inference.

Mr. Ponsonby defended the opinion of the honourable general. If such abuses had existed for twenty-seven years, it was high time they should be abolished.

Lord Nugent declared that he gave his sincere and hearty opposition to the amount of the establishment. He should not trust to the noble lord's assurance of further reductions, because the same assurances were given last year; but it was not till after the house had forced the estimates to be withdrawn, that they were brought forward with reductions.—The patronage and influence which such an army gave to the crown, in time of peace, was far from being the "head and front of the offending." When he saw an actual armed force of one hundred and forty thousand men in the pay of the king, and at the disposal of an administration which he distrusted, and whose political principles he was far from subscribing to, his alarm was very much increased. It was the duty of every man to feel jealous for the free constitution of his country, and to remind his countrymen of the doctrines to which we owe our freedom. There could be found no instance in which a free country had ever long survived a despotic military establishment, and no instance of the liberties of a people being overthrown but by the agency of a large standing army.

Mr. Curwen said, nobody could deny the danger was great; but this was not the time to form an opinion what line of conduct should be adopted. Every thing would depend upon ascertaining the state of the finance of the country. Till this was made clear, he could not say to what extent his opinion would go as to the amount of the army that ought to be maintained.

The conversation was maintained for some time between Mr. Lyttleton, general Gascoigne, a member whose name could not be learned, and sir William Burrowes; the last of whom entered into an elaborate comparison

comparison of the amount of troops maintained in our various colonies at different periods, particularly in 1792, contrasting them with the present amount, and contending that the amount now proposed was far beyond what necessity required.

Mr. Goulburn, in reply to the last-mentioned baronet, regretted that he had been so recent a member of the house as not to have heard what was said on the subject of the colonial establishments last session, when the necessity of the forces there was clearly made out, and acknowledged by the gentlemen opposite. He justified the present colonial armies, as necessary to preserve their domestic tranquillity. So far from ministers being blamed for proposing excessive establishments, he thought they were rather open to blame for risking something, in order to satisfy the general cry for œconomy and retrenchment. The honourable baronet seemed not to be aware, that the 140,000 men included the large garrisons for India.

Sir W. Burrowes, in reply, observed, that if 20,000 effective Europeans were sufficient, with the native troops, to preserve the tranquillity of that immense empire and population, it was a proof of the mildness and moderation of the government, and the attachment of the inhabitants. But could as much be said of the state of this country? Were the people here so attached to the government? and could the illustrious personage at the head of it be said to be enthroned in their hearts? If loyalty and attachment pervaded every part of the country, where was the necessity for such an enormous standing army? He believed, however, that the ungrounded apprehensions of ministers had induced them to maintain an army beyond what the country required; and he hoped they would see their error, and attempt to rule by the affections of the people, and not by the sword.

Lord Castlereagh protested against the mode the honourable baronet had adopted of throwing the gross amount of all the descriptions of force together, including yeomanry, and the army in France, and commenting upon them, as if they were all maintained at the expense of England. The gentlemen opposite, he observed, were not disposed to impeach the estimate. Certainly the government of India was entitled to all the praise of the honourable baronet; for a more mild and liberal government did not exist. But the people there were attached to the government; for they had not been corrupted by the pernicious and disorganizing principles and doctrines of the French revolution. The noble lord proceeded to convince the honourable baronet of his erroneous estimates, by referring to the different forces; and observed, that instead of having 140,000 men for the British empire, we had only 80,000, which number, though voted by parliament, always fell short of the amount. With respect to the colonial garrisons abroad, his honourable friend (Mr. Goulburn) had shown that they were only a fraction beyond what they were in 1792, exclusive of the number necessary for the six new colonies we had acquired. The honourable baronet need only ask the opinion of the Jamaica merchants, to know whether government had made an extravagant provision for Jamaica and the Leeward islands. When it was remembered that since 1792 we had become possessed of Malta, the Ionian Isles, the Cape of Good Hope, and many other possessions, the force set apart for the colonies could not be thought too great.

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The only point on which a question could arise, was on the number of troops kept up in England and Ireland; and this had been so fully gone into last year, that it was almost a waste of time to enter into it now. Of the number of men proposed to be voted for England, when the 3000 allowed for reliefs were deducted, and other circumstances were taken into consideration, the number of really effective men that would remain would not be expected to exceed 16,000. He admitted the country must, in a great measure, rely on the yeomanry for safety; but these were not fitted for every day duty, as they could not be called out without putting the individuals composing it to considerable inconvenience; and they could not be expected to serve in the docks, or in other places where the presence of troops was constantly necessary. The situation of the country was much altered since 1792: at that time the country had abandoned all system in its army. Our army had, in fact, been made since that period. He did not mean to say that the British army had not always been distinguished for its gallant conduct in the field; but it was since 1792 that the machine had been put in motion, such as it now appeared, regulated as it was by its illustrious commander-in-chief, whose unremitting labours had at length brought it to a state of unexampled perfection. The question was now, Should we have an army, or should we not? If we had an army, we must have a staff to manage it. The staff now proposed to be kept up, he contended, was not at all too great, if, in some instances, it had not been left imperfect. The best proof that could be given of this was found in the conduct of the gentlemen opposite. If a sound objection could have been urged against the estimates, they would not have failed to bring forward some specific motion for the reduction of them.

Mr. Calcraft said, as the noble lord seemed to think gentlemen on that side of the house were not in earnest, since they had brought forward no specific motion, he would pledge himself to gratify him on a future occasion by moving a reduction of the estimates on the bringing up of the report.

Lord Castlereagh begged to assure the honourable gentleman, that if he only proposed to bring forward a motion of the nature just announced, to gratify him (lord Castlereagh), he might spare himself the trouble. He had only meant to say, that if the honourable gentleman had thought he could persuade the house to take a view of the subject different from that which they had taken in the last session, he would not have failed to propound his opinion in the form of a motion, that it might become the opinion of the house.

Mr. Calcraft said, he never saw a greater chance of success than when he had first entered the house that day. He expected, if not to carry a majority with him on a motion for reducing the estimates, to be joined by many who were anxious, like himself, to check that military spirit which appeared to be spreading itself over the country.

Mr. Brougham contended, with a yeomanry force in the united kingdom amounting to 35,000 men, the estimates might reasonably be expected to be brought much lower than they were at present. In addition to the yeomanry, there were magistrates, constables, and the *posse comitatus* to secure the peace; and

and were not these sufficient for the purpose? Must every thing be done by soldiers? Why was the country to be told the army must be doubled, because the yeomanry and soldiers could only be trusted? Was this the result of that triumph, in consequence of which they had carried up addresses of congratulation? Was this the consequence of the great big boasts they had heard, of the peaceful conquests of the noble lord at the congress? After all they had heard on this subject, were they now to be called upon to vote such an army as the noble lord had proposed to keep up? And were they now to be jeered, as they had been in this debate, when they spoke of the present period as one of profound peace? Whatever might be said of the additional force required to defend our new colonial acquisitions, there was no shifting this question from the ground on which it had been placed by his honourable friend (Mr. Calcraft). No good reason could be shown why nearly 86,000 men should be voted in 1817 to perform those duties which in 1792 it was thought required no more than 44,100. This was the ground which had been taken by his honourable friend, and those opposed to him in vain attempted to make him budge from it. Was it because the discipline of our army had been so much improved, as he rejoiced to say it had been, that double the number of men were necessary to perform a particular service than were formerly called for? He should have expected, that from this improvement fewer men rather than more would have been wanted. The state of profound domestic peace in which the country was at present, did not justify the call made for a great military force. Before the army was increased, he wished the house to take into their consideration the present situation of the country, with respect to the dangers to be apprehended from the designs of the disaffected. He would call upon the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. H. Addington), in the plenitude of his disposition to feel alarm, to point out from an annual register, a parliamentary debate, or an old file of newspapers, any period at which the country had enjoyed a more perfect state of repose. At the late assizes at Pomfret there had not been one prosecution for sedition. At Manchester, Ormskirk, Preston, and Liverpool, out of four hundred persons brought to trial, there was but one person tried for uttering seditious words, and one only; and this was such a case, that the magistrates could only say that the accused had spoken foolishly in his cups, and they had ordered him to be liberated on his own recognisances. At Norwich, which had been denounced by name in one of the reports, an inquiry had been made by the grand jury into the seditious associations there in existence, and the result was a unanimous declaration, that nothing of the kind could be traced. There had been no disturbances in any part of the country since those of Spafields and Manchester; and under these circumstances he called on the house not to consent to a military force being kept up on account of the internal state of the country, whose numbers should double that which was found sufficient in 1792. If there were danger, which he denied that there was, let additional constables be sworn in—let the *posse comitatus* be called out—let civil means be resorted to in order to secure the public peace. Let Englishmen have recourse to the

the constitution of their country in time of danger, if they wished to prove themselves worthy of such a constitution. For Ireland, it was said, a smaller force could not be kept up than had been proposed last year, and which it was admitted on all hands was necessary. He, however, wished to know what had been done to remove the discontents of Ireland since that period; and he would ask if nothing could be effected to tranquillize that country but by means of an army? He contended, that by making the proposed concessions in matters of religion, much of the force now required for Ireland might be spared. If to concede the catholic claims would tranquillize that country, it was strange to see, and to him it was wholly incomprehensible, that those in the administration who held this opinion should court the association and fellowship of others who opposed it, and suffer themselves to be triumphed over by those who would not be permitted to remain in their places twenty-four hours, if they were in the same way to oppose the amount of the estimates now before the house.

The resolution was then agreed to. The other resolutions were then moved, and carried without discussion.

House of lords, May 15.—Lord Erskine adverting to what had passed on the former evening, in respect of the power of justices, stated his intention of framing a motion, with a view of procuring a return of the number of commitments for libels by magistrates; the recognisances entered in the court of King's bench, and at sessions; and also the indictments found at sessions. If the law should be as stated last night, the noble and learned lord said, he could not rest until that law was altered, because it would give a greater power to magistrates than they ought to possess.

House of commons, May 14.—Mr. Vansittart moved that the poor employment bill should be committed for the introduction of several amendments, the discussion of which he wished to stand over to a future day.

Mr. Brougham objected to government lending money and forcing security. Next he objected, that this measure would not relieve the country, as it was not money, but employment, which was wanted. Next, he did not consider this would have any good effect, as it would not throw any greater capital into the money-market. The difficulties of giving securities required by the chancellor of the exchequer would prevent persons who wanted to borrow obtaining relief from this fund. Next, he had to state, that he did not believe the sum intended to be advanced was large enough to do any good. He also thought it extremely objectionable, that a million and three-fourths of money should be issued by the government to the people, at a time when we were upon the eve of an event which would call upon the people to exercise their judgement respecting the character and measures of that government—he meant a dissolution of parliament, which would take place a few months after their rising. He did not throw out these objections captiously, but with a feeling friendly to the measure.

Mr. Western, in addition to the objections just stated, observed, that the bill would subject those of the higher orders, who refused to give the required securities, to the odium

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of standing between their poorer neighbours and the relief offered by government.

Mr. Vansittart said, the money was not to be issued by his majesty's ministers individually; and the apprehension of exercising any influence through the commissioners, was removed, by the independent and honourable character of those commissioners. The details of the measures, as to securities and the distribution of relief, would be found to obviate most of the difficulties stated on those subjects.

Mr. J. P. Grant and Mr. Lockhart expressed their fears that the bill would produce no practical benefit.

Mr. Rose and Mr. Hurst maintained a contrary opinion.

The house having then gone into a committee, Mr. Vansittart proposed his new clauses; one was for appointing persons commissioners, viz. lord R. Seymour, sir T. Acland, Mr. W. Lamb, sir C. Edmonstone, sir James Shaw, sir J. Perring, Mr. Gooch, Mr. Edward Littleton, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. C. Grant sen. Mr. Curwen, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Casberd, Mr. J. Smith, Mr. H. Swann, Mr. B. Harrison, Mr. Reid, chairman of the East India company (not a member of the house), Mr. Thornton, Mr. Philips, Mr. Angerstein, Mr. C. Baring, Mr. Joseph Tierney, and Mr. Bosanquet.

The report was afterwards brought up, and ordered for further consideration.

May 15.—In answer to a question from Mr. Ponsonby, lord Castlereagh said, that after the holidays a communication would be made to the house concerning the internal state of the country; after which the same proceedings would be proposed as had taken place in the early part of the session, and it would be referred to a committee to enter into an inquiry as to the measures proper to be pursued. His majesty's ministers, in the present situation of the country, thought themselves called on to propose a continuance of the measure now in operation.

Mr. Philips suggested that there should be a call of the house; to which lord Castlereagh assented.

In answer to a question from Mr. Brougham, lord Castlereagh repeated that a communication would be made to the house; after which a committee would be proposed for the purpose of making an inquiry, as at the beginning of the session; after which his majesty's ministers would propose to parliament a continuation of the measures now in force.

Mr. Brougham. "Am I then to understand that a committee is to inquire, and that this is to be the result of the inquiry?"

Sir F. Burdett remarked, that there could be no doubt what would be the result of the inquiry. But he should first move for a list of the persons confined under the present act, who they were, when taken, and where imprisoned.

Mr. Brougham hoped that some member, of more weight than himself, would give notice of a motion for an address, praying his royal highness the prince regent not to dissolve parliament while the habeas corpus act was under suspension.

Mr. Philips moved that the house should be called the 2d of June.

Mr. J. P. Grant reminded the house that the lord advocate for Scotland had stated that the conspiracy at Glasgow was not confined to the poorer classes of the community. The fact, however, was, that only one person above the rank of a working man had been taken, and he declared that he had nothing

to do with political clubs. This person, for whom 3000*l.* bail had been refused, had, after a causeless confinement of six weeks, been discharged without any bail.

Sir John Newport rose, pursuant to the notice he had given, to call the attention of the house to the present state of Ireland, as affected by the great load of its taxation. He hoped for the patient attention of the house while he compared the financial state of Ireland with what it had been at several periods, and endeavoured to show that she was now, at a period of general peace, entitled to some relaxation. At that period, which he would ever call the period of Ireland's glory—in the years 1781 and 1782, when the great exertions of his right honourable friend the member for Dublin (Mr. Grattan) had called into life the spirit which defended Ireland from her foreign foes, which protected her trade, enforced an obedience to her laws almost unparalleled, and rendered justice to herself by making her parliament independent of Great Britain,—at that period her burthens were comparatively light. She looked to herself for protection, not to the existence of a large military force: but this happy state did not last long; party feuds and dissensions soon broke out, and under the government of a succeeding lord lieutenant that system had its rise of governing Ireland by division amongst her people. Was it not natural for a country which had surrendered her independence, and which had since borne an equal and more than equal portion of the public burthens, to come now to the imperial parliament, and look for an equal portion of redress? Would it not, he would ask, be considered that Ireland had reason to complain, when he should state, that England had been relieved since the peace from a burthen of not less than seventeen millions of taxes, while the relief in that way afforded to Ireland amounted only to 340,000*l.*? The impolicy of our continuing to tax Ireland to the present amount, must be evident to any one who took the trouble of comparing the amount of her revenue in the last years with what it was in 1808. The new taxes imposed since 1808 were calculated to produce a sum of three millions and a half; but with this addition, how much would the house think did the revenue of last year exceed that of the year before those taxes were imposed? By the vast sum of 10,000*l.* This was the great price of that vexatious system of taxation which had been imposed, and of all the discontent it had produced; and this was accompanied by notices of discontinuances of horses, carriages, servants, &c. which would amount in decrease of duty to infinitely more than that sum. Would not that circumstance be sufficient in itself to show the necessity of having something done? Among the many causes which contributed to swell the poor-rates to their present enormous amount, and to bring on that poverty which was so generally felt by all classes of manufacturers, there was not one which had a greater effect than the state of our best market, Ireland. The decrease in the demand from Ireland for the eleven of the principal articles of English manufacture and produce, since the year 1813, was in the proportion of 3,400,000*l.* to 1,100,000*l.* The official value of the articles imported from England into Ireland was, in 1813, 3,400,000*l.* In the last year it amounted only to 1,100,000*l.* This was the amount of the official value; the real value must be considerably greater; but he chose to mention only

only the official value, lest he should be charged with misquoting or exaggerating. Of these articles,—and here he begged the attention of the house, as the articles he was going to mention were the leading ones of English manufacture,—the decrease on each would be best seen from this statement. The value of goods imported into Ireland from this country was—

	In 1813.	In 1816.
In woollen cloths	2,000,000*l.*	600,000*l.*
In leather	200,000	49,000
In iron and hardware ..	340,000	170,000
In cotton twist	320,000	130,000
Total decrease.....		180,000*l.*

And in looking at all these articles, it would appear that they were not the luxuries but the mere necessaries of life. The decrease in the duties on malt would be seen from this. The number of barrels made in three years were thus—

In 1814.. there were.. 800,000
In 1815 670,000
In 1816 481,000

In spirits, the decrease of the duty was great in proportion to this. The decrease in wines amounted to 140,000*l.* Though the duties on them were now doubled, the produce was not half what it was a short time before. The deficiency in the duties on them would be seen by this—

They were in 1815 ..	576,000*l.*
1816 ..	442,000
Making a deficiency of	134,000*l.*

It might also be necessary to add, in order to show the further deficiency which he expected from the inland taxes, the notices served on the collectors of hearth and window taxes for the years 1816 and 1817, for the discontinuance of 42,000 windows and 10,000 hearths. These were irrefutable symptoms of the distress which existed in Ireland, and of the utter inability of a great portion of the people to pay; for it was natural to think that no man would deprive himself of the benefit of light and heat, if he could possibly pay for them. Besides those, there was a number nearly as great in proportion of notices for the discontinuance of carriages, horses, and servants, and jaunting-cars. The tax upon jaunting-cars was so great, that many persons were unable to keep one, and by that means were often debarred from going to church. This was an important consideration as it regarded the protestant faith; for, assuredly, the people would not long remain protestants if they were debarred from frequenting their churches. He had before mentioned that the financial sacrifices made by Ireland were greater, in proportion, than those of England. From the report of a committee which sat upon the subject of finance in 1813, it appeared that for ten years before the union, the gross revenue of Ireland amounted to 21,614,000*l.* averaging 2,161,400*l.* The gross revenue for ten years after the union was 45,579,000*l.* averaging 4,557,900*l.* a year. And in the last six years it appeared that the gross revenue was 38,496,000*l.* averaging 6,416,000*l.* a year. So that in every one of the last six

years, the amount of the revenue of Ireland was treble what it was in any of the ten which preceded the union. The consequence of this vast increase was, that the fortunes of the resident gentry of Ireland were considerably diminished; and as their property decreased, their weight and influence with their tenants decreased in proportion. The effect of this would, he was convinced, be exceedingly dangerous to this country. The right honourable baronet then contended, that as the expenses of Ireland were greater in proportion than those of England, and much greater than she at present could be expected to pay, and that as England had been relieved by a diminution of seventeen millions of her taxes, while those of Ireland were only decreased by 340,000*l.* it was the duty of the house to afford her some additional relief. The right honourable baronet concluded by moving a series of resolutions, which set forth, "That the gross revenue of Ireland for ten years after the union was 21,614,000*l.* making an average of 2,161,400*l.* a year; that the gross revenue of Ireland for the ten years immediately succeeding the union was 45,579,000*l.* making an average of 4,557,900*l.* a year; and that for the last six years the gross revenue was 38,496,000*l.* making an average of 6,416,000*l.* a year; and that justice, sound policy, and the real interests of the empire required that the burthens now imposed upon Ireland should be diminished.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald defended the policy which had been acted upon in imposing taxes on Ireland, and contended that it resulted from the right honourable baronet's own showing, either that the taxes were not such as to defeat the progress of the revenue, or that its progress had not been such as had been stated. The deficiency of last year was no proof that the measures of finance previously adopted were impolitic. It might be accounted for from the general distress which had been felt, and it was not fair to select that year to compare with 1808. In the last year the deficiency was 1,191,000*l.* The whole of this had fallen on the customs, Irish excise, and land tax, with the exception of about 30,000*l.* The malt duties remitted had caused a falling off of.. 207,000*l.* The reduction of the duties on spirits 86,000

Making together a deficiency of ..... 293,000*l.*

The repayments made for the stock of malt in hand had amounted to 167,000*l.* and there had been a diminution in the duties levied on hearths, amounting to 40,000*l.* but which had been estimated at 60,000*l.* The 340,000*l.* which had been remitted in taxes, ought to have been brought into the account by the honourable baronet, when he was arguing against the impolicy of the taxes, from the falling off in the revenue. The following deficiencies had occurred in the last year:—

On the assessed taxes of Ireland 64000*l.*

To be accounted for from

hearth duties remitted ..	40,000
Carriages	18,000
Windows	4000
Horses	5,000

And these were all that were to be noticed with respect to the inland taxes in the whole of the last year. That the taxes had not fallen off when the duties were augmented, furnished, in his opinion, a strong argument in favour of the policy which had resorted to them, and the notices of discontinuance which had been received, grew more out of the rigour

rigour with which the collection of them had been enforced, than out of the character of the duties themselves; and it was hard that the efforts made to collect them should be censured by those who once so loudly complained of their non-collection. Notwithstanding the falling off which he had admitted to have taken place in the last year in the inland taxes, their produce, under all the circumstances of the times, had amounted to 150,000*l.* more than ever they had done in any former year (with the exception of the year 1814), and to 340,000*l.* more than the sum which they produced in 1811. He then entered into a series of financial statements, in which he traced the defalcation in the duties on foreign wines, on timber and deals, on English manufactures, on foreign spirits and tobacco, to their several causes, and clearly proved that these resulted not from the impolitic measures of the government. He went over the loans raised for the service of Ireland since 1812, and showed the annual charge created by them, which he proved to have been adequately met by the taxes imposed for that purpose. The increased taxes raised in Ireland in the five years ending January 5, 1816, had exceeded the whole revenue in 1801, as the net increase in the five years ending in 1816 was as follows:—

In the customs	527,000*l.*
Excise, &c.	1,731,000
	2,228,000*l.*

In the year 1801 the whole was but 2,260,000*l.* In his present situation, he (Mr. Fitzgerald) did not feel that it was for him to resist or to acquiesce in the resolutions moved by the right honourable baronet. He, however, did not think he had brought them forward in such a way as to incline the house to favour them, as he had told them, that while 17,000,000*l.* in taxes had been remitted to England, Ireland had been relieved to the amount of but 340,000*l.* Admitting this fact, he thought the right honourable baronet ought to add to it something that should express that a heavy property tax had long been borne in this country which had not extended to Ireland, and at the same time set forth the efforts made by England to cover the supplies voted for the year, in the year, while Ireland only bore her share of the burthen by means of loans. The malt tax in Ireland he showed to have been not merely a war tax as it was in England, but to have been pledged for the interest of a loan. Under these circumstances, while he admitted that 17,000,000*l.* had been remitted to England in taxes, and but 340,000*l.* to Ireland, he could not agree with the naked resolutions of the right honourable baronet. Much misrepresentation had gone abroad on the subject of the tax on jaunting cars. It was true that a duty of 7*l.* had been imposed, and that only one description of cars had been relieved from this. But these were those used by the farmers and manufacturers. Those more expensive vehicles, the construction of which cost 60 or 70*l*, he had left liable to the tax, as he supposed their owners as capable of paying as the proprietor of a gig of about the same value in England. The tax on the second cars of a meaner description had been reduced to 4*l.* But then it was complained that one class of persons derived no benefit from this alteration. And who were these that were thus hardly dealt by? The proprietors of other carriages with four wheels. He could not but concur with the right ho-

nourable baronet in lamenting that in Ireland, from the particular circumstances of its financial situation, the re-action occasioned by the transition to a state of peace had been much greater in extent, and was likely to be much longer in duration. But let it not be said that those who disagreed from the resolutions now moved were less sensible of the hardships of Ireland, or felt less sympathy in the distresses of the Irish people, than the right honourable baronet who brought them forward. Under all the circumstances of the case he could not consistently assent to the resolutions now moved.

Mr. Ponsonby said that the right honourable gentleman who spoke last seemed to have mistaken the object of the resolutions, and seemed to think that an attack was made on the financial administration of Ireland. No such attack was intended. The only objects of his right honourable friend in moving these resolutions were, 1st, to show the actual financial situation in which Ireland now stood; and, in the second place, to show that there were certain articles on which the taxes now levied might be diminished, and that by such diminution not only would the burthens of the people be relieved, but even the revenue itself would be benefited. The right honourable gentleman talked in a very high strain of the merit of England in taking upon itself the burthen of the Irish debt, by consolidating the two revenues. But in estimating the true extent of this merit, it must be considered that the burthen was one which Ireland could not bear—she had not the capacity of bearing. And then if Ireland could not pay, and England would not pay, the debt must have gone unpaid. So that, after all, the whole of this merit arose out of the beggary of Ireland—out of the bankruptcy of Ireland—out of the mere incapacity of that country to pay that which it ought to pay. When his right honourable friend complained of the amount of duty levied in Ireland on any particular article, the right honourable gentleman met it by saying, that the duties imposed upon the same articles in England were equally high. If, indeed, it could be shown that no harm was done by having so high a tax upon these articles in Ireland, then, indeed, the continuance of that tax at the present was justifiable. But if it was proved that there was harm, then the continuance of the tax was unjustifiable. In taxation nothing was more true than that it must be proportioned to the circumstances of the contributors. A poor man might be heavily taxed, but he could not pay, for taxation is not revenue. Wine in Ireland could not be taxed so high as in England, because the people of Ireland could not pay so much. Tea in Ireland could not be taxed so heavily as in England, for two reasons—1st, because the people could not afford to pay so much; and 2dly, because there was in Ireland a greater facility for smuggling it. The right honourable gentleman said, he did not deny the distress. He (Mr P.) did did not mean to exaggerate it. For his own part he thought it not easy to exaggerate it: indeed, he knew it to be so great that he was frequently tempted to bring the subject before the house, were it not that by doing so he felt convinced that he could only add to the public information without adding any thing to the public relief. It was highly expedient that the house should be informed of the actual financial

financial situation of Ireland. It was also the duty of the house to inquire and consider whether many of the taxes levied in Ireland, could not be diminished with advantage to the revenue. That there were some articles on which the tax could be much reduced, he was well convinced. But he was sure that his right honourable friend did not mean to cast any imputation against any individual concerned in the financial administration of Ireland. It was no imputation to say, that last year 17,000,000*l.* of taxes was taken off in England, but only 340,000*l.* was taken off the people of Ireland. That was no imputation—it was a fact; and could not be denied. All that was now wanted was an inquiry whether there could be any further remission of taxation in that country.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald and Mr. Ponsonby mutually explained.

Sir H. Parnell insisted at some length that the entire system of taxation in Ireland should be revised. With respect to the window tax, he was convinced that it might be very much reduced, if not entirely taken off. The hearth tax, in particular, was of a nature so repugnant to the fundamental principles of the constitution—it was so vexatious, from the powers given by it to the revenue officers, and had excited such loud complaints, that it ought certainly to be taken off entirely. The same tax had been long taken off in England; and the same reasons which occasioned it to be taken off in this country ought to operate as to Ireland. He remarked, that the diminution of the import of English articles into Ireland was accompanied by a corresponding diminution in the export of corn in England. On the whole, from a firm conviction that the situation of Ireland was one of the most grievous distress, and that it was the duty of the house to turn its most serious attention to the financial situation of Ireland, the resolutions met with his most cordial assent.

Mr. Dennis Browne supported the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer.—Whatever might have been the nature of the resolutions moved by the right honourable baronet, and whatever might be the accuracy of the facts contained in those resolutions, he should have thought the house in no way justified in adopting them, at a time when all the matters to which they could relate were under the consideration of a finance committee. The report of that committee would put the house in possession of all the facts and details on the financial situation of Ireland—a question which required much more extensive inquiry, and more deliberate and patient consideration, than could be bestowed upon it during one night's debate in the house. The speech and motion of the right honourable baronet proceeded on the assumption that the proportion borne by Ireland in the burthens of the war, should entitle that country to a remission of taxes to an equal extent with England. But it was to be recollected that England had purchased that remission by contributing 228,000,000*l.* of taxes. Ireland was certainly fully entitled to all the praise bestowed upon it by the right honourable baronet, but it surely could not be said she was entitled to a remission of taxes equal to the amount remitted in England. It was said that the window tax ought to be taken off, because it had been brought in with the war and ought to end with the war. Certainly, if any other tax could be substituted for it, or if the revenue de-

rived from this tax could be spared, then it would be very proper to take it off, but not till then. He could not by any means agree with those who thought that all the distresses of the people were to be attributed to taxation. If any proof of this was wanting, it might be found in the situation of almost every nation on the continent of Europe. In Switzerland, for instance, where there were hardly any taxes at all, yet the distress in Switzerland now was so great that the state of Ireland, bad as it was, was one of comparative happiness, when contrasted with that of Switzerland. Under all circumstances, he felt it his duty to move the previous question.

Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald thought nothing could be more unfair to the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) nor more unfair to Ireland, than that, in undertaking the financial situation of Ireland, he should proceed to legislate upon the subject in ignorance of the situation of that country. He was very much surprised that the resolutions of his right honourable friend should be construed as any imputation on the financial administration of Ireland, when in the speech by which the motion was preceded, he had paid even a very high compliment to the conduct of those who administered the Irish finances. The only view which his right honourable friend in moving the resolutions, and the only ground in which he (Mr. F.) supported them, was to put the house and the right honourable chancellor of the exchequer in possession of proper information as to the state of Ireland.

Sir J. Newport shortly replied. He maintained that Ireland, in proportion to her resources, had paid more taxes than England during the war; and if this were admitted, (and it could not be denied,) could there be a more irrefragable deduction than this—that Ireland was entitled to a remission of taxation, at least equal to that which was made in England? To such a state was Ireland now reduced, that for some time past the land-owner there had been paying his taxes, not out of his income, but out of his capital. Was it not evident that this could not last long?—was it not evident that nothing could be more impolitic than to continue taxation at its present height? It was from his conscientious conviction on this subject that he brought forward the present motion.

After a very few words in a low tone from general Hart, the question was put on the resolutions successively, and they were all negatived without a division.

House of lords, May 16.—The subject of catholic emancipation was this day brought again before the house; but as on a topic, which had been discussed so very often, and under such various points of view, it was impossible any novelty of argument could be adduced, we shall content ourselves with a very brief sketch of the debate.

Petitions were presented from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge against the catholic claims; and a petition from the merchants and bankers in Bristol against extents in aid.

Lord Donoughmore then addressed the house at some length on the subject of catholic emancipation; and combated the objections which had at various former periods been urged against that measure. He stated that the catholics had selected two persons, who would give their lordships every information as to the securities they had to offer against any

any foreign influence hostile to the interests of the state. He concluded with moving, that their lordships should go into a committee to consider of the claims of the catholics.

The bishop of Llandaff could not agree to that anomaly in government, the admission of men to places of power and trust who owed spiritual allegiance to a foreign power.

The bishop of Norwich said, this was probably the last time he should address their lordships on this, or any other subject. The exclusion of the catholics from office had been the longest persecution ever known. From the Restoration downwards, the catholic clergy had been most loyal and peaceable; and those who now excited a cry of danger from admitting them to equal privileges with their countrymen, would, as Dr. Johnson expressed it, cry out "Fire!" in the middle of the Thames!

The bishop of Ossory opposed the motion, as pregnant with danger to the protestant establishment in church and state. If the catholics renounced foreign allegiance, they ceased to be Roman catholics. In the Netherlands the catholic clergy had very recently impressed upon their flocks, that a good Roman catholic could not take an oath of allegiance to a protestant king.

Lord Harrowby saw no danger from granting the claims of the catholics.

Lord Liverpool was for adhering to the Revolution settlement in church and state. If the demands of the catholics were complied with, parliament would cease to be a protestant parliament; and he was not disposed to risk an experiment whether a government different from the established church could long exist.

Lord Darnley supported the motion, as the only means of tranquillizing Ireland; and expressed a confident expectation that, in a short time, the measure would be recommended by the executive, and be eventually carried.

Lord Grenville contended, that the restoration of the Pope, and the return of peace, had done away most of the objections which had been urged for the last sixteen years against the admission of catholics to an equality of rights with protestants. The real danger to a protestant establishment in Ireland arose, not from admitting the catholics, the great majority of the population, within the pale of the constitution, but from perpetuating the system of exclusion.

Earl Bathurst did not believe that, having granted all that the catholics desired, they would then be satisfied; for they would demand the establishment of their church.

Earl Grey, at considerable length, answered the objections made to the motion.

The lord chancellor opposed it, as tending to destroy the king's supremacy in church and state.

On a division, the motion was negatived, by 142 to 90.

House of commons, May 19.—Lord Castlereagh, in answer to a question from sir M. W. Ridley, said the appointment of a secret committee on the state of the nation would be moved for immediately after the holidays.

Mr. Tierney observed that the committee was to be appointed, he supposed, not for the purpose of inquiry, but of frightening the house.

Lord Castlereagh replied, that ministers

ministers were of opinion that the safety of the country required a further continuation of the suspension of the habeas corpus; but the house, if they did not find good grounds for such a judgement, were not to give effect to the intention of ministers.

On the question for the third reading of the lottery bill, Mr. Lyttleton repeated his objections to state lotteries; and moved that the third reading should take place that day six months.

The motion was supported by Mr. Wilberforce, lord A. Hamilton, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. P. Grenfell; and opposed by Mr. Ward. On a division, it was negatived, by 73 to 48.

During the third reading, Mr. Grenfell moved to expunge the clause allowing the bank 3000*l.* for the management of the lottery; and took the opportunity of again calling the attention of the house to the enormous profits made by the bank.

Mr. Vansittart supported the clause, but would be ready to listen to any proposition for diminishing the expense of lottery management on a future occasion.

The amendment was negatived without a division.

The justiceships in eyre abolition bill, exchequer offices regulation bill, and offices compensation bill, were read a second time, after some conversation on each, but without producing any novelty of argument on either side. On the last-mentioned bill there was a division, when the question for the second reading was carried, by 105 to 46.

May 20.—General Mathew presented a petition from the inhabitants of Dublin, praying for are presentation co-extensive with taxation.

Sir F. Burdett called the attention of the house to the subject of parliamentary reform, a task which he felt to be now much more arduous than at former periods. That corruption, the proof of which in former times would have been sufficient for parliamentary inquiry, was now openly avowed and recommended as necessary for conducting the affairs of the nation. He felt it peculiarly awkward to complain before those very persons who were the objects of complaint; and to call upon those who must be supposed to be corrupt, to redress corruption: but the general voice of the nation was so manifestly and so strongly for this measure, that it claimed their utmost regard. There were petitions on the table from more than 1,000,000 of persons. Many of them were for annual parliaments. Whatever difference of opinion might exist as to the expediency of resorting to that remedy, he would contend that annual parliaments would be no innovation. From a period long prior to William the Conqueror, and down to the time of Henry III. the law and practice had been to call parliaments twice in the year, or oftener if necessary. In the reign of Edward III. laws expressly enact that parliaments be called every year. In the time of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the party that happened to prevail could do every thing or nothing: yet even then the rights of the people were so far respected that parliaments were not prorogued or continued longer than a year. Henry VIII. was the first who violated this express law, and continued parliaments for five years, in order to carry his objects of divorcing his queen and plundering the church. The same system was continued under Edward VI. Queen Mary re-established short parliaments, and,

and, repealing the acts of constructive treason passed by her father, placed the security and freedom of the subject under the protection of 25 Edward III. Long parliaments were revived under Elizabeth, and continued under her successor. Charles I. backed by the judges and the greatest lawyers of the time, tried the experiment of governing without a parliament; but he failed, and lost his life, only because he had not a standing army. The parliament which had fought the battles of the people against him was continued, from a principle of foolish generosity, until they gave way to Cromwell, who proposed a plan of parliamentary reform so just, so fair, and so suitable, that even lord Clarendon said it deserved to have proceeded from a more warrantable quarter. But, when Cromwell found that he must either lose his place, which to him would be to become a victim to the gallows, or support by the sword what he had acquired by the sword, he naturally preferred the latter alternative. Charles II. in return for the affectionate reception he had met from the people, first introduced the system of attempting to enslave them by corrupting their representatives. But even his pensioned parliament, which had sat sixteen years, was not found sufficiently tractable, and consequently was dissolved. As to James II. he committed many outrages, but none more flagrant or offensive than attempting to corrupt elections; and he was in consequence obliged to abdicate the throne. The main reason assigned in king William's declaration for his coming to England was, the corruption of the house of commons; that the parliament were not allowed to be freely elected, or to consult independently what was for the benefit of the nation; that tampering was used in electing and influencing them; that undue means were applied to procure compliance with the will of the sovereign. Two sovereigns, Richard II. and James II. were dethroned for packing parliaments.—Having thus historically shown the right of the people to parliaments freely elected, he would next come to the actual state of the representation. The petition of 1793 for reform, set forth and offered to prove that eighty-four individuals do, by their own immediate authority, send one hundred and fifty-seven members to the house of commons. That in addition to the one hundred and fifty-seven members so returned, one hundred and fifty more, making in all three hundred and seven, are returned by the recommendation of seventy powerful individuals added to the eighty-four before mentioned, and making the number of patrons altogether one hundred and fifty-four, who return a decided majority of the house. One hundred and fifty-four individuals thus claimed and exercised the right of disposing, by their agents, of the lives, liberties, and property, of the millions of inhabitants who composed the subjects of this kingdom. Did not this seem in itself a usurpation? Did it not seem a grievance which called loudly for a remedy? Mr. Justice Blackstone, a courtly writer, had declared, that if the king and lords influenced the house of commons, which emanated from the people, and constituted their natural protector, there was an end of the constitution. Would it be contended that a few borough-mongers were to enjoy all the powers of the constitution in their own hands; that they were to be the real sovereigns of England, and dispose of our

our lives, liberty, and property, at their pleasure? Monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, had each their panegyrists; but an oligarchy had been universally condemned; and a borough-mongering oligarchy was the most odious, the most degrading, and the most galling of all oligarchies. That one hundred and fifty patrons of the representation should exist, that they should exist against all law, that they should exist against the resolutions of the house of commons itself, which resolutions were passed at the commencement of every session, and might be regarded as the law of parliament, or at least a declaration to the country that such was the law,—appeared monstrous and unaccountable. If the convention parliament had been allowed to sit a little longer, it would have effectually secured the freedom of elections. But what it had done was now overturned. It had declared *ex officio* informations by the attorney-general to be contrary to the laws of England; that proceeding so denounced by parliament was now declared to be law. The constitution which we were taught to praise so highly, and on which we were desired to rely so firmly, was found too fragile and insecure; and a set of borough-mongers elected a representation, which, instead of protecting our freedom, were disposed only to suspend our rights and liberties. Machiavel and Montesquieu had observed, that the perversion of a free constitution led to a greater tyranny than could be practised under an avowed despotic power; and the latter said, that when the parliament of England became corrupt, her liberties would perish. He then alluded to one hundred and fifty statutes against corruption in elections, to the opinions of Plato and Locke, and to the oath of purgation of the parliament of Charles II. to disprove an assertion of Mr. Canning's, that government could not go on without the existence of corruption. He defined political corruption to be that state in which individual interest was arrayed against public good, and private views influenced public conduct; and combated Mr. Windham's opinion, that the electors were more corrupt than the elected. Confidence in parliament could not exist, while the representation was in its present state, while the people had not the seats at their disposal, and the treasury had a market to sell such commodities. The noble lord opposite (Castlereagh), who had been concerned in selling seats, was only more unfortunate than others, in having been detected. The practice was too notorious to be denied; and he called upon the gentlemen of England to put an end to a system, the effects of which had driven many of them from the seats of their ancestors, and compelled them to hide their heads in a foreign land from the pursuit of tax-gatherers and creditors. He then referred to the opinions of lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, in favour of reform; and quoted Mr. Burke's opinion as to the character of a genuine house of commons. "The virtue (Burke said), spirit, and essence of a house of commons consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation. It was not instituted to be a control *upon* the people, as of late it has been taught, by a doctrine of the most pernicious tenency; but as a control *for* the people." He wished the gentlemen of England would keep one fact in mind—that one hundred and fifty borough proprietors had the property,

property, the liberty, and the lives of this great nation at their disposal; that by their agents they constituted the executive, or domineered over it; that they had become king, lords, and commons, and excluded every other power from the constitution. And he asked them if they would allow this state of things to continue? Since the Revolution, every thing which had been interposed as a security against the encroachments of power had been either taken away, or had been suffered to become a dead letter. As to the septennial act, he concurred with Dr. Johnson in considering it as one of the greatest contempts of human right ever committed. The pretence then was the danger of a *jacobitical* party; the pretence for continuing it was the danger of a jacobinical party. Believing, however, as he did, that there was no danger to be apprehended except by the government continuing to do wrong, and still more to alienate instead of regaining the affections of the people by restoring to them their undoubted rights, he should conclude by moving "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the representation of the country; and to report their observations to the house."

Mr. Brande seconded the motion; and complimented sir Francis Burdett on his able, luminous, and temperate speech. He had long since predicted, that, if a timely reform did not take place, the relation between the public and that house would be such, that the house would be driven to measures of military coercion in the defence and maintenance of its authority. It was now the persuasion of a great majority of the country, that the house of commons, as at present constituted, did not, in any fair sense, represent the people. The result of this was, in a time of profound peace, suspensions of their ancient rights, and an enormous establishment to defend those suspensions. The French revolution had been occasioned by opposition to all reform; and the revolution in 1688 had been precipitated by general indignation at the earl of Bath having, to secure to himself the place of groom of the stole, procured the return of forty-four members from Cornwall; and complaints were heard from every corner of the kingdom. "Early reforms," Mr. Burke had somewhere observed, "were amicable arrangements with a friend in power: late reformations were terms imposed upon a conquered enemy."

Sir J. Nichol opposed the motion. The constitution worked well as it stood, and he would not endanger it by visionary improvements. The burthen of taxation was necessary to defray the interest of the national debt, which had been increased by wars undertaken in conformity with the wishes of the people; for every war from the Revolution had been popular; and republics were even more clamorous for war than monarchies. The addition of one hundred Irish members had accomplished what lord Chatham wished for, that of infusing a new portion of blood into the constitution, as he called it, by adding one hundred county members. He reprobated the attempts made to delude the people, to excite their passions, to lead them on to the destruction of themselves, and of the government, which they ought to revere, and were bound to maintain. Much had been said, both now and on former occasions, as to suspending the constitution of the country; but

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he was fully persuaded that that measure was necessary for protecting the liberties of the people. With regard to the influence of the crown, he denied that it had been increased: on the contrary, it had been considerably abridged; and particularly by rendering the judges independent, by passing the Grenville act, by excluding contractors from the house, and by preventing revenue-officers from interfering at elections.

Lord Cochrane supported the motion. If the call for reform was not obeyed, the mass of corruption would destroy itself, for the maggots it engendered would eat it up. —The manner in which that house was composed, was the grand cause of all the distress of the country. Ministers, with all their declamation against Spenceans, had effectually acted on their system, having reduced the landed gentlemen to be nothing more than stewards for paying over the little rent they got, in the shape of taxes to government.

Mr. Curwen said, the reason of the late unconstitutional measures was obvious enough. They had been compelled to abridge the liberties of the people, because they did not possess their confidence. The wish for reform was general; and he thought it would be wise, as a measure of policy, to give the people some further degree of political power, not only to induce them to bear the present burdens, but those future difficulties which awaited them. The majority of the people, he was convinced, were attached to the constitution; but an uniform resistance to reform was not the way to preserve that attachment.

Mr. Ward could never hear reform mentioned, but it always struck his mind in the same way as if he heard a motion for democracy, revolution, and the total subversion of that constitution and order of things which had raised this country to a pitch of glory and prosperity unknown in the annals of the world. The numerous petitions on the table proved the existence of two things which certainly could not be cured by reform, namely, ignorance and distress. The reformers pretended to respect the prerogative of the king and the privileges of the lords; but, if they got a house of commons to their mind, the first popular bill which might be rejected would be the signal for the downfall of the monarchy. Demagogues would then take credit to themselves for the sort of pious fraud by which they had prepared this change. To show the notions of radical reformers, he might merely quote the titles which Mr. Jeremy Bentham gave to the chapters of one of his publications, such as, "Honourable house incorrigible," "Moderate reform inadequate." In describing the classes of persons who, Mr. Bentham thinks, must be against reform, he says, "it must be the work of the Tories to make that portion of the public money spent in waste and corruption as large as possible, and of the Whigs likewise." He says public welfare "under moderate reform would be minimized, under radical reform would be maximized." So that, after moderate reform should be granted, the next motion would be for radical reform. Moderate reform would thus only be the sharp edge of the wedge, which once insinuated would serve to split the oak. Mr. Ward then proceeded to argue for the continuance of the borough system, from the circumstance of the return of Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, and lord

lord Grey for such places, after losing their seats in other quarters; and he said he would as soon part with the representation of Yorkshire as with that of Old Sarum. The constitution had survived the most arduous struggle that had existed in the history of the world, and proved itself fully adequate to the preservation of our national independence and our internal liberties.

Sir Samuel Romilly was impressed with a conviction that reform was indispensable; and he owed that statement of his opinion to the whole people of England. There would be a great gain to the country, if only one or two of the rotten or ministerial boroughs were struck off. How often were questions in the house carried by two or three votes? The people petitioned, and called on them to consider; and though they might have gone too far as to what they called radical reform, yet there were many petitions, such as that from London, &c. which called their attention not to annual, but to triennial parliaments. He had no fanciful notions about reform; nor any eager desire for popularity: he wished to see something done for the public advantage.

Mr. Lambe thought the elective franchise should be communicated to copyholders, and that some change should take place with regard to out-voters; but he could not approve of any further alteration, and therefore should vote against the motion.

Mr. Tierney supported the motion; and lord Milton opposed it.—On a division it was rejected by 265 to 77.

May 21.—Mr. Peel obtained leave to bring in a bill to continue the insurrection act in Ireland for one year, hoping that beyond that period it would be found unnecessary, from the improved state of the country.

Sir J. Mackintosh called the attention of the house to the conduct of a person named Poole, who had brought information against three individuals, called Parkinson, Fletcher, and Deacon, before Mr. Powis, a magistrate of Staffordshire.

Sir S. Romilly and sir W. Burroughs supported the motion; and Mr. H. Addington and Mr. Bragge Bathurst opposed it.

On a division, it was negatived, by 47 to 13.

A conversation of some length took place on the question for recommitting the bill for providing employment for the poor by an issue of exchequer bills.

Lord Milton, Mr. Long Wellesley, and others, were of opinion that the measure would be perfectly useless. They were replied to by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Rose.

May 22.—Mr. J. Smith presented a petition from the merchants, bankers, and traders of London, praying for a revision of the bankrupt laws.

Sir S. Romilly, Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Abercrombie, and others, spoke in favour of an alteration of the present system. Petition to lie on the table.

Mr. Brougham presented a petition from the freeholders of Barnstaple, praying for relief from the grievance they sustained in not being represented in parliament.

A long conversation arose on a motion, by Mr. Shaw, for referring to a committee the petitions from various parts of Ireland against the cottage and window taxes; when Mr. Shaw consented to withdraw his motion, in consequence of an intimation from Mr. Vansittart, that he meant to proceed to Ireland, to

examine on the spot the different plans which had been suggested for a better mode of collecting the revenue there.

Mr. Findlay, in moving for copies of memorials to the board of trade respecting the transit duties on foreign linens, urged the impolicy of continuing on such articles a duty of fifty-two and a half per cent. by which we had lost that branch of our export trade. He did not mean to press the matter further this session.

A member wished government to pause before they altered a system by which we had exported in 1812, 35,000,000; in 1813, 37,000,000; in 1814, 40,000,000 yards of Irish linen.

Mr. F. Robinson regretted the existing prejudices in favour of a system which, as a measure of revenue, was nugatory (for last year it produced only 4000*l.*), and which, without benefiting Ireland, deprived us of all the profits of the trade in foreign linens.

After some observations from Mr. Peel, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Marryat, and others, the motion was agreed to.

Mr. Vansittart, after a general conversation, obtained leave to bring in a bill to regulate the proceedings under extents in aid. The bill would provide that no extent in aid should be issued for any debt, unless for one absolutely due to the crown; and the sums levied under extents in aid should only be applied to debts due to the crown.

The clergy residence bill having been committed, Mr. Wynn moved for the omission of the chaplains of his majesty's forces by sea or land, in the clause exempting several persons from the necessity of residence.

The amendment was supported by Mr. Gordon and Mr. Wilberforce, and opposed by sir W. Scott: it was then negatived without a division.

A motion by Mr. Wynn, for omitting the chaplains of the dock-yards, was negatived on a division, by 32 to 9.

On the motion of Mr. Sutton, an exemption was introduced in favour of the principal and professor of the East India college.

Mr. Gordon took occasion to mention, that he knew a clergyman who was a dignitary in no less than six cathedrals: he was prebendary in one, chancellor in another, dean in a third, and other offices, in addition to which he held two livings. He wished to know if such an individual ought to be exempted?

Mr. M. Sutton professed himself unable to give a precise answer; the case was assuredly singular. The exemption in this bill was not so extensive as before.

House of lords, May 23.—The royal assent was given by commission to the lottery bill, crown land revenue bill, life annuities bill, warehouse duty bill, West India trade bill, navy bills bill, sugar and coffee exportation bill, customs' duties bill, gas light bill, Ayr harbour bill, and several road and inclosure bills.

On the motion of lord Erskine, a return was ordered of all the recognisances for libel taken before justices of the peace, and returned to the quarter sessions and King's bench, with the indictments and informations prosecuted in those cases, since the year 1640.

In the commons, the same day, the third reading of the Christchurch burial-ground bill was, after some discussion, carried, by 102 to 9.

A long and general conversation took place on the third reading of the savings banks bill. An amend-

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ment moved by Mr. Watson, for leaving out the clause allowing relief from the poor-rates to persons contributing to the savings banks, was negatived, and the question for passing the bill was carried in the affirmative, by 60 to 27.

On the question for the second reading of the Irish insurrection bill, sir S. Romilly objected to the renewal of a measure of such rigorous enactments without further inquiry, and moved that it be read a second time that day six-months.

General Matthew, sir H. Parnell, sir W. Burroughs, and others, supported the amendment.

Mr. Peel, Mr. Leslie Foster, Mr. D. Browne, and several other members, contended that the measure was absolutely necessary for the internal tranquillity of Ireland.

The amendment was then negatived without a division.

The poor employment bill, after a few words from Mr. Western, was passed.

May 30.—Mr. Dyson stated that he had received a letter from the speaker, which, with the leave of the house, he would read:

"Palace-yard, May 30, 1817.

"Sir,—It is with the sincerest concern and regret that I feel myself obliged to request, that you will inform the house of commons, at their meeting this day, of my inability, from continued illness, to attend any longer upon their service. After holding the high office to which I have been raised by their favour, in five successive parliaments, it is impossible that I should resign so honourable and distinguished a situation, without feeling the deepest gratitude for the constant kindness with which they have been pleased to accept and assist my humble endeavours to discharge its various and arduous duties.—It was my earnest wish to have continued longer in the service of the house if such were their pleasure. But the interruption of public business which has been already occasioned by my state of health, and the apprehension of the same cause recurring, which might again expose the house to the like inconvenience, have made me deem it necessary that I should retire at this time, and have left me now no further duty to perform, than to return my heartfelt acknowledgements to the house for all the favours it has bestowed upon me, and to express my fervent wishes for the perpetual maintenance and preservation of its rights, its privileges, and its independence. I am, sir,

"always most truly yours,

"CHARLES ABBOT.

"To J. Dyson, esq. deputy-clerk, house of commons."

Lord Castlereagh said, that after the communication which the house had just heard, combined with the recollection of his uniform conduct, there could be, he apprehended, no difference of opinion as to the great merits of the speaker, or as to the propriety of accepting his resignation. From the able, dignified, and conciliatory manner in which the speaker had discharged the arduous duties of his office, at once reflecting the highest credit upon his character, and affording the utmost satisfaction to the house, all who heard him must regret the resignation of that highly respected and universally esteemed individual. The loss, indeed, of such an officer, he felt no doubt, in common with the house, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, adequately to supply. The noble lord concluded with proposing an adjournment until Monday, when probably he would be authorized to

make a communication to the house, which would mark the estimation in which the speaker was held by the illustrious personage at the head of the government, and which would enable the house to proceed at once to the election of another speaker.

CHAPTER IV.

Election of a New Speaker—Message from the Prince Regent respecting the former Speaker—and respecting the State of the Country—Secret Committee regarding the further Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Bill respecting licensing Public Houses—Report of the Secret Committee on the further Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Debate on the Irish Insurrection Act—on the further Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Fourth Report of the Select Committee of Finance.

HOUSE of commons, June 2.—Lord Castlereagh delivered a message from the prince regent, signifying that the speaker had informed his royal highness of his resignation, and intimating the pleasure of his royal highness that the house should proceed to the election of a new speaker.

Sir J. Nichol described the duties of the office of speaker, praised the abilities and conduct of the person who lately filled that situation, and proposed Mr. Manners Sutton, the judge-advocate-general, as one every way qualified to succeed him in the chair.

Mr. Littleton seconded the motion.

Mr. Dickinson proposed Mr. C. W. W. Wynn as speaker, and expatiated on his peculiar fitness for the situation, from his learning, intimate acquaintance with the privileges of the house, the forms of parliamentary proceedings, and his uniform manly and independent conduct.

Sir M. W. Ridley seconded the motion.

Mr. Manners Sutton said, he was aware of the difficulties of the situation, and of his inferiority to the learned gentleman proposed from the other side of the house. At the same time the dignity to which it was proposed by his friends to raise him, had been the first object of his ambition; to that point his studies and attention had been directed; and if he should be honoured with the choice of the house, his whole faculties should be devoted to their service, and he would make every exertion in his power to perform the duties of the office in a manner suitable to its high importance. If another, however, should be preferred, he would submit with perfect acquiescence to the decision of the house.

Mr. C. W. W. Wynn thanked his friends for the eulogium they had bestowed on him, and that opinion of his merits and talents which had induced them to put him in nomination. One qualification he felt himself to possess, and that was an ardent zeal for the maintenance of the rights and privileges of the house; and whether he should be raised to the situation of speaker, or remain in his present situation (the only situation which he could anticipate

anticipate that he should fill), he should always exercise the same watchfulness, and afford such assistance as he was able to the maintenance of their dignity. He then praised the conduct of Mr. M. Sutton in the situation of judge-advocate-general, and expressed a confident expectation that he would do himself equal credit in the chair of that house.

Sir C. Burrell, Mr. serjeant Onslow, and Mr. Wilberforce, spoke in favour of the appointment of Mr. Wynn.

A division then took place, when the votes were, for Mr. Manners Sutton three hundred and twelve; for Mr. C. W. W. Wynn one hundred and fifty-two; giving a majority for the former of one hundred and sixty.

Mr. M. Sutton was then conducted to the chair by sir J. Nichol and Mr. Littleton, and returned thanks for the honour conferred on him.

Lord Castlereagh then rose, and after congratulating the right honourable gentleman on his election, moved an adjournment, which was immediately carried.

House of lords, June 8.—The earl of Liverpool presented a message from his royal highness the prince regent, which was read by the lord chancellor, and was as follows:

"G. P. R.—His royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, thinks it proper to inform the house of lords, that having taken into his consideration the circumstances under which the right honourable Charles Abbot has retired from the situation of speaker of the house of commons, and the arduous and eventful period during which he has performed the duties of speaker, he has conferred upon him the dignity of a baron, by the style and dignity of lord Colchester, of Colchester, in the county of Essex; and his royal highness recommends to the house of lords to concur in making such provision for the said lord Colchester, and the heir male succeeding him in the title, as under all the circumstances may appear just and reasonable."

On the motion of lord Liverpool, the message was ordered to be taken into consideration on Thursday.

Viscount Sidmouth delivered in a message from the prince regent, which was as follows:

"G. P. R.—His royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, has given orders to lay before the house of lords papers containing information of the continuance of those practices, meetings, and combinations, to which his royal highness thought it proper to call the attention of the house of lords at the commencement of the present session of parliament, and showing that these practices are still carried on in different parts of the country in a manner and to an extent calculated to disturb the public tranquillity, and to endanger the security of the constitutional establishments of the empire: His royal highness recommends to the house of lords to take this message into its immediate and serious consideration."

Lord Sidmouth then moved an address, thanking the prince regent for his message, and assuring him that the house would take the same into its immediate and serious consideration. He next proposed that the message should be referred to a committee of secrecy; not being aware that any delay was necessary in proposing this step, as the house could not be said to have

been taken by surprise, having been some time in possession of the intentions of ministers on the subject.

Earl Grey hoped that the committee would look to the motives and situations of the witnesses brought before them; and if any part of the intelligence that influenced the former report had been given under any peculiar or disqualifying bias, he hoped it would now be rejected.

The earl of Liverpool and marquis of Buckingham were for an immediate inquiry.

Earl Grosvenor, earl Spencer, and lord Holland, were in favour of delay.

The motion was then carried; and lord Sidmouth proposed the revival of the old committee, with the substitution of lord Talbot for the duke of Bedford, which was agreed to.

On the motion of lord Liverpool, the name of lord Sidmouth was added to the list of the committee.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Speaker, on his return from the house of lords, stated the confirmation by the prince regent of the choice the commons had made; again thanked them for the distinction they had conferred upon him; and solicited their support and indulgent consideration in his efforts to maintain their rights and privileges, and to discharge the duties of his high situation.

The sheriffs of London appeared at the bar, and presented a petition of the common council against the further suspension of the habeas corpus act.

Lord Castlereagh brought down a message relative to seditious meetings, to the same effect as that delivered in the upper house. It was ordered for consideration on Thursday.

His lordship then brought down a message relative to the late speaker, similar to that delivered in the upper house; and gave notice that on Thursday he should move a vote of thanks to the late speaker.

Mr. Vansittart intimated that he should, the same day, move for the consideration of the message.

Mr. Wynn, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. H. Sumner, and sir J. Newport, objected to the course proposed to be pursued in remunerating the late speaker, as being contrary to all precedent, and trespassing on the privileges of the house, with whom the knowledge of the services of their speaker was exclusively supposed to rest, and to whom it belonged to originate any measure for rewarding them.

Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. V. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Huskisson, thought it a matter of indifference whether the proposal originated with the crown or the house; but ultimately agreed to the course suggested by the opposition, and Mr. Vansittart shaped his notice of motion accordingly.

Mr. Shaw brought up the report of the committee on the alnage laws of Ireland.

Lord Milton and Mr. Abercrombie objected to the report, as recommending 500*l.* a year to lord de la Blaquiere, for giving up an office which had no duties to execute, and from which no profit had been received. The report was ordered to lie on the table.

House of lords, June 5.—The message relative to the late speaker of the commons having been taken into consideration, earl Liverpool, after a panegyric on his merits, moved an address, assuring the prince regent of their disposition to concur in making a suitable provision for lord Colchester and the next

next male heir succeeding him in the title.

In the commons, the same day, sir J. Shaw presented a petition from the livery of London, and Mr. S. Lefevre one from Reading, against the further suspension of the habeas corpus act.

A petition from Sheffield, against the employment of boys in sweeping chimneys, was referred to a select committee.

Lord Castlereagh addressed the house on the services of the late speaker, and moved a vote of thanks; which was carried, and the same was ordered to be communicated to him by the new speaker.

Lord Castlereagh rose again to move an address to the prince regent, beseeching him to confer some signal mark of his favour on lord Colchester, for his great and eminent services as speaker of that house; and assuring him, that, whatever might be the expense incurred, that house would make good the same. After a conversation of some length, in which it was stated that it was intended to settle on lord Colchestet 5000*l.* a year, and on his next heir 3000*l.* (to which Mr. Tierney objected as too large), the motion was carried.

Lord Castlereagh appeared at the bar with a green bag containing several papers, which was ordered to be brought up and laid on the table. The message from the prince regent, as to the continuance of seditious meetings, &c. being then read, his lordship moved an address of thanks for the communication, and signified that he should, upon its being carried, move to refer the papers to the same committee which sat at the beginning of the session, with the substitution of the present solicitor-general for sir W. Garrow, not now a member.

Lord Folkestone said, his predictions at the time when the alien act was under consideration had proved true. He then said that, if ministers obtained the power of issuing *lettres de cachet*, whether against aliens or natives, other measures would speedily follow, entirely destructive of all British freedom. The crown, however, had been suffered to retain a large standing army, a large staff, and large establishments; and if, in addition to this, we suspended the habeas corpus act, we put the whole liberties of the country into the hands of the crown; we made the crown a despot; and the people of England were as complete slaves as the people of any other country whatever. His lordship then solemnly protested against the course which ministers were now following.

Mr. Curwen concurred in the sentiments of the last speaker; and said he would give his decided opposition to a separation of parliament under a suspension of the habeas corpus.

The address was then carried.

On the question being put, That the papers presented to the house by lord Castlereagh should be referred to a committee; lord Folkestone moved, as an amendment, to add the words, "to examine and report the substance thereof to the house, omitting only the names of such persons as, in the opinion of the committee, it would be dangerous to the persons themselves to name."

The amendment was negatived; and it was agreed that the committee should be a committee of secrecy, and consist of twenty-one members. On the question that it should consist of such members of the committee of the 5th of February as were now in the house,

sir J. Newport objected to the motion, and proposed a different list; which, after a long and general discussion, was negatived, and that of lord Castlereagh carried, on a division, by one hundred and twenty-six to sixty-six.

The committee was then authorized to report from time to time, and to send for persons, papers, and records.

Lord Folkestone then moved, that it be an instruction to the committee to inquire into the origin, cause, nature, and extent, of the disaffection supposed to exist, or alleged to exist, in the papers referred to their inspection; and that they be required to examine witnesses as to the credit due to the written evidence; and that they add to their report an appendix, containing such part of the documentary testimony as shall appear either to be particularly worthy of belief, or the contrary.

Lord Castlereagh said he felt it his duty to oppose the motion; first, on the ground that part of it was unnecessary, as the committee were already empowered to send for persons, papers, and records; and, secondly, because the appendix would expose many things which it was expedient, both for the sake of justice and tranquillity, should not be exposed.

Mr. Bennet supported the motion. Much of the rumours and charges in the report of the former committee had been furnished by a set of meddling mischievous magistrates, who wished to stand well with ministers. In Northumberland, a respectable gentleman had been prevented from going to the Cheviot to hunt, until he satisfied an officious magistrate that he was not going to arm the shepherds against government; and but a few days ago, in the peaceable and loyal town of Shrewsbury, a body of cavalry suddenly appeared to protect a depôt of arms, which, to the great surprise of the inhabitants, it was said they intended to attack.

Mr. Bathurst assured the house that no intelligence had been received by government implicating any gentlemen in Northumberland or Shropshire.

The motion was then negatived without a division.

Lord Folkestone moved an instruction to the committee, to inquire into the case of each and every person arrested and detained under the provisions of the acts passed this session for the protection of the king's person and government, and to report to the house the names, ages, trades, professions, occupations of persons so confined, together with the places of confinement, the places where arrested, and by whom, and when; and also to furnish the house with their opinion as to the expediency and propriety of such arrests and detentions.

Lord Castlereagh objected to the motion, and it was negatived.

It was next resolved, that seven should be a quorum, and that the committees should have power to adjourn from day to day and from place to place, and to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the house.

June 6.—Mr. Bennet moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the laws relative to the licensing of public houses, and for the better regulation of the same. He stated the evils resulting from the existing system, as detailed in the reports from the police-committee; and said he had in his pocket a list of more than two hundred public-houses in the metropolis which were haunted by the most irregular characters,

racters, and harboured thieves, where there not only collected a promiscuous assemblage of men and women, but where boys or girls of nine or ten years of age were initiated into the most depraved society, and were trained to the most nefarious practices. In one of those which he had heard of, there was a regular court of justice and a jury, under the presidency of a Jew pick-pocket, for directing the sale of stolen property, and directing the distribution of spoil; where the laws of depredation were reduced to system, and the rules of the society enforced. All the gains of the association were brought there, and divided according to the respective claims of the parties. He was credibly informed, that a boy of thirteen years of age, who had been since transported, had there divided property for his share to the amount of 100*l*. He then briefly stated the remedies for this and other grievances in the licensing system proposed by the committee.

Mr. S. Wortley thought it too precipitate to introduce a bill before the report of the committee was in the hands of all the members; nor could he consent to arraign the respectable body of magistrates all over the country, on account of the errors of a few in and about the metropolis.

Serjeant Onslow, Mr. H. Sumner, and Mr. S. Lefevre, supported the motion, observing, that the inquiries of the committee had not been confined to the metropolis.

Mr. Bennet said, the magistrates in the country had the publicans as much under their control as those of the metropolis; and, for electioneering and other purposes, were as liable to abuse their power. The motion was then agreed to, and soon after the bill was brought in, and read the first time.

The speaker then read the following letter from lord Colchester, which was ordered to be entered on the journals:

"London, June 6, 1817.

"Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of this day, communicating to me a resolution of the house of commons, by which the house is pleased to express its thanks to me for my services as their speaker, during the period in which I have been called upon to fill that high office. And having devoted the best years of my health and strength to the service of the house of commons, with the consciousness that during that long period I have never ceased to exert my utmost endeavours to execute the various duties of the station which I held by their favour, however inadequately those duties may have been performed, I beg you will assure the house of the deep and lasting gratitude with which I now receive this distinguished testimony of its approbation. I request also that you, sir, will be pleased to accept my best thanks for the expressions of kindness with which you have conveyed to me this communication.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most faithful and most obedient servant,

"COLCHESTER.

"To the right honourable the speaker of the house of commons," &c.

Lord Castlereagh stated at the bar the answer of the prince regent to the address respecting the late speaker, which recommended to the house to enable his royal highness to bestow an adequate provision.

On the motion of Mr. Vansittart,

it was ordered that the answer be taken into consideration on Monday next.

Lord Castlereagh, in reply to some observations by Mr. Ponsonby as to the alarming scarcity of provisions in Ireland, said the duties on rice had already been taken off, and measures adopted for supplying Ireland with large quantities of seed corn, for the double purpose of guarding against a recurrence of scarcity, and œconomizing the present stock of grain.

Mr. W. Smith presented a petition from T. Embly, farmer, at Waltham Abbey, stating that six weeks ago, the whole of his property had been seized, and himself committed to jail, under an extent in aid, obtained by Mr. Bignold, a banker, at Norwich. By the process adopted, he could not procure his release as an insolvent debtor or as a bankrupt; he was sixty years of age; had been afflicted since his confinement with a paralytic stroke, and had been compelled to depend for sustenance on the charity of his neighbours; the creditor, under this species of execution, not being obliged to contribute to his support: and he now prayed for such relief, under his aggravated sufferings, as the house in its wisdom might think proper to afford him.

After a general conversation, in which it was admitted on all sides that a more efficient remedy was requisite than the bill now in progress as to extents in aid, the petition was ordered to be printed.

June 9.—The house having gone into a committee on the subject of a pension to the late speaker, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed 4000*l.* a year with a reversion of 3000*l.* a year to the next heir to the title of lord Colchester.

Mr. H. Sumner moved to make the pension 5000*l.*; but subsequently withdrew the amendment.

An amendment by Mr. Lambton, for reducing the pension to 3000*l.* was negatived by 126 to 42; and the sum of 4000*l.* was carried.

A proposition by Mr. Sumner, to extend the grant for two lives on the demise of lord Colchester, was negatived; and the original motion was agreed to.

Colonel Wood moved the second reading of the bill legalizing the sale of game.

Lord Deerhurst opposed the bill, and moved that it be read a second time this day six-months; which, after some discussion, was carried.

In a committee of supply, sums were voted for the ordnance department, for retired officers, and for the colonies and settlements of Nova Scotia, New South Wales, Newfoundland, Sierra Leone, &c.

On the vote relative to the vaccine establishment, Mr. S. Lefevre and Mr. Curwen suggested that further inquiry should be made as to the efficacy of vaccination.

Mr. F. Lewis, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Rose, expressed their conviction that a perseverance in vaccination would in this, as it already had done in some other countries, completely extirpate the small-pox.

House of lords, June 12.—The earl of Harrowby brought up the following report of the secret committee.

Report of the secret committee appointed to take into consideration the several papers sealed up in a bag, and delivered by command of his royal highness the prince regent.

By the lords committee appointed to take into consideration the several

veral papers sealed up in a bag, and delivered by command of his royal highness the prince regent, and to report to the house; and to whom were referred several other papers sealed up in a bag, also delivered by command of his royal highness:

Ordered to report,

That the committee have met, and proceeded in the examination of the papers referred to them.

It is their painful duty to report, that these papers afford but too many proofs of the continued existence of a traitorous conspiracy for the overthrow of our established government and constitution, and for the subversion of the existing order of society.

The attempts of the conspirators have indeed hitherto been frustrated by the active exertions of the government, and particularly of the magistrates in different parts of the country, in execution both of the general laws provided for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and of the special powers recently given by parliament for that purpose; but the information contained in the papers referred to the committee leaves no doubt in their minds that the same wicked and desperate designs are still actively pursued. The information from which they have drawn this painful conclusion appears to have been collected from many various sources often unconnected with and unknown to each other; but it is uniform in its general result, and it is corroborated by a striking correspondence in many minute particulars.

This intelligence must be considered as resting in many of its parts upon the depositions and communications of persons who either are themselves more or less implicated in these criminal transactions, or who have apparently engaged in them, but with the view of obtaining information, and imparting it to the magistrates, or to the secretary of state.

The testimony of persons of both these descriptions must always be in some degree questionable; and your committee have seen reason to apprehend that the language and conduct of some of the latter may in some instances have had the effect of encouraging those designs which it was intended they should only be the instruments of detecting. After making, however, to the best of their judgement, all due allowance for these circumstances, the committee are fully persuaded that the following is a correct and not exaggerated statement of the result of the information which has been brought under their view.

The papers relate almost exclusively to the principal manufacturing districts in some of the midland and northern counties of England; and although the disaffected in the country appear still to be looking to the metropolis with the hope of assistance and direction, it is to the parts of the country above referred to, that the more recent projects of insurrection seem to have been confined.

The committee think it their duty here to remark, that although in many of these districts particular causes of distress have no doubt operated to expose the minds of the labouring classes of the community to irritation and perversion, yet they are persuaded that this distress must for the most part be considered rather as the instrument than as the cause of disaffection. In some of the places where these practices have prevailed, they believe the want of employment to have been less felt than in many other parts of the kingdom; while in other places, where

where the pressure has been perhaps most grievous, it has certainly been sustained with a spirit of patience, loyalty, and good order, which cannot be too highly commended. And your committee cannot refrain from expressing their opinion, that it is chiefly by the means pointed out in the report of the former committee, by the widely extended circulation of seditious and blasphemous publications, and by the effect of inflammatory discourses continually renewed, that this spirit has been principally excited and diffused. By these the attachment to our established government and constitution, and the respect for law, morality, and religion, have gradually been weakened among those whose situations most exposed them to this destructive influence; and it is thus that their minds have been prepared for the adoption of designs and measures no less injurious to their own interests and happiness than to those of every other class of his majesty's subjects.

Since the period of the former report, Manchester and its neighbourhood have (as far as your committee has seen) been the only places where meetings have been convened and assembled sufficiently numerous to create immediate apprehensions for the public tranquillity. At a meeting which was convened there on the 3d of March for the purpose of petitioning against the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and where several thousand persons appear to have been assembled, it was proposed and agreed to, that another meeting should be held on the following Monday, viz. the 10th of March, with the professed intention that ten out of every twenty persons who should attend it should proceed to London with a petition to his royal highness the prince regent.

The interval was employed in almost daily meetings of the disaffected, which were numerously attended. The real intentions of the leaders were there developed to their followers in speeches of the most undisguised violence. One of them avowed that he was a republican and a leveller, and would never give up the cause till a republican form of government was established. The people were told by others, that if their petition was rejected, they must force it—that the large towns in Yorkshire were adopting the same plan, and would meet them on the road, or at least march at the same time to London; that there was reason to believe that the Scotch were then on their march; that they should be 100,000 strong when joined by the people of other manufacturing places upon the road; and that it would be impossible for the army or any thing else to resist them. These speakers appear in a few instances to have been checked by some of their associates, but their sentiments were for the most part received with strong marks of applause and concurrence.

Arrangements for the march were also pointed out at these meetings. It was recommended to those who intended to join in it to provide themselves with blankets, shoes, and knapsacks, as well as with money and food. Those who remained to work were to assist with their subscriptions. Every ten men were to choose one for a leader; and one was to be set over every hundred. Strong intimations were also given of the propriety and necessity of their providing themselves with arms; but these do not appear to have been acted upon, except perhaps in a few instances.

On

On the 10th of March the proposed meeting took place, to the amount, as is supposed, of from 10,000 to 12,000 persons at the least. Although some of their leaders had been previously arrested, and others were apprehended on the spot, the purpose was not abandoned; and large numbers of these deluded people marched off towards London.

A considerable body of them was stopped on the road to Stockport; some hundreds are stated to have passed through Leek; and one party proceeded as far as Ashbourne; but the activity of the magistrates in dispersing the meeting, and in stopping the progress of these bodies, effectually prevented the execution of a design which could not probably have failed to disturb the peace of the counties through which so numerous an assemblage was to have passed; and which, if prosecuted to its full extent, must have led to consequences highly dangerous to the public tranquillity.

The discomfiture of this attempt does not, however, appear to have materially discouraged those who had planned it; their measures were uninterruptedly pursued. Within a very short time after this failure, fresh meetings were held in smaller numbers; they were composed either wholly or in part of delegates from the neighbourhood of Manchester, from the borders of Derbyshire, and from the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire. At some of these meetings reports were made of the quantity of pikes, of firelocks, and of bullets which could be provided for the intended rising. Communications were held about this time with Nottingham, Sheffield, and Birmingham, by delegates, who were to give intelligence of the plans in contemplation, to excite the people of those places to similar attempts, and to ascertain the state of preparation to which they had advanced. In these proceedings the pretence of parliamentary reform appears to have been almost wholly discarded; they evidently point to nothing short of revolution; and it affords a dreadful proof of the extent to which the minds of many of those who attended these meetings have been inflamed and corrupted, that in public speeches the necessity of *doing away with*, or *disposing of* (as they term it) the persons most obnoxious to them, has often been openly and unreservedly announced; and that on one occasion it is stated to have been proposed that Manchester should be made a Moscow, for the purpose of strengthening their cause, by throwing numbers of people out of employment.

It was on the night of the 30th of March that a general insurrection was intended to have commenced at Manchester. The magistrates were to be seized; the prisoners were to be liberated; the soldiers were either to be surprised in their barracks, or a certain number of factories were to be set on fire, for the purpose of drawing the soldiers out of their barracks, of which a party stationed near them for that object were then to take possession, with the view of seizing the magazine.

The signal for the commencement of these proceedings was to be the firing of a rocket or rockets; and hopes were held out that 2000 or 3000 men would be sufficient to accomplish the first object, and that the insurgents would be 50,000 strong in the morning.

At this period, and in other parts of these proceedings, there are traces of an intention to issue proclamations,

clamations, declaring the king's subjects absolved from their allegiance, and denouncing death against all opposers; but the committee have not found any evidence of the actual preparation of such proclamations.

This atrocious conspiracy was detected by the vigilance of the magistrates, and defeated by the apprehension and confinement of some of the ringleaders a few days before the period fixed for its execution. The timely prevention of this desperate attempt appears to have given a considerable check to the proceedings of the disaffected in that quarter; and all the subsequent intelligence which the committee has seen from thence continues to be of a more favourable character.

During part of the month of April an intermission appears indeed to have taken place generally, at least of the more open proceedings. Public meetings in large bodies could no longer be convened, except under the regulations of the recent act of parliament. Numerous meetings of societies have been less frequently held in public houses. In some districts clubs have been dissolved; in others their meetings have been suspended, or have been held in private houses, or in places remote from observation. The necessity of greater caution has been felt and inculcated; communications by writing have been discountenanced; the concealment of the names of leading persons has been recommended; and it has been thought better that a few persons only should be intrusted with their plans, and should give notice to the different delegates to have their partisans in readiness to act when required and as directed. These delegates appointed from various places have met in small numbers, and thus kept up a general but verbal correspondence among the disaffected.

Towards the end of April, and during the month of May, this correspondence appears to have been carried on with increased activity. As early as the 5th of that month a meeting is stated to have been held in one of the principal towns of the west riding of Yorkshire, and to have been attended by persons calling themselves delegates from other principal towns of that district; and also from Leicester, from Birmingham, and from Nottingham. At this meeting reports were made by the different delegates of the strength which could be collected from the districts which they represented. The numbers were stated as very large; but the committee are well aware of the exaggeration to be expected in such cases. It was about this time that the period for another general rising appears to have been fixed for as early a day as possible after the discussion of an expected motion for reform in parliament. Nottingham appears to have been intended as the head-quarters, upon which a part of the insurgents were to march in the first instance. They were expected to be joined there, and on their march towards London, by other bodies, with such arms as they might have already provided, or might procure by force from private houses, or from the different depôts or barracks of which the attack was proposed.

At various subsequent meetings at different places, reports are stated to have been made of a great increase of numbers, so great that it was said on one occasion that they were obliged daily to extend their divisions, and enlarge their committee.

Concur-

Concurrent information from many of the quarters from whence these delegates were said to be deputed confirms the expectation of a general rising about the time above mentioned, and states its subsequent postponement to the 9th or 10th of June, for which various reasons were assigned.

The latest intelligence from those quarters has made it highly probable that the same causes which have hitherto thwarted the execution of these desperate designs, viz. the vigilance of government—the great activity and intelligence of the magistrates—the ready assistance afforded under their orders by the regular troops and yeomanry—the prompt and efficient arrangements of the officers intrusted with that service—the knowledge which has from time to time been obtained of the plans of the disaffected, and the consequent arrest and confinement of the leading agitators, would occasion a still further postponement of their atrocious plans. Subsequent intelligence leaves no doubt that the plan, in its full extent, has for the present been frustrated; but the correctness of the information which had previously been obtained has been confirmed by the recent appearance of bodies of men in arms at the precise period which is stated to have been fixed upon, and particularly in one of the districts, which had latterly been represented as determined to act without waiting for a general insurrection.

The committee think it highly important to state, that the reports received from many of the most active magistrates, and from persons whose stations, both civil and military, have enabled them to collect the most extensive information, and to form the most accurate judgement as to the state of the country, concur in attributing in a very considerable degree the disappointment of the attempts already made, and the hopes of continued tranquillity, to the actual exercise of the powers which parliament has intrusted to the executive government, and to the effect of the known existence of such powers ready to be called into action when necessity requires it—and in representing the danger which would threaten the country, were those powers to be withdrawn at the present moment. And the committee feel they should ill discharge the trust reposed in them, if they did not declare their own entire agreement in this opinion. With the fullest confidence in the general loyalty and good disposition not only of those portions of the kingdom which have hitherto remained in a great degree untainted, but by far the most considerable part of those very districts which are the chief scenes of the operations of the disaffected—a confidence which very recent experience has satisfactorily confirmed—they cannot refrain from submitting to your lordships, as the result of all the information they have received, that the time is not yet arrived, when the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the protection of the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects, can be allowed to rest upon the ordinary powers of the law.

House of lords, June 14.—Viscount Sidmouth.—"The report of the secret committee being now on your lordships' table, I present to your lordships a bill for the continuation of the measure called the suspension of the habeas corpus act; and in presenting this bill I beg leave to assure your lordships, that I do it under the fullest and deepest conviction of the urgent necessity that it should pass into a law. The ground

ground on which that opinion rests I shall state to your lordships on Monday next, when I propose, with your lordships' permission, to move the second reading of the bill." His lordship then laid the bill on the table.

Earl Grey.—"Following the example of the noble secretary who has presented this bill, I shall reserve till Monday next the statement of the reasons why I am of a directly contrary opinion: but, my lords, I cannot suffer this occasion to pass without declaring, that from all I have heard, and all I have seen, I entertain the strongest conviction that there is no necessity for this measure; and that if any danger does threaten the country at this moment—and I do not mean to deny that danger does exist—that danger arises from this measure, and the course of proceedings pursued by ministers of the crown; which, instead of being a remedy for the evils of our present situation, are, in reality, a high aggravation of all the dangers to which the country is exposed."

The bill was then read the first time.

In the house of commons, on the same day, an interesting debate took place respecting the Irish-insurrection act continuance bill. And as the information of the British nation regarding Ireland is (to our shame be it spoken) very imperfect and erroneous, we shall give this debate at some length; since from what was asserted by the opposition, and what was not denied by ministers, some light may be thrown on this most interesting and most neglected portion of the empire.

On the motion for the house resolving itself into a committee for the Irish insurrection act continuance bill—

Sir H. Parnell rose to oppose the bill, on the ground that it was quite unnecessary. He intended to move as an amendment, that the bill should be committed on this day se'nnight; and if he succeeded in that, he would then immediately move for the appointment of a committee, to consider the papers and documents on which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) founded the necessity of the bill. At present the only case which that right honourable gentleman had made out for this bill was, that a few baronies in one or two counties were in a state of insurrection. This was certainly not enough to induce the house to assent to a measure so severe as the present bill. As the Irish government was, according to report, to be changed, these powers would be intrusted to entirely new hands. The measures introduced this session went, with the rest, to govern that country entirely by a new system. He objected to the powers given to the magistrates, who went down *en militaire*, and had under their control a force of 22,000 troops and 30,000 yeomanry; and with all this power the right honourable gentleman came to the house, and asked for a continuance of the insurrection act, for which he (sir H.) could see no ground whatever: circumstances being so different from what they were in 1814, as it was not pretended that any treasonable association now existed in Ireland. He then took a review of the number of persons convicted of disturbances for a series of years, to show that the ordinary laws were administered in the most effectual manner. In two years and a quarter, 218 persons had been convicted. On the whole there ought to be some inquiry made by the house before it proceeded to admit so unconstitutional

tional a measure. He therefore moved as an amendment, that instead of now, the speaker do leave the chair this day se'nnight.

On the question being put,

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald justified the necessity of the measure. He had not heard one single good ground stated by the honourable baronet for delaying it a single day. His right honourable friend had not applied for the renewal of the bill on the ground of the disturbances in the county of Louth, but because the act was about to expire, and that it was necessary to strengthen the hands of government by its continuance. He referred to the papers on the table to show that it was not for a particular outrage, but coupled with the general state of the country, that the act was renewed; as every day produced fresh outrages; and it was only on the unanimous representation of the magistrates of the county, seconded by the representations of a county meeting, that the proclamation was issued. He adverted to many of the late horrid outrages in Ireland, and argued, that it was because the suspension of the habeas corpus act would not reach such offenders, that the insurrection act was applied for. The honourable baronet had lamented the severity which it was necessary to exercise, but he believed that there was no man who did not regret the circumstances that called for such severity. He then justified the conduct of the Irish government, and observed it was a great consolation to know that the individuals who might retire from it, would carry with them the unmixed approbation of every impartial and honourable man in the country. The convictions in Ireland within the last three years were no argument or conclusive proof that the insurrection act was not necessary. It was necessary to give protection to witnesses, and to show the people that they would be protected. He denied that the non-concession of the catholic claims had any thing to do with the outrages in Ireland, as the honourable baronet insinuated. It was a libel on the loyalty of the catholics, and he would never suffer such an assertion to be made in that house without contradiction. He concluded with declaring that not one tenable argument against the measure had fallen from the honourable baronet.

Sir H. Parnell explained. He did not connect the conduct of the magistrates with that of the government. He did not say the act was absolutely unnecessary, but that the existing laws were adequate to the punishment of the offences.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald, in explanation, denied that he had accused the honourable baronet of libelling the catholics, but that the honourable baronet had not dealt fairly by the bill.

Sir S. Romilly deprecated the warmth with which the question had been taken up by the right honourable gentleman, who had not dealt fairly by the honourable baronet. What was the house to do in legislating for Ireland, when all information was withheld from it, and it was proposed to give to the magistrates and the government the power of taking from the people the benefits of the constitution? All his honourable friend proposed, was, to defer the bill for a week, in order that some inquiry might be made. His honourable friend thought that the refusal of the catholic claims contributed in some degree to the disturbances; but the right honourable gentleman positively contradicted this. Then what was the house

house to do, if all opportunity for inquiry were refused? He contended that the bill gave the power to the magistrates to have every man transported for seven years for being found out of his house before sun-rise or an hour after sun-set, unless he could clearly prove that he was out upon some lawful occasion, which he might not be able to do. Such rigorous precautions might be necessary, but the house could not be justified in agreeing to such a measure without inquiry. It was too much for the gentlemen opposite to suppose that they alone felt horror at such a circumstance as those papers related; for there was no man of common feeling but must regard them with equal abhorrence and indignation. He verily believed that the relaxation of morals, and the misgovernment, arose in a great degree from one part of the people conceiving they had an interest in depressing the other. If, as the right honourable gentleman had stated, the disturbances in the county of Louth were not the cause of the renewal of the act, then there was the more ground of inquiry. The honourable and learned gentleman was proceeding to advert to particular arguments of the right honourable gentleman in a former debate, when

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald spoke to order.

Sir J. Newport and sir W. Burroughs contended that the honourable and learned gentleman had a right to make such references.

The speaker observed, that it must in general depend on the common sense and feeling of the house, to what extent any member might be permitted to go, in the way of general reference.

Mr. W. Smith thought there could be no doubt that arguments in former debates might be referred to, though particular words ought not.

Sir S. Romilly continued. He expressed his wish to conform to the rules of the house, as well as to the wish of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fitzgerald). He repeated, that if Louth alone was in a state of disturbance, there was no reason why a particular act of parliament should not be passed for that county alone. Such powers as these were not to be intrusted in the hands of any men, merely because it was believed they would not abuse them. Was there any English member who could justify himself for depriving the Irish people of their liberties without inquiring into the actual state of Ireland? The system of government, for centuries past, had been to treat Ireland as a conquered country.

Mr. Peel adverted to certain of his observations on a former evening, to show that they had been mistaken by the honourable baronet. He denied that he referred to the state of the county of Louth, as rendering the act necessary. The cases of Tipperary and Limerick were as applicable as that of Louth. He repeated what he had previously stated, to prove the necessity of the measure. As to the motion of the honourable baronet, he never heard fewer arguments in support of any motion. He denied that there were any grounds whatever for such a committee, even if the inquiry were practicable at this period. In every single instance in which the act had been applied, he had produced the most incontrovertible evidence of its necessity; and was not the house perfectly competent to form its opinion on the instant? It was impossible to conceive what course the honourable baronet would pursue at this late period of the session, or even

even if his motion had been made much earlier. He complimented the honourable baronet for the interest he took in the welfare of Ireland, but he was sure no gentleman could have any interest in supporting the measure beyond the conviction of its necessity. The opinions of the honourable member for Colchester and the gallant general were against him, but he believed he had with him the opinion of every other Irish member. He continued to argue on the necessity of the act, which had existed, with some alterations, ever since the year 1796. The honourable baronet, he contended, had failed in showing that there was any intention on his part of changing the form, or giving extraordinary powers to the government. He then replied to the different objections of the honourable baronet. Nothing but such a measure having been put in force could have checked the unlawful outrages that had prevailed in the county of Louth and the other parts where such excesses had prevailed before the bill was introduced. A reference to the papers would show, that in three months ten persons were devoted to a most cruel assassination by the persons whom they had offended, and thirteen houses robbed of arms. The houses of two farmers were attacked, who gave information in September, and one of them was shot in December following. The other escaped with his life, but his house was burnt, and his sister-in-law fell a victim. In Louth, since the act had been in force, there had only been ten convictions, and he believed they were all considered worthy of mercy. On such grounds, the act was not only a necessary but a lenient measure, and he begged the honourable baronet to reserve some of his sympathy for those who were in danger of their lives, but for the protection it afforded them. In Westmeath, where the act was three months in operation, only four persons were transported, and in King's County not one was transported during its operation. He would say, that though it was a hardship to confine people to their houses, it was more effectual than if a hundred convictions had taken place. There was no wish on the part of the magistrates to be intrusted with this act longer than was necessary, and the act was withdrawn from three of the counties on no other grounds than that the magistrates themselves applied to have it withdrawn. He had proposed that the act should be continued for a shorter period than it ever had yet been continued, and the measure had the approbation of gentlemen who were the best judges of its necessity.

Sir H. Parnell said a few words in explanation.

Sir W. Burroughs would as soon trust extraordinary powers in the hands of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) as to any person who held the reins of government; but he could not help considering the bill as a most ferocious one, and totally uncalled for. He had heard no argument adduced that showed it to be a remedy for the evil. He complained of the clause which enacted that every man caught out of his house after daylight should be taken up, committed for trial without the benefit of a grand jury, and if found guilty, transported for seven years. It was the same for any one found in a public house, licensed or not, after nine o'clock in the evening. It even appeared as if the author of the bill had intended to exclude the sovereign's mercy from the prisoners in those cases. He then objected to the other parts of

the measure. On looking at the operation of the act, he found that 328 individuals had been apprehended, of whom only 68 had been convicted, so that 260 who had been acquitted, had been unjustly arrested. Was there a member of parliament who would dare to propose such a bill for the people of England, notwithstanding the insurrectionary disposition which had lately manifested itself—a bill which deprived the people of the trial by jury? Why, therefore, should such a measure be extended to his unfortunate country? He then alluded to the tortures and scourgings which had preceded the Irish rebellion, when nothing but violence was resorted to, and called by the name of vigour. He had hoped that when external danger had passed away, the wounds which the constitution had received would be closed. But could that be the case if such measures were continued? Ireland, for a succession of ages, had been misgoverned in every way; her interests had been sacrificed by king William, and almost ever since. The house should go into a committee on such a bill, a clause, to make it no longer optional for magistrates to try offences without a jury, but to compel them to impannel a jury on every case.

Mr. Peel and Sir William Burroughs mutually explained.

General Mathew could not allow this opportunity to pass, without expressing his abhorrence of so odious a measure. He took a view of all the objectionable parts of the bill, contended that the counties of Tipperary and Limerick were tranquil, and that only four districts were disturbed in that of Louth, not on political grounds, but by mere squabbles among the people; and asked whether, in case some disturbances had taken place among the miners in Cornwall, a bill like the present would be proposed to extend over the whole of Great Britain? Did ministers wish to drive Ireland again into rebellion, and to try their strength in that country at the point of the bayonet? Was not its trade stagnant, its spirit broken? Were not its villages, towns, and cities depopulated? And did they wish to add to its misfortunes, insult and degradation? Was it any thing, in fact, but a maltreated province of England, though independent in name? He contended that the former rebellion had been the work of the government itself, and should pledge his honour for the truth of the following fact: At that period the late lord Clare, speaking of lord Edward Fitzgerald, said aloud, "Damn that stupid fellow (meaning a relation of his), Edward will be taken up; I told him to give him notice in time that he might have escaped as we wished." Government therefore knew the whole progress of the rebellion for months, and got their information from Mr. Reynolds, the informer, who attended all the meetings of the conspirators to betray them. And where was Mr. Reynolds? He had come to England: he had become a grand juror! He was one of the very grand jury who had found the bill to send the prisoners in the Tower to their trial for high treason. After such an example, he had no doubt but Mr. Castles, the base informer, would soon be elected a grand juror too!

Mr. Goulburn called the gallant general to order. He was wandering from the subject before the house.

General Mathew resumed, and warmly adverted to the manner in which Ireland, which had never been conquered by arms, had been

treated

treated for ages by England. If the same system were pursued, and Ireland conquered, as it had been by Elizabeth, the destruction of the country would ensue, and the remains of what had been the brave Irish people might at last be forced to lick the dust at the feet of their odious tyrants, their English masters.

Mr. Blake was unwilling to obtrude himself upon the notice of the house. Nothing but a question so important as the present could induce him to do so. He differed with those who approved the revival of the insurrection act. He did not mean to follow the gallant general (Mathew) through the mischievous and unmeaning speech which he had just delivered. He deprecated the mixing up of the catholic subject with the present. The question was treated by the honourable gentleman and the honourable baronet who preceded him, as if there was no case in which the government ought to be trusted with extraordinary powers. It was treated as if the re-enactment of the insurrection act was to be taken as if it were a suspension of the habeas corpus act, and therefore a suspension of the constitution in Ireland. The cases were totally different; there was no analogy whatever between them. The insurrection act is but partial in its immediate operation, while it has the singular advantage of being general in its good effects; it deters the evil-minded, and stimulates the well-disposed, even where it is not in force, which effect would be lost if the bill was not continued. It is intended to curb disorders which are partial, and not flowing from any political cause. The habeas corpus suspension bill is, on the contrary, to put down designs which are widely extended to subvert the constitution. To re-enact the insurrection act is, therefore, no infraction of the constitution. The habeas corpus, a late improvement, was succeeded by magna charta—by a multitude of acts which were chiefly confirmatory of that statute, between the time of Edward I. and Henry IV.; and also preceded by the bill of rights, and other concessions by Charles the First. The honourable member denied that the habeas corpus act was the only protection of an Englishman's liberty. He admitted it was the shield of the personal liberty of the subject against the arbitrary will of the king; but he asked the honourable gentleman opposite, whether there was no other danger to be guarded against on behalf of the subject than the arbitrary will of the king? whether there might not exist cases in which it would be a sin upon the part of the government and the people against the constitution, and against themselves, not to suspend the ordinary law and strengthen the hands of the executive? He insisted that the present times afforded a sufficient example of this fact; and concluded by saying, that Englishmen and Irishmen were now called upon to surrender their personal liberties for a while into hands that will not dare to abuse them, in order to protect those very liberties and properties for ever from anarchy and confusion, murder and robbery, which were more intolerable than tyranny itself, because any government is better than no government at all.

After a few words from Mr. Bagwell and Mr. Croker,

Sir Frederick Flood said, that this measure was not a new creation, but one which had been found beneficial, and which it was therefore prudent to continue. As to the inflamma-

tory speeches which had been made, they did not tend to tranquillize Ireland, or to promote its prosperity.

Mr. Knox defended the measure; for though Ireland was tranquil at present, it was to be apprehended that the disorders which prevailed in England might soon extend to that country.

Sir J. Newport lamented that the present measure should be necessary, but considering it so for the safety and tranquillity of Ireland, he should vote for it. He wished, however, that it should not extend beyond six weeks after the next meeting of parliament, as it would then ensure the consideration of the situation of Ireland.

The question was then put, and the amendment rejected without a division.

Sir William Burroughs wished to know, before going into the committee, whether the honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) would have any objection to the clause which he stated it was his intention to move.

Mr. Peel said that he could not concur in it, as it would weaken the bill, without producing the effect which the honourable baronet intended.

The house then resolved itself into the committee.

House of lords, June 16.—The order of the day respecting the bill for the further suspension of the habeas corpus act being read,

Viscount Sidmouth rose and addressed their lordships at considerable length upon the subject (but of which, as well as of the subsequent discussion, our confined limits restrict us to a very brief and general notice). He came forward to press the adoption of the measure, on his firm conviction of its positive and urgent necessity. It was not, however, submitted to parliament without an adequate examination as to the grounds upon which it was proposed,—the course adopted on a similar occasion in an early part of the war, when a bill for continuing the suspension act was proposed without any previous inquiry, or new facts being submitted to parliament. Not that he meant to impugn the conduct of that administration, or of the illustrious person then at its head, in so doing, as doubtless the circumstances of the country at the time justified that course of proceeding. The noble secretary of state then entered upon a specification of the grounds on which he urged the adoption of the continuation bill; in the course of which he made frequent reference to the report of the secret committee, from which he made various quotations. He exhibited the leading and most important features of the report, and expatiated thereon with great clearness and ability. He contended, for the beneficial tendency and effect of the present suspension, to which much of that portion of tranquillity which prevailed in many parts of the kingdom was chiefly to be attributed. Much of the state of the country was well known to their lordships, as well as the undoubted beneficial effects of the existing measure of suspension. They should take the benefit of their experience—they should not only feel the immediate salutary consequence of the suspension, but recollect the great preventive benefits it operated on former occasions, especially in the cases of the years 1794 and 1795. From the consideration of all these circumstances, and with the knowledge he possessed of the actual and immediate state of the country, he felt it his imperious duty, under the firm conviction of the necessity of the

the measure, to move that the bill be now read the second time.

Lord Erskine was equally desirous with his noble friend, who proposed this measure, to look the dangers of the country full in the face; but he was convinced the best way to avert these would be, not by adopting the proposed measure, but by thoroughly and fearlessly inquiring into the causes which led to the present disastrous state of the country. The causes which induced the present unhappy condition of the poor should be particularly inquired into: but instead of sedulously turning their attention to that subject, it had been entirely passed over; and a course of measures adopted, which, instead of tending to relieve, only served to aggravate the evils they had to complain of. He would not agree to the remedy now proposed; it would be like a sick man's following the advice of a physician, who, though his medicines evidently made the patient worse, persisted in adhering to a continuation of their application. Most men—he for one—would wish in such a case, to change either the medicine or the physician. The conduct of ministers with respect to the habeas corpus act was revolting to the great body of the people, and he believed that all those who understood the characteristic freedom and blessings of the British constitution in its purity, would not think for a moment of changing it for the most specious republican system that was ever broached.

The duke of Montrose, in a brief but energetic appeal to the house, supported the bill, which was calculated on a principle of merciful and preventive policy. He well knew, that with the powers possessed by government, those who meditated the overthrow of the British constitution could easily be put down by force of arms; but it was the wise and lenient policy of his majesty's government, to prevent, by means of a bill, things from getting to such an extremity as to render such a recurrence necessary.

Earl Grosvenor spoke at some length against the bill, which would be but to continue a measure which he conceived to be the principal acting cause in what the country now had to lament. In a state of profound peace, supported by such a powerful military force, ministers armed with the ordinary powers of the law, possessed ample means of putting down any real attempts against the constitution and government, without recurring to any such aggravating and obnoxious measures as that in question. They were also supported by large majorities in parliament. The present report he regarded as a more candid one than the former. From its statements, he was confirmed in his idea that much of the dangers which were asserted to exist arose from the unprincipled misrepresentations of spies and informers, who resembled Satan himself in endeavouring to seduce others to the commission of illegal or seditious acts. The measures adopted by ministers having evidently failed, they should try a different course, and earnestly set themselves to endeavour to relieve the distresses of the people, which might in some degree be really effected by measures of strict œconomy, reducing the military establishments, as the yeomanry corps, and the guard and garrison troops would be amply sufficient for home protection, and in the abolition of sinecure offices and of reversionary grants; instead of all this, a contrary line was pursued; the acts of his majesty's ministers seemed to be

delusive, and their object despotism. The persisting in such a line of conduct as they had latterly adopted, he was afraid, would terminate in a re-action, which was too dreadful to contemplate. In his view of the whole case he should, instead of agreeing to the bill being now read, vote for its rejection, or at least propose that it should be of very short duration.

Lord Redesdale supported the measure, because he was as thoroughly persuaded it was necessary, as he was that any one power possessed by the government was necessary to be supported. The reports attributed to certain districts a certain portion of disaffection. This prevailed in the manufacturing districts; but it did not appear that it prevailed in the agricultural districts. But it was not as the noble lord who spoke last had represented. He would ask the noble lord, whether in the history of the whole world, disaffection had not always proceeded by the same means? If a general of an army were to stand in such a case upon his honour, what would become of his army? It was stated in the report, that a system of secrecy had been adopted infinitely beyond any that had ever been before resorted to. The former mode of carrying on plots by writing had been abandoned, because it led to detection; and it was absolutely impossible to cause information but by individuals conversing with others in private houses. This demonstrated guilt. If there was no guilt, why was this secrecy? What was the object of the leaders but the object of subverting every thing, and to take property from those who had it, and give it to those who had none? The substance of the report was, in his belief, that there existed a spirit amongst the exciters, to drive the people into insurrection. He conceived the measure to be one of prevention, and a very proper one. The cry of Wilkes and liberty was one of the most hostile to liberty that ever was uttered; and now, as then, there were a number of persons who always conceived liberty meant a privilege of doing what they pleased. He justified the late suspension of the habeas corpus act, and attributed to it the effect of preventing the disturbances which would otherwise have occurred in the manufacturing districts. By taking up the leaders and putting them in jail, the insurrection had been suppressed that had lately taken place in Nottingham and Derbyshire. The same result occurred in 1745, the rebellious conspiracy was discomfited by the apprehension of the leaders. He therefore supported the measure as one of prevention, which would save the government of the country from being completely overturned. It was the duty of the government to take care to keep down that spirit which would render necessary a recurrence to force. He gave his support to the bill, because he conceived it calculated to prevent the introduction of the most outrageous of all despotisms.

Lord King thought on such grounds as had been stated by the noble lord who spoke last, he might even give his support to any measure of the government, however despotic. He did not think the danger of that nature or description which called for the suspension of the habeas corpus act; as there was no proof of extensive preparations, or of leaders of any consequence in society, being with the conspirators. A proclamation which was never drawn was a proper prelude

lude to a plot that was never in existence. The insinuations were confined to those districts where distress was most general from want of work. On such grounds, the suspension of the habeas corpus act was likely to be indefinite. A great source of satisfaction in any country was a confidence in the government; but by the continuance of such measures, the people, instead of considering the government to be their common friend, would regard it as their common enemy. The noble lord concluded with declaring his opposition to the question.

Earl Grey thought the subject of the night's debate so portentous to the liberties of the country, that under every disadvantage he must raise his voice in favour of the constitution. He was as much disposed to counteract the designs of those who wished to convert the present severe distress into the adoption of a measure which never had been adopted but under the most evident and cogent necessity—a measure which surrendered the liberties of the people into the hands of ministers. What was the nature of the danger? It arose from severe distress, which rendered the minds of the sufferers liable to be worked upon by artful and designing men. But was the danger any thing equal to what it was in any former time, when a similar measure was adopted? He had said, on a former occasion, that it was absurd and ridiculous to compare the danger with that which existed at different periods of the last century, when the most considerable persons in this and the other house of parliament took an active part with the disaffected. Yet the habeas corpus act was then only suspended for the short period of six months, even when the conspirators, in 1745, were assisted by a foreign force, when the health of the Pretender was a favourite toast with public bodies—then he could conceive a case of danger to have existed, which might have given the government an excuse for a measure of such rigour. Yet so strong was the feeling, that it was not carried without great opposition. He would not deny that the country was in great danger; but in his conscience he believed the remedy proposed rather calculated to increase the irritation than to diminish it by its rigour. We had triumphantly succeeded in the result of the war; but the consequence was, that we were burthened with a taxation which we were scarcely able to stand under. The war had disturbed all the elements of society; and because there were a few disaffected men in the country, who endeavoured to inflame the multitude, was the house to confide to ministers a power which put the liberties of every man in the kingdom at their mercy? He would ask, whether those persons had the means of exciting such general disturbances that they could be counteracted by no other measures than such as placed the whole country out of the pale of the constitution? By the arguments of prevention being better than punishment, all the measures of a despotic government might be sanctioned and justified. He was by no means sure that the power would not lead to great and dangerous abuses. For it was known that a bill of indemnity would protect the ministers for the most arbitrary acts, such as confining men in distant prisons, without any foundation for the charges against them; and when they hoped for justice, they were met by a bill

of indemnity, which prevented them from obtaining it. For such reasons he would not suffer such a measure to pass without firmly protesting against it; particularly as it had not been proved that a single case had yet occurred which the existing laws were not adequate to put down. He thought the former report was impeached in some of its most material parts, by a deliberate and solemn proceeding at Norwich, and by other evidence that had been offered. It had been further impeached by what had occurred at Glasgow, where, amongst the whole population, not above fifty or sixty persons had been found to have taken the secret oaths, and which oaths there was reason to believe were administered by persons who were employed as spies on the part of government. The noble earl alluded to the charge against Mr. N. Douglas, who was tried for sedition; but the evidence of the spies was so full of the grossest perjury, that the crown lawyers, upon the first decision, gave up the other prosecutions. The plans of the proposed insurrection in the metropolis were so absurd as to be only ludicrous: such as the proposed attack on the Tower, which two of the best regiments under the duke of Wellington could not take without the use of cannon. The noble earl adverted to the proceedings of the rioters in the Minories and on Tower-hill, which he contended might have been put a stop to by the slightest show of military resistance. From such insensate efforts, was the house to be told that the danger was any thing equal to what it had been at any former period? he alluded to that part of the last report which considered the intelligence to rest in a degree on the testimony of persons who had in some cases been guilty of exciting the people to acts of outrage. Such testimony, he contended, ought to be rejected altogether. Such a system (that of employing spies) was the odious character of a despotic government; but what state of society must we live in, if a practice repugnant to the feelings of every Englishman was to be resorted to? Would the house sanction the principle that spies should be employed, and, after they had been found out, be continued in favour and rewarded? He would say that every such miscreant should be brought to justice; and if he was suffered to be loose upon society, he would say that every person who had been executed had been murdered. He next alluded to the infamous character of a person who had lately given evidence, and commented with pointed severity on his conduct. Such unfortunate persons as lately rose in Derbyshire, who were the victims of distress and delusion, were to be pitied. Who could read the accounts of the black despair which seized them when they found they were not supported, without believing they were misled by such wretches as he had spoken of, to their own destruction? The noble earl read a letter from Sheffield, stating that a person named Oliver had gone in that neigbourhood and encouraged people to insurrection. He would ask the noble lord opposite, whether he could deny that he was a Government spy? He could not deny it. This fellow had represented to the people whom he met, that all the people in the metropolis were in favour of a complete change of government, and that on the night preceding the trial of the state prisoners there was to be a general rising; that all the public offices were to be taken possession

tention of, the prisoners liberated, &c. The noble earl adverted to the conduct of Castles, on the 2d of December, when he endeavoured to persuade Hunt that the business of Spa-fields was over, and to induce him to join in the intended attack on the Tower: thus endeavouring to mislead him by false information, that he might afterwards inform against him. So Oliver told the people, that a plan was formed that was to be simultaneously acted on in all parts of the kingdom. This absurd information had been believed and acted upon by some deluded persons in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, but no fire-arms or cartridges were found in the place where they were said to be concealed by them. He stated these facts to show that government was bound to bring this man to punishment that such double treason might not pass with impunity.—He did not charge ministers with any thing more than being deluded by such persons; but he would ask whether such people's evidence did not shake the whole system on which the contents of the report were founded, and whether it did not convey a strong suspicion that this plot or conspiracy had been fostered, promoted, and supported by the agents of the government themselves? But if the laws of the country were not sufficient to protect us against such miserable machinations, when could we expect to be permitted to enjoy them? He looked upon the representations of county magistrates with some suspicion, and argued that they ought to be regarded with the utmost caution: and after contending at considerable length, that if the government had done its duty, it possessed means enough to repress all such disturbances as had yet occurred, without resorting to extraordinary measures, the noble earl descanted on that part of the report which described the great body of the people to be sound and loyal, even in the disturbed districts. From this he inferred, that no case had been made out for suspending the liberties of the people, and placing them in the power of ministers of the crown. He trusted the bill would not pass at all, but at all events not without an amendment that should limit its duration.

The earl of Liverpool considered the speech of the noble lord to call for an answer from him, on account of some of the special points it contained. He agreed with the noble lord that the nature of the danger was first to be considered; and that there was some danger, all were ready to admit. The house were not considering the riots as arising out of distresses in particular branches of manufactures; but the question was, whether there was not an organized conspiracy for the purpose of overthrowing the government and the constitution of the country? In considering this question, he thought it a lamentable circumstance, as referred to in the report, that in many districts where there had been but little distress, the machinations had been detected amongst those who were not in want of employment, and it was here that the greatest stretch of sedition prevailed. The principle of the conspiracy had pervaded no less than seven or eight counties of the kingdom, acting by affiliation and correspondence. The argument of the noble lord seemed to be, that if no persons of consequence or influence were connected with the conspirators, no such measures of precaution as those now proposed were necessary. But respecting the paragraph in the report relative to the

the employment of spies, he would say that in all times, and under all governments, in ancient or modern times, such persons were ever found necessary, and all the state trials in this country showed that they were founded on the information of such persons, without which it was impossible that conspiracies could be discovered. The house must be aware, that in the civil list act, there was a clause which enabled the secretary of state to employ secret service money, either for detecting combinations abroad or conspiracies at home. Here, then, the principle of employing such persons was recognised by the statute books of the house. In answer to the observations of the noble lord respecting the person who had lately given evidence, he could assure him that the person in question never was employed in those transactions as a spy of government. Respecting Oliver, he did not deny that he had been employed, but he was confident he was discouraged from sowing the seeds of disaffection in any way whatever. The statement, however, was an *ex-parte* one, and ought not to receive full credit on such authority as had been offered. Nothing had been said to invalidate the point that a general rising was intended to take place after the question of a reform in parliament; and the arrangements for it had been made before ever this person had appeared amongst them. The noble lord continued to advert to historical facts to show that when our population was small and the power of the crown great (the times of Richard II.), a mob, headed by a blacksmith, had committed all manner of outrages, and brought the country almost to the brink of ruin. Were he to say that the French revolution was led on by people of consequence, he was sure he should libel such persons. It was a conspiracy of the mob against the government, and such were always the most atrocious. Such a conspiracy would soon find leaders: and if it was a conspiracy of the lower orders, he would say, so much the worse; for it was not the chiefs that led the people, but the people that led the chiefs. On the whole, he considered the character of the disturbances totally different from the view taken of it by the noble lord. If they could make Manchester like Moscow, and destroy all the sources of our prosperity—if they could have done so, he would say, they would—they would have done so if they had not been prevented. And if Manchester had assumed a different character since March, it was through the operation of the measures that had been taken. If there was any reason why he called on the house to adopt the measure now, it was because he considered it essential to the preservation of property and morality, and to afford protection against all the anarchy and disorder that would arise from a revolution.

The marquis of Lansdowne considered the measure to rest on grounds entirely new, and going to introduce a new precedent. The house ought not to part with that which was given into their hands to protect. He had endeavoured to satisfy himself how far any conscientious member could reconcile it to his mind to part with the liberties of his country; and as he found that the reports did not show that any connected conspiracy existed, extending its ramifications throughout the country, he saw no reason for the measure in question. The noble marquis proceeded to argue, that opinions were not to be put down by the personal detention of the

the parties unfortunately concerned in them. With respect to the report, he must speak of it with respect and affection, but he found in it no data that justified him in consenting to this measure. Were those governments with whom such powers existed the most free? In the occurrences of the French revolution, the mob had proceeded to action, but the revolution had been brought about by people of influence. After many historical comparisons, the noble marquis argued that the quality of the danger was not such as a measure of this kind was calculated to remove. It was incumbent on every man to array all the virtue and morality in the land against the disaffection, by uniting the majority who were the well disposed, with the few who were disaffected; to appeal to their reason, and to convince them that they had justice to expect so long as they supported the laws, instead of endeavouring to overturn them. We should ask from the people of the whole country the preservation of their laws; and he could not think so low of the sound population of the country, as to suppose it was not capable of crushing any rebellion that might show itself amongst a part of the people of only five counties. The constitution might therefore safely be left to the protection of the laws, which would unite with public liberty the preservation of the public peace.

Lord Grenville, in an elaborate speech, (through which our limits will not enable us to follow him,) strongly defended the measure on the ground of its necessity to protect the liberties of the country, and that invaluable constitution, from which the happiness and prosperity of the country were inseparable. He contended it was the duty of parliament to rest their final decision on such information as they might receive as to what had actually taken place; and his opinion was, that the facts were such, that proved there existed a conspiracy, for purposes that had frequently been detailed in that house. It had been said, that the prevention of crimes was infinitely better than punishment; and on this very consideration he supported the measure. The noble lord adverted to the excesses committed by the rioters in 1780, and was of opinion that the same outrages might have ensued, if the riot of the 2d of December had not been checked at its commencement, and the turbulent spirit kept down by the preventive measures that were subsequently adopted. He was not bold enough to say, that if these preventive measures were suffered to expire, the same dangers might not recur. He thought the dangers alluded to in the last century beyond all comparison less than those that now existed, and he had no doubt the suspension of the habeas corpus act in 1745 was a wise and necessary measure, any more than he had that it was necessary at the present moment. On the whole, he had abundant reasons for being satisfied, that it was his duty to give his earnest support to the measure.

Earl Spencer agreed with the noble lords opposite, that the prevention was better than the punishment of crimes; but the measure under consideration did not appear to him calculated to effect either. The experience of the last three months had induced him to alter his opinion as to the efficacy of the measure. Their lordships should consider, in agreeing to the bill, they would prolong arbitrary power in this country.—The principle of the bill he held

held to be wrong; and he was averse from leaving, for any length of time, an arbitrary power in the hands of men, or at least longer than what was proved to be absolutely necessary. There would be no responsibility, he thought, annexed to this power, for he would venture to foretell, if this bill were passed, a bill of indemnity would in consequence be found necessary. In this view of the case, he should give his negative to the motion.

The duke of Sussex said, that after the numerous able arguments their lordships had heard against the measure, he should beg leave only to submit one additional reflection, which had forciby struck him in a moral point of view. It was this: he had witnessed the effects of arbitrary power upon the subjects of other countries, and he observed that poison and assassination were prevalent amongst them. Here, these dreadful practices were scarcely known. But if the expressions of popular sentiment were suppressed or circumscribed, as it might be by such measures as that under consideration, it was much to be feared, that it would endeavour to find vent some other way. Should this measure pass into a law, it would be his duty to submit to it; but, until it did, he would oppose it in every stage.

The question being then pretty loudly called for, the house divided.

Contents	109
Proxies	81
Total	190
Non-contents	27
Proxies	23
Total	50
Majority for the second reading of the bill	140

On the same day the fourth report of the select committee of finance was laid on the table of the house of commons. The three preceding reports, relating only to proposed retrenchments, we have not given; but the substance of this we shall insert, as it presents what—in the opinion of the committee—will probably be the future revenue and expenditure of the country:

It embraces a view, 1st, Of the total public income and expenditure for the year ended 5th Jan. 1817; 2d, Of the probable income and expenditure for the years 1817 and 1818 respectively.

The committee state, that the total receipt of public income at the exchequer of Great Britain in 1816 was 65,176,176*l.*; and of total expenditure issued from the exchequer 70,380,268*l.*

[This gross sum includes 1,959,090*l.* applied to the discharge of navy debt, which was thereby reduced from 3,694,821*l.* at which it stood on the 5th January 1816, to 1,753,731*l.* its amount on the 5th January 1817; it includes also a sum of 1,267,782*l.* applied as the sinking fund on unprovided exchequer bills, 5 per cents. 1797 paid off, and the debentures paid off.]

There is in the above gross total sums issued and received, an excess of 5,204,092*l.* of issues beyond the receipts, "which would at first sight indicate an increase of debt, though the difference must have been provided for; but this sum being deducted from that proportion of the foregoing issues which has been applied in the discharge of debt, amounting in the whole to 14,602,238*l.* it will appear that there was a diminution of debt on the 5th Jan. 1817, as compared with the 5th Jan. 1816, of 9,398,146*l.*; the only circumstance which may in a degree affect the precise accuracy of this result, being the increase or diminution which may have taken place

place in the balances at the exchequer at the beginning or close of the year.

The committee proceed to a view of the estimated income and expenditure for 1817 and 1818.

"Your committee have, in the first place, been led to consider in what degree the produce, in the last year, of the taxes and duties composing the existing revenue, could with propriety be assumed as the measure of their future annual produce.

"In directing their attention to this essential part of their inquiry, your committee could entertain no doubt as to the general result to which it would necessarily lead. The nature and extent of the distress which has prevailed throughout those classes of the community which constitute the bulk of the population, were too strongly impressed upon the minds of your committee to admit of the supposition, that under such circumstances the revenue could have been productive in an ordinary degree. It is obvious to reason, as well as consistent with all former experience, that the revenue derived from articles of the most general consumption, must be injured by the calamity of a deficient harvest; and when the committee considered that the distress proceeding from this cause had followed immediately that rapid fall of prices by which the agriculture of the kingdom had been so greatly depressed, and had come in conjunction with the effect produced upon the commerce and manufacturing industry of the country, by the sudden changes which had occurred in the political state of Europe; they were fully prepared to find a very considerable deficiency in the produce of the principal taxes in the year ended the 5th January 1817; and the more especially as all these causes of distress appeared to have been felt by most of the nations of the continent in a similar, and by many of them in a severer degree.

"The fact has, indeed, corresponded with the principles upon which this expectation was founded. But although these concurring evils have not failed to produce, in a material degree, their natural consequences, yet your committee, in contemplating the utmost extent of them, and in comparing them with the depression which the revenue has experienced in former instances, when affected by the single calamity of a deficient harvest, are disposed to consider it as a striking proof of the substantial strength and wealth of the country, that its consumption should not have been diminished in a greater degree under the accumulated circumstances of embarrassment which have pressed upon the last year.

"Your committee are well aware, that in addition to the general causes affecting the usual consumption of taxed commodities in the year 1816, some part of the diminution of the revenue must be attributed to the diminished consumption of the government itself. But, in opposition to this circumstance, they consider that the cessation of so large a portion of the taxes (viz. 17,500,000*l.* per annum) as expired in the last year, although their collection continued to operate during the remainder of that year, cannot fail, when the full benefit of the addition thereby made to the means of individuals is generally felt, to encourage an increased expenditure and consumption by the community at large; a consideration which is to be set against any inference to be drawn from the necessary diminution in the demands

demands and consumption of government.

"Your committee being therefore fully impressed with the belief, that the unfavourable returns of the revenue in the year 1816 are essentially referable to the general distresses of the country, are necessarily led to the conclusion, that according as these distresses may be removed by the recovery of trade and agriculture, from the shock occasioned by the sudden change in the money value of commodities, and in proportion as the industry of the labouring classes may receive relief from more extended or more productive employment, coupled with the blessing of a more favourable season than the last;—in the same proportion and degree may it be confidently expected that the public revenue of the country will return to its average rate of productiveness.

"Of the degree in which some melioration may already have taken place, and of the period within which a full recovery from our late difficulties may be anticipated, it would be premature, and perhaps presumptuous, in your committee to attempt to state any distinct opinion. They have, however, thought it right to call for such information as could be acquired upon this very important point, from some of the persons most conversant, practically, with the manufacturing and commercial industry of the country; and the opinions of these persons as to the actual commencement, or the early prospect of returning activity are, upon the whole, encouraging and satisfactory. Your commitee feel warranted, by the concurring sentiments of these witnesses, as well as by all other indications within their own observation, in expressing a belief, that a favourable alteration is already manifesting itself throughout the country. And when your committee contemplate the great advantages possessed by this nation over all those which have suffered and are still suffering by the calamities peculiar to the present period—in the substantial resources of accumulated wealth, and of solid and extensive establishments for the employment of labour and the maintenance of industry—they cannot but indulge the most confident hope that a melioration once begun will be rapidly accelerated. They therefore conceive that they shall not be exhibiting a too favourable view of the future revenue from the present taxes, when they assume the average productiveness of the last two years (corresponding, nearly, as they have already shown, with the average of the three preceding years), as the foundation of their estimate.

The committee estimate the future produce of the public income at £52,505,364

And the expenditure

for 1817 at 67,817,752

for 1818 at 65,216,675

"The probable average income in the years 1817 and 1818, is 52,505,364*l.* which being deducted from the estimated totals of the expenditure in each of those years, it would appear that there would remain to be provided by extraordinary resources, to make good the difference between the total income and expenditure, in the year 1817, 15,312,388*l.*; and in the year 1818, 12,711,311*l.* independently of any addition to the annual charge, by reason of new debts which may be created in either of those years.

"To this statement your committee have to add, that in the former of these years the sums to be applied (forming part of the above

above general expenditure) for the reduction of debt, is 14,515,473*l.*; and that, in the latter, it may be estimated to be 15,104,117*l.*:—by which it will appear, that in the latter year the debt to be redeemed would exceed the debt to be probably incurred, by the sum of 2,892,806*l.*

"In addition to this surplus of income applicable towards the diminution of the debt, your committee feel warranted by the improved and apparently improving state of the public credit, and consequent increased value of the public securities, in directing the attention of the house to the probability of a reduction, at no distant period, of the interest on a part of the funded debt;—the result of which, besides the incidental encouragement which every description of productive industry and commercial enterprise could not fail to find, in the facility of borrowing upon advantageous terms, would be a very considerable saving in the permanent charge of the national debt.

"Your committee do not think it necessary to submit any prospective calculations upon this subject; but if, by the continued blessings of peace, and a system of persevering œconomy, the public credit of the country, aided by the uninterrupted operation of the sinking fund, should attain to the point at which it stood in 1792, your committee observe with satisfaction, that a diminution of charge might be effected by the reduction of interest alone, which would be an annual saving of between two and three millions sterling. Looking forward to this event, as the resource which promises the greatest and most substantial relief to our finances, and feeling that in its attainment the country would find at once the evidence of existing ease, and the pledge of growing prosperity, your committee cannot better conclude this report than by expressing their anxious hope that nothing will arise either in the state of our foreign relations, or in the administration of the domestic concerns of the empire, to call for exertions which might tend to retard or disappoint the prospect of this most desirable improvement."

CHAPTER V.

Debates on the further Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—on Copyright—Ways and Means—Lord Sidmouth's Circular Letter—Treatment of the Evanses—Newfoundland Trade—Finance Resolutions—Situation of the Country—Prorogation of Parliament.

THE remainder of the session of parliament was principally occupied with debates on the further suspension of the habeas corpus act; or with collateral and connected debates on the state of the country, and the cases of some of those who had been taken up on charges of high treason, &c.; and with resolutions and debates respecting the finances of the country. As the debates on the further suspension of the habeas corpus act (with the exception of that in the house of commons

mons on the first reading of the bill for that purpose) present little that is interesting or novel, we shall merely notice all but that, which will require a more full account. With respect to the finances of the country, as they appeared to ministers and opposition, they will be most fully and clearly seen, in the debates on Mr. Tierney's resolutions. The debate on the situation of the country, introduced by Mr. Brougham on the day preceding the close of the session, though miscellaneous and unconnected, deserves a full account—not merely as illustrative of the opinions on that important topic entertained by ministers and their opponents, but as displaying considerable eloquence in several of the speeches.

House of commons, June 16—The usury laws bill having been reported, Mr. Vansittart said he should oppose it in a subsequent stage, being of opinion that we were not yet arrived at a state for passing such a measure.

Sir F. Burdett complained that Oliver, a government spy, had gone down to the north, and endeavoured to excite persons to riot and sedition. He also stated, that an infamous Irish spy, named Reynolds, was flourishing under the auspices of government, and had sat on a late grand jury.

Mr. W. Wynne interrupted the honourable baronet by moving for the exclusion of strangers, upon which Mr. Brougham moved an adjournment. The latter question was, put three times, and was negatived on the first division by 162 to 29, on the second by 157 to 26, and on the third by 130 to 26.

In a committee of supply, Mr. Bennet asked ministers whether Mr. Reynolds, of infamous memory, had not been appointed consul-general at Malta.

Lord Castlereagh said several juries had given credit to Mr. Reynolds's testimony, and he did not understand why the honourable member should attach infamy to Mr. Reynolds's character, unless it rendered a man infamous to be instrumental in the discovery of treasonable practices. Mr. Reynolds had been employed in his majesty's service in Portugal, and also as post-master-general; and had performed his duties with great integrity and credit; and therefore he (lord C.) had no hesitation in recommending him as consul-general to Malta.

Sir F. Burdett said, he always understood that Mr. Reynolds was a man of notoriously infamous character. It had been proved on a trial, in which he gave evidence, that he had been guilty of the most atrocious crimes.

Lord Castlereagh did not think Mr. Reynolds's character was tainted with any thing more than rebellion, though that was a great taint; but he had avowed his error, had expressed his contrition, and had manifested his sincerity in a court of justice, by bringing traitors to deserved punishment.

June 18.—Lord Folkestone again adverted to the regulations at Reading gaol, by order of the secretary of state, by which, contrary to the 31st of the king, the magistrates were prevented from visiting the state prisoners confined there; and concluded with moving for copies of all instructions from the secretary of state to all gaolers to whose custody persons had been committed under the act for the suspension of the habeas corpus act.

The attorney-general, solicitor-general, and lord Castlereagh opposed

posed the motion; and contended that the care of state prisoners had all times belonged to the secretary for the home department, under the prerogative of the crown, with which it was not the intention of the act of the 31st of the king to interfere.

Sir S. Romilly, Mr. Brougham, lord A. Hamilton, and Mr. Wynn, maintained that there was no exception in the act, and consequently that the secretary of state had illegally assumed a dispensing power.

On a division, the motion was negatived by 85 to 56.

Mr. Lushington brought up a bill for renewing the former acts for the prevention of smuggling; a bill for allowing British goods to be exported to America on the same terms as to other friendly nations, according to the late convention; and a bill for securing the post-horse duties;—which were severally read a first time.

House of lords, June 19.—On the order of the day for the third reading of the habeas corpus act suspension bill, a long debate took place.

The duke of Bedford, lord Donoughmore, earl of Essex, lord St. John, marquis Wellesley, and lord Holland opposed the measure; and the earl of Westmorland, viscount Sidmouth, marquis Camden, lord Somers, earl of Hartowby, and the lord chancellor, supported it.—Reynolds, Castles, and Oliver, the informers, having been mentioned in terms of reprobation by the opponents of the bill, it was stated on the ministerial side, that Reynolds had saved Ireland by the information which he gave previous to the breaking out of the rebellion in 1798; that Castles had not informed until five weeks after the riots of the 2d of December; and that the reports in the newspapers respecting Oliver contained much exaggeration.

The third reading was carried, on a division, by 141 to 37, and the bill passed.

In the commons, the same day, sir E. Brydges, after some observations, moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act of the 43d of the king relative to copyrights; and so far as regards the act passed prior to queen Anne's act, giving eleven copies of books published to the universities, &c. and also as far as regarded limited editions of books.

Mr. Peel and lord Palmerston opposed the motion, which went to affect a regulation recently adopted by the house, as one highly advantageous to literature, after a very full and ample consideration.

Sir S. Romilly and sir F. Burdett supported the motion before the house. They considered the act lately passed as unjust and unfair, and as operating not to the advantage, but to the discouragement of learning. It took property from individuals to give it to large public bodies, who, if they wanted books, could well afford to purchase them.

Mr. Banks and Mr. Smith of Cambridge also opposed the motion.

Mr. Ponsonby supported the motion. He thought the argument, that obliging the poor author to give a certain portion of his property to different corporate bodies, and to receive nothing in return, as a way to encourage learning, was the most extraordinary argument he had ever heard. As to the wish of the learned universities to get their books for nothing, it did not surprise him at all. It was the character of all great corporate bodies, learned or unlearned, to get all they could for nothing, and in re-

turn to give away as little as possible. He thought the universities should buy their books if they wished to have them; or if they were to be given to the universities, they should be given them by the public, and not at the expense of individuals.

Mr. Croker was against the motion. He considered the bill which it was now sought to repeal, as one greatly beneficial to authors. In return for the portion of property which an author thus parted with, they had their copyrights, &c. well protected.

Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Croker explained.

Mr. Brougham supported the motion for bringing in the bill, and Mr. Findlay opposed it.

Mr. C. Wynn was in favour of the present motion. He thought that even those persons who were favourable to the bill formerly passed, would agree that it required to be revised. He saw no reason why the author of a book should be subjected to a tax of eleven copies of his work to the universities, any more than a man who planted timber should afterwards be subject to a tax of eleven trees, from each plantation he might make, to the navy of the country.

The house then divided, when the numbers for bringing in the bill were 57—against it 58—Majority, 1!

Sir F. Burdett wished to know whether the spy, Oliver, had been authorised by ministers to make the use, which he understood he had made, of his name, having introduced himself to several individuals with his (sir F. Burdett's) compliments. He was proceeding to animadvert upon the wickedness of employing men whose interest it was to promote treason, when, being called to order by the speaker, he re-stated his question.

Lord Castlereagh said, if the honourable baronet's name had been used in the way complained of, he might ascribe it to other grounds than the commands of ministers. He was confident lord Sidmouth would never abuse the public confidence reposed in him; and as to himself, he should continue to take such measures as seemed necessary to ensure the peace of the country, though such measures might disturb the peace of traitors, or even involve the honourable baronet's name.

Mr. Brougham asked if measures had been taken to bring Oliver to condign punishment, should the atrocities alleged against him prove true?

Lord Castlereagh assured the house, that lord Sidmouth had never authorized any improper conduct in the person alluded to, and if such had been the case, he doubted not it would meet with due reprehension.

A motion by sir J. Newport, for an address to the prince regent to institute an inquiry into the state of Ireland, was negatived by 59 to 10.

House of lords, June 20.—The royal assent was given by commission to the mutiny bill, watch and ward bill, agent-generals' bill, and others.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Stuart Wortley presented a petition from Barber Beaumont, esq. against the alehouse licensing bill. Ordered to be printed.

The house, in a committee of supply, voted several sums for the navy, and for miscellaneous services in Ireland.

The habeas corpus suspension bill

bill was received from the lords, and was ordered to be read a first time on Monday.

Sir S. Romilly having presented a petition from Hull against the bill, lord A. Hamilton took occasion to censure the conduct of the lord advocate for Scotland, in framing a third indictment against Mackinlay, who had already been twice before a court of justice for the same offence. This observation gave rise to a long conversation, in the course of which Mr. Brougham, Mr. Abercromby, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Curwen, and others, concurred in disapproving of the conduct complained of; and the attorney-general, Mr. Dundas, lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning, deprecated the agitation of the question in the absence of the lord advocate.

Mr. B. Bathurst presented the report of the committee of secrecy, which was read. It is to the same effect as that presented in the house of lords. On the motion for its lying on the table, lord Milton stated that he had been one of the committee. The facts alleged in the report were in the main correct, but they were too highly coloured; and he differed from the committee as to the remedy, which, instead of a general suspension of the habeas corpus, ought, in his opinion, to be something of a local nature, like the act by which Ludditism had been put down. After a general conversation,—in the course of which lord Cochrane was called to order, for calling the report a scandalous libel on the people of England,—the motion was agreed to.

The house having gone into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to take a general view of the financial state of the country, premising that the report so recently made by the committee of finance would supersede the necessity of his going into a minute detail. He then stated the supplies under various heads, amounting, in the aggregate, to 18,001,300*l.* exclusive of 4,196,503*l.* for the discharge of navy and transport debts, interest on exchequer bills, &c. He then recapitulated the particulars of the ways and means already voted, amounting to 9,541,537*l.* and leaving a sum to be provided for of 12,600,000*l.* This he proposed to raise by issuing 9,000,000*l.* in exchequer bills here, and treasury bills for 3,600,000*l.* in Ireland. The money might have been raised by loan on advantageous terms; but he found an issue of exchequer bills would be still better. Since he last addressed the house on the financial state of the country, the funds had improved 20 per cent. Cash payments were in the course of resumption, without any stock, and the remaining restrictions on the bank would be wholly removed by the 5th of July next year. The result of the financial operations of last year had been an actual diminution of the public debt to the amount of 3,400,000*l.* In the course of this year he looked with confidence to a further diminution of at least 500,000*l.* He then observed, that the difficulties did not arise from any domestic circumstances, but from the general state of depression of the continental kingdoms, which depression prevented the consumption of British articles. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the credit of the country was looking up, and our commerce improving. Under all these circumstances, he trusted he should hear no more of reducing the interest of the national debt, or of breaking faith with the public creditor, but that the spirit and loy-

alty of the country would enable them to meet much greater difficulties than these. He then proposed several resolutions, which, after a few observations from Mr. Tierney, Mr. Ponsonby, and others, were agreed to.

June 28.—The order of the day for the first reading of the bill from the lords, for suspending the habeas corpus act, having been read,

Lord Castlereagh said no individual could feel more deeply than he did the importance of that measure which he now considered it to be his duty to recommend to the house. He was sensible of the heavy responsibility which must fall on those who called for it, and on all hands it must be admitted to be a serious encroachment on the rights of the subject, during the time for which it was to be continued. It then became a question, whether the internal state of the country was such as to call for so strong a measure,—whether the ordinary laws were sufficient,—or whether, if these were not sufficient, other measures less strong than the suspension of the habeas corpus ought not to be resorted to? In arguing on this measure, he protested at the outset against any inference being drawn, that ministers, in forming their judgement on it, were subject to any undue bias in its favour. He trusted that he was addressing an audience who were too fairly disposed, to believe such powers would be called for if the members of the administration believed the government of the country could safely go on without them. Nothing but a sense of duty—but a conviction, that for the safety of the loyal and the peaceable, and for the preservation of the constitution itself, they were necessary, could, he was certain, have made them content to take upon themselves that arduous responsibility which attached to a measure like that now under the consideration of the house. He hoped their past conduct was such, as to prove they would not have advised the continuance of the habeas corpus suspension act, if they were not satisfied, that of all the measures that could be resorted to, this would be the most effectual, and might, as it would be used, prove least injurious to the people at large. The course pursued by ministers, in confining the measure to this part of the kingdom, and in limiting it to time as they had done, must, he thought, prove to every impartial person, that they were unwilling to overstep the necessity of the case, or to apply the law when in force to any but its legitimate objects—the preservation of the constitution, and the protection of the loyal and the well disposed. He wished the house to decide on its adoption or rejection, purely from the facts which were brought before them. He protested against the inference that had been drawn, that to bring in a bill like this was to libel the whole country, and to prefer a general bill of indictment against the people of England. He did not call for this measure against the people; but, on the contrary, he demanded it for them, in order to protect them in the exercise of their industry against the machinations of agitators, which were hostile to their interests as they were to those of the country at large. The adoption of such a measure might alarm those who knew themselves to be guilty of treasonable designs: but, in his conscience, he believed the loyal and peaceable part of the community would feel no uneasiness about it, but, on the contrary, would be grateful for the passing of the bill, which they would regard

gard as a measure of protection. He argued, at some length, in opposition to those who were of opinion, that supposing treasonable designs to exist, those by whom they were entertained were too insignificant to merit the serious attention of parliament. Though happily the disaffection was confined to the lower orders, yet still he contended the danger was formidable. He showed the lower classes of the manufacturers to be confident in their own strength; to possess considerable acuteness, knowledge of the law, and ingenuity to evade it. To the manufacturers he stated these designs to be in a great measure restricted. They had studied precedents from the history of the treasons of former times, and it was not necessary in his mind for higher characters to take part with them to enable them to succeed if they were not well watched. They might at any rate succeed so far as to cover the country with desolation for a time. He wished the attention of the house to be directed to two points:—the consideration of the events which preceded the 15th of April might first deserve their consideration. It would then be for them to look to what had occurred subsequent to that period. This division of the subject, according to dates, he thought of some importance. Those who had formerly opposed the habeas corpus suspension bill, might, he thought now, with the additional experience they possessed, feel justified in supporting the bill for renewing that act; but he could hardly think it possible that those who concurred with him on the former occasion could oppose the present bill, as the case for its renewal was infinitely stronger than that made out for passing the law now in force. Not only had additional conspiracies been discovered, but, in the late inquiry, the former conspiracies had been confirmed; and now to refuse to renew the bill would give a fresh impulse to the traitors in the country, who would derive additional strength and courage from the numbers now in custody, who would then be enabled to join them, and assist in the prosecution of their designs. He denied that the result of the late trial proved that there was no treason in the country, though God forbid that he should arraign the decision come to by the jury. No person could, he thought, shut his eyes to this fact, that there was treason in the country—(separating it from the individuals lately on their deliverance)—as every thing that had transpired went to prove that fact. Those who supported the suspension of the habeas corpus act at the commencement of the present session, could not in his opinion refuse to vote for the present bill, supported as it was by such an accumulation of additional evidence. He was anxious that the events down to the 15th of April should be considered separately, because he expected an attempt would be made to create a belief that the conspiracies which had been formed, had been in a great measure brought about by the emissaries of government sent into the country for that purpose. Mr. Oliver, who was supposed to be the moving cause of all, he showed, did not leave London before the 17th of April, to go on his first mission. It was plainly seen that an explosion had been intended, with which he could have nothing to do. This would result from the reading of the second report of the secret committee, unless they absolutely disbelieved it. Three periods, it might be seen, were indi-

cated, at which an effort was to have been made; and at three several times the conspirators had brought their preparations so nearly to a point as to think of naming the day on which they were to proceed to action. In two of these cases, it was quite clear that Mr. Oliver could have nothing to do with the designs of the conspirators—that no part of their proceedings could be ascribed to his exertions.—That person had not been sent down to encourage the disaffected to riot and insurrection. The fact was, he had become incidentally possessed of some information respecting their designs, which he had communicated to the government at a time when he was not known to the secretary of state. He did not leave town till the 17th of April, and at no period had the treason in agitation assumed a more malignant character than that which belonged to it on the 30th of March, when the destruction of Manchester was contemplated. This was before Mr. Oliver was in communication with the government. That plan was only frustrated by the arrest of the delegates. With these proceedings, and with those of the 9th March, Mr. Oliver had no connexion whatever. He had never been sent to the country, to encourage the disaffected to commit acts of treason. It might be that the appearance of a person in the character which he assumed—that of a delegate from London—would have the effect in some instances to encourage the conspirators; but he apprehended the government were justified, if they had reason to believe that such designs were in contemplation as they had been informed of, to send down somebody so see what the parties were about. Oliver was directed to go there for this purpose, and not to excite those on whom he was to be a spy to any acts of a criminal nature. The fact was, he was applied to by a delegate from the country—a leading man and a well-known character, to satisfy himself of the spirit which existed where he had been; and he was told that if London would not unite with them, the people of the country were determined to risk a rising by themselves. Mr. Oliver had nothing at all to do with them before this delegate and another leading man introduced him to them. The person connected with the delegate had been about to leave the country; but understanding the effort was immediately to be made, he determined to remain, in order to co-operate with the conspirators. Mr. Oliver was then invited to go into the country; and on this he communicated to government what had passed, whether he ought to avail himself of the opportunity or not. He was authorized to do so, but no one had been base enough to direct him to excite them to acts of violence, and so far as government had been informed of his proceedings he had not done this. Those who now complained Mr. Oliver's conduct had been so very improper—those whose only object was parliamentary reform—had never taken Mr. Oliver by the throat, and carried him before a magistrate, when he ventured to avow designs of a different character. It never occurred to them to do this, and his conduct was passed quietly over. At Nottingham it was clear that Mr. Oliver was not concerned in the rising which it was intended should take place on Whit-Monday, and which was afterwards put off till the 9th of June. He left the country before the deliberations of May 23, on the subject of the rising, and did

did not leave London on his return till the evening of that day, after the discussion was over. What had taken place, therefore, on that occasion could not be brought home to him. What Mr. Oliver had or had not done while in the country, it was impossible for ministers to tell exactly; but this he (lord Castlereagh) knew, he had had no instructions to take the part he was reported to have taken. It was not known that he had been guilty of that which was imputed to him, and there was reason to believe that his exertions had materially contributed to prevent the intended explosion of June 9. He thought the information of the man was entitled to considerable credit. With respect to the numbers, the delegate, who had introduced Oliver, had given very large and magnificent reports of them; and the numbers stated by Oliver to the persons he was represented to have invited to rebel, were the same as those mentioned to him by the delegate. He entered his protest against the system of imputation on government for taking the measures necessary to prevent rebellion. Were they to suffer it to take the field before they attempted to counteract its effects? he thought that the contrary was their duty. All information had not been received from common spies, but many persons had considered it their duty to communicate what they knew. He blamed the attempt to throw odium on such persons as calculated to prevent individuals from coming forward. The measure now proposed to be renewed had already rendered considerable service. From the judgement of all magistrates it had checked insurrection, and been more effective than any of the other measures adopted by parliament. It operated as the house must have wished it, as a preventive to offence rather than as a punishment. It had occasioned a considerable decrease of mischief, and if continued would prove a sufficient remedy to the evils by which the peace of the country was menaced.

Mr. Ponsonby rose, for the purpose of stating facts which would prevent the house from adopting a measure so vicious in principle. If he should advance any thing incorrectly, he hoped he should immediatly be set right by the other gentlemen who had had access to the same information. If he were to say that he believed Oliver suggested, formed, and first conceived the design of an insurrection in the country, he should say that which he did not credit. He did not conceive that Oliver had first conceived the plan, but he had had predecessors in that laudable course. Who they were he could not tell; but a number of persons seemed to have been in the confidence of government, and the magistrates, with whom he was unacquainted; he should only name one, whom he had authority to name, as he had been examined personally in the committee, and his case had already been brought before the house. He meant Oliver. The intended movements at Manchester had been stated on evidence which had induced the committee to believe them true. The names of particular individuals had been mentioned, but the information led to the knowledge of an association of a very different kind from that mentioned in the house; one of a more bloody and diabolical character than had ever existed, but which did not seem to have the least political object in view. It was the association of the Luddites. It had commenced some years ago, and

still continued; and all the most atrocious suggestions which had been made at the meetings of the discontented, had proceeded from Luddites who had mixed themselves with those assemblies. It was probable that their advice had had some effect, but he did not believe that the mass of the people had ever intended to engage in such designs. Their only object was, to induce government to adopt the measures which they thought necessary for their relief. It was to be understood that the committee affirmed nothing of its own knowledge: it stated things to have taken place, but gave no information respecting their causes or their chief actors. In the month of March last, a person had come to London, calling himself a delegate from the country. He had applied to a man then in London, but now in America, saying that the people of the country felt the evils of their situation most grievously; that they were tired of the government, and ready to throw off their allegiance. He then asked what was the state of things in London, and the disposition of the people to concur in the same end. The answer was, "that things were not in the same way in London, nor the people in the same disposition." The person addressed added, "that he intended never more to trouble his head on the subject, but would leave London and England itself." He had accordingly done so. The delegate, the person applied to, and a friend, agreed to leave London for the country together, and having made the acquaintance of Oliver, consented to take him with them. They quitted London all four together; but before they did so, Oliver applied to the secretary of state, revealed all he knew, and asked permission to go with the delegate. The secretary of state gave him that permission, and he went to examine the state of the country and report to government. In justice, he must say, that it did not in the least appear that the secretary of state had desired this man to do any act which might induce others to engage in criminal proceedings.—After staying a while in the country, the person first applied to sailed from Liverpool for America, and his friend returned to London. The delegate remained and introduced Oliver to the disaffected, as a man in whom they might place the most implicit faith, as a second self. He was received as such, and became accredited to them as the London delegate, and consequently acquired high distinction amongst them. He remained in the country one month, for he had left London on the 17th of April, and came back the 17th of May. Appearing as the London representative, he was frequently asked as to the disposition of the people, the number of friends which the disaffected might have in the metropolis, their strength, and the assistance which might be expected from them. These questions he evaded as well as he could, and gave the inquirers to understand that he was not come to inform them how many friends they had in London, but had been sent by the London conspirators to ascertain the strength of their friends in the country, and their disposition to join them. He stated that the Londoners would not start first, but that the country people must commence the insurrection, and if they could stand for three days, then they would be joined by the Londoners. Some of his constituents had represented, that in the eastern division of London 75,000 men

men were ready to rise, and in the western 75,000 more—in all 150,000. But when asked on the subject, he contented himself with saying, that about 70,000 had been assembled at Spafields, and were no doubt all friends to the cause. Could any thing be more likely to induce the people of the country to acts of insurrection, than for a person who represented himself as the delegate from London, to tell them that the country must rise first, and that the metropolis would follow its example? He did not charge ministers with having given these orders, but he showed what were likely to be the effects of the conduct of this Oliver. He had interrogated this man himself in the committee, and had asked him—"When you talk of sending to London to ascertain the disposition of the people, do you know, or did you ever hear of any society or association there intended to co-operate with the disaffected in the country?" The answer was; "I do not, and I never did." He asked him then; "Do you know of any gentleman in town or country of any rank and fortune, who was ready to join and assist the conspiracy?" The same answer was returned: "I do not, and I never did." "Has the name of any person been communicated to you, as the organ through whom the disaffected in town might hold a correspondence with those in the country?" The reply was again; "I know of no such name, for none has ever been communicated to me." This showed how things had been worked up in the country, and how despicable the force of those persons must be, when not only no association, but no individual of any rank or fortune in the country was inclined to support them. This proved that there was no reason for making such an inroad in the constitution, as to continue for six weeks after the opening of next session the suspension of the habeas corpus. That some disposition to rise existed in certain districts was undoubtedly the case; but was that a reason why the punishment should be extended to all England? He did not think the measure proposed calculated to put an end to the disturbances. Legislation adapted to places and to offences would alone be effective. It was incumbent on his majesty's ministers to sift out to the bottom that system of Luddism, to prosecute its members without mercy, and to put down the system altogether. Until then, the country would never enjoy complete tranquillity. It would not be sufficient to hang a man or two, but to put down the system altogether; for those wretches had wrought their minds to such a degree of indifference, not only to the property, but to the lives of others, that for a small sum, even as low as twenty shillings, they would bind themselves to shoot any individual whom they had never seen before. This was the first time, in the history of England, that bands of Englishmen would hire themselves to destroy their fellow-creatures. To suspend the habeas corpus, to render every man's liberty precarious, and subject to the will of a minister of state, would not produce the intended effect. It would, on the contrary, tend to increase crimes, by exciting a stronger feeling amongst the ignorant classes against a government that adopted such measures. And what good would result from taking up a suspected character, and turning him loose on the country six months after? It would be a totally mistaken legislation. The only thing necessary would be, to enact capital penalties

nalties for those crimes to which he had alluded. He should now ask the house, whether it did not appear that the insurrectionary proceedings in the country had been impelled by the appearance of Oliver, as a delegate from London; and whether the necessity of the measure was not lessened by the fact, that no single association or individual was found in London ready to assist the insurgents? In 1812, statements infinitely stronger, and bearing a more decided character of treason and rebellion, had been made by the secret committee, but the suspension of the habeas corpus was not thought of, as it would have been entirely inapplicable. He was convinced that there did not exist greater necessity at present for surrendering for a time the liberties of the country, than at that period.

Mr. Legh Keck stated, that the magistrates, and those who were best acquainted with the local circumstances of the disturbed districts, were of opinion that the only measure which could effectively repress insurrection, was the suspension of the habeas corpus. He then vindicated the magistrates from the charge of inactivity, and contended that they exposed even their lives in the fulfilment of their duties. It was not in the power of the ordinary laws to put down Luddism. He maintained, though he did not know him personally, that Oliver's moral character was subject to no imputation.—He then stated that the grand juries of Leicester, Derby and Nottingham, had recommended the re-enactment of the frame breaking bill, as the only remedy capable of counteracting existing evils.

Mr. Abercrombie had never heard a less convincing speech. The honourable member had dealt in assertions, but without giving any reason to prove them, or if he did, his reason went directly against the assertions which he had made. Thus he had stated that according to the opinion of the magistrates, the suspension of the habeas corpus act was the only measure which could prove effective, and then he added, that the grand juries of Leicester, Derby and Nottingham, had recommended the re-enactment of the frame breaking bill as the only remedy to existing dangers, and that at the very time when the suspension of the habeas corpus was in force. This gave a forcible contradiction to the necessity of that measure. As to Oliver, he was astonished, after what had been heard of him this night, that any man could be found in that house to say, that his moral character was unimpeached. He objected to intrusting powers like the present to a person against whom so many constitutional questions had lately been raised. He alluded to the case of the Reading jail, lord Sidmouth's circular, and the employment of Oliver. He maintained that as long as ministers suspended the habeas corpus act, and brought on trials for constructive treason, they would obtain no convictions, but would contribute to alienate the hearts of the people from their government.

Mr. Legh Keck explained.

Mr. Barclay contended, that the noble lord had magnified the greatness of the evil, and diminished the strength of the laws already in existence to repress it. The report alone was sufficient to prove the total imbecility of the persons represented as combining to overturn the government. He agreed with the chancellor of the exchequer that the state of the country was improving, and thought that that improvement would act most effectively towards putting

putting down insurrection, without any measure like the present.

Mr. Wilberforce felt as much reluctance as any man to suspend for a while the best bulwark of our constitution, but thought in the present instance that the safety of the country rendered such a measure necessary. He contended that the disturbances in the country were not the effect of mere Luddism, but that they bore a strong political character. They were managed by men, not indeed of property, but of considerable energy of mind, who worked on a people already open to seduction by its own distresses. They might thus produce a spirit of dissatisfaction through the vast body of the people, and that most valuable of all classes, the working class. He contended that the evidence did not deny that individuals might be connected with the insurgents in the country, but merely that Oliver knew nothing of any such person or association. "If (observed the honourable gentleman) there had been no connexion with London, why should the people of Manchester and its neighbourhood have sat watching the coming in of the mails, when they hoped that the tower and the bank would be taken?" He had not found any well affected person having any strong objection to the measure. If it were entirely left at the disposal of ministers, like the *lettres de cachet* in a neighbouring country, then it might be dangerous, as it might more likely be abused. But he did not consider it in that point of view. He acknowledged that the measure would be stronger than when first enacted, as it would continue whilst the parliament did not sit: but any abuse would be speedily discovered and discussed in the house at its re-union. There would be great danger in allowing those persons, who had already been taken up and prevented from doing more mischief, again to be let loose among the lower order—again to return to their noxious practices—again to disturb the peace of society, and perhaps execute their plans for the subversion of the constitution. When he considered what had been already done by those persons, how much more had been attempted—the attempts to debauch the soldiery—Members might laugh, but which of them would laugh at being reminded that by these very attempts the individuals had been brought to trial, and had so nearly paid the forfeit of their lives? And was this matter of laughter? Upon the whole question, when he considered the contents of the first report, and also of the second—when he reflected how materially the peace of society, and the existence of good order depended on furnishing the government with power to punish the disorderly—when he considered the awful responsibility incurred by government in the exercise of these powers, he could not but vote for this bill.

Lord Althorpe.—The speech of the honourable gentleman who spoke last, although very eloquent, had yet completely failed in convincing him of the necessity of furnishing the executive government with the very great powers which they now demanded. He thought that ministers had entirely failed in making out such a case as to justify the necessity of granting those powers. Even if all that the reports of the committees contained was allowed to be true, a sufficient case had not been made out. But when it was considered how very much the facts alleged in the reports had been mistaken, the case against this bill was much

much stronger. In the first report it was said that the disaffected in the metropolis had assumed the French revolutionary emblems, but it had been proved that this was not the case; but on the contrary, that the flags and cockade of the rioters were not of the French colours, but green, white and red, adopted from some absurd notions about nature, truth, and justice. He trusted that many of those who had supported this bill in the early period of the session would vote against it now, for there was a wide difference between intrusting the executive with such extraordinary powers during the session of parliament, and continuing those powers during its prorogation. To talk of confidence in government was no argument when the question was about the safeguard of the constitution. It was also to be observed, that this act had nothing to do with the exertions of magistrates, to whom it gave no new power. On the whole, he hoped the house would see the necessity of rejecting this bill.

Sir Samuel Romilly.—"The noble lord who opened this debate said, he thought that all those who voted for this measure in the early part of this session, must also give their vote for the bill now before the house. Indeed the noble lord went farther, and calculated that some of those who had opposed the passing of the former bill must agree to the one now before the house." Under all the circumstances of the case, however, it really seemed to him, that this was a very unwarrantable assumption. For his own part, he had paid great attention to this subject; he had examined the facts, and considered with all his powers. Thus much he would say, that if he thought the measure now proposed expedient, he would before have voted for it. But it was to be considered what the nature of the measure was. It was not merely the habeas corpus act which they were called upon to suspend; but it was the writ of habeas corpus itself—it was also to take away the trial by jury. What then was the house about to do? They were consenting to take away the benefits of the constitution for an unlimited period. This was particularly observed with respect to the duration of the measure, that it was indefinite. The suspension was to continue as long as it should please the executive government;—that was to say, till parliament should meet again, and that might be till November or till January, or till March—in short, as long as the government pleased. If the bill was to be passed, at least, he hoped, a clause would be introduced to limit the time of its duration till December, or some other period less distant. But the measure had been already tried, and how would experience support it? Had it been found successful? The noble lord's argument for the bill now, did not look very like this. The noble lord said, those who supported the bill before, must support it now, on account of "the augmented extent of the conspiracies," as the noble lord phrased it. So it seemed conspiracies had grown up under the operations of this bill. For his own part, this seemed to him very natural. The operations of this bill gave the people a real grievance to complain of. The designing and the mischievous had now a real handle with which to work on the minds of the ignorant. They were not now obliged to hunt back to the reign of king John for some imaginary grievance; for now trial by jury was done away with

with—the system of government acting by spies was avowed. That things should be come to such a pass, that in the British house of commons the system of spies was openly avowed, was truly a most melancholy consideration; it was what must excite and ought to excite more discontent than such measures as this bill ought to suppress or could keep down. He was one of those on whom the first report of the secret committee had made a great impression; but upon a more minute inquiry and more grave consideration he had changed his opinion. Having compared the facts which came out in an authentic shape on the late trials, with the statements in that report, his confidence in it had been much shaken. Was it possible, that after all that was said in it about conspiracies and delegates, one circuit and one quarter sessions had taken place without one trial? that government had even avoided bringing any one case to trial! At Manchester no less than one hundred and forty persons had been arrested. Of these only a few were indicted; and even these few were not brought to trial, for the government caused writs of *certiorari* to be sued out to prevent the trials, and thus to prevent the good effect which must ensue from making examples of the guilty, or rather to prevent it from being seen that facts had been greatly misrepresented. But what persons had been convicted for this? What trials had there been? Only one. And that one solitary case was for a libel on the passing of the former bill—a libel, he might say, provoked (not that he meant this as any justification of that case), but in a manner provoked—certainly caused by the passing of this act. The case he alluded to was that of Wooler. In arguing against the necessity or the policy of this measure it was not necessary to go further than the last report of the committee. There were two passages in it which he must beg leave to read to the house. They were these:—"Your committee cannot contemplate what has passed in the country, even since the date of their former report, without the most serious apprehensions." "It appears to your committee, that the utmost confidence prevailed among the delegates as to the ultimate attainment of their object; that the successive arrests of several of the principal leaders, though they occasioned momentary disappointment, did not extinguish the spirit of insurrection or the hopes of success." What, then, did all this prove? Did it not show that the effects of this bill were utterly inadequate to the object in view; and that it produced no permanent good effect? It appeared that there was no want of leaders. So long as there were any disaffected, they would not want a leader. The honourable gentleman (Mr. W.) seemed to forget that by an act passed in the beginning of this session, all those delegates were made liable to transportation. He then went on to confute from facts what was said about Luddism; maintaining that that unfortunate system had taken such deep root in the country, that if the bill was to be passed to put an end to that dreadful system, its duration must not be for a few months, but for several years. As to that part of the report which treated of the situation of London, it was said, that "no specific information has been laid before your committee of the existence of any body of men, associated in the metropolis, with whom the disaffected in the country appear

appear to be acting in concert, or to hold communication." What he alluded here to particularly was the use of the words "no specific information." If there was no *specific* information before the committee on that subject, he was entitled to assume, that there was no information at all worth any notice. How his honourable friend (Mr. W.) could say, after all the petitions on the table of the house—after the petition presented the other night from the merchants and bankers of a town which his honourable friend once represented;—how, after all this, he could say that none but the disaffected opposed the measure, was more than he could conceive. He could not but consider it as one of the worst signs of the times, that undue powers should not be considered with a view to their particular nature and tendency, but to the hands to which they were intrusted. Of what tyrant the most detestable who ever lived had it not at some time been said, that the powers which he abused might be safely trusted to him? As for this particular case, he had a high respect for the private character of the noble lord, to whom the powers conferred by this bill would be more immediately intrusted; but as to his public acts, for them he had no respect whatever.—Bad as the effects of this bill would be to England—to Scotland they would be infinitely worse. By its operation the benefits of the wrongous imprisonment act would be completely taken away. The general disposition of the people of Scotland was good and loyal, although it had been much misrepresented. To prove this, he referred to the address lately presented to the prince regent by the general assembly of the church of Scotland. The noble lord affected to talk of the perilous responsibility incurred by government in being invested with such extraordinary powers. This really almost seemed as if the noble lord was amusing himself at the expense of the house. When even the names of the persons imprisoned under these powers were refused, did they talk of responsibility? Was there any man who doubted that this would be followed up by an act of indemnity? The present administration had gained very much by this measure. The present session would have passed in a very different way, if this greatest of all questions had not been forced upon the house. Indeed, it was generally believed that the noble lord and his colleagues owed their continuance in office to these measures. The country was reduced to a dreadful situation, and its prospects had become indeed melancholy. The nation was divided into two opposite parties. The people, by their violence, gave the government an opportunity of strengthening its hands; and the government, by the violence of its measures, exasperated the people. Where this would end God alone could know; but part of the effect of such a system was to take away respect for all governments; for, when ministers were accused, their course was to show that their predecessors had done what was as bad or worse. The effect of this was plain. If ever tumults should arise, there would be no one to whom the people could look up with confidence. They would be obliged to have recourse to the wretched adventurers whom the times should produce, and whom that dreadful crisis would force into notice. To that disastrous state he feared we were now hastening.—

When

When it arrived, which might—God forbid it ever should—then indeed would that responsibility which the noble lord now idly talked of, fall upon him and his colleagues, and they would deeply repent the course which they had pursued.

Mr. Wilberforce explained.

Mr, Bankes was aware of the difficulty of answering the honourable and learned gentleman (sir Samuel Romilly); but he spoke shortly in favour of the bill, contending that it was more necessary during the prorogation, than during the sitting of parliament.

Lord Milton spoke strongly against the bill. He lamented that in supporting the bill in the early part of the session, he had been obliged to differ from his dearest friends, but was now happy to agree with them in reprobating the proposed measure, as he considered it both unnecessary and impolitic. —He wished to force ministers to do justice by punishing those who have been criminal, which would do more to restore tranquillity than any thing else that could be adopted. It was a bill of attainder which deprived the people of their constitutional rights. The history of the habeas corpus act proved that it was our barrier against the power of the crown, which had always increased. He knew no ministry who were not inclined to increase that power. He was one of those who thought that the greatest harm that had been done to this country was the language and the publications that had been held and circulated. Nothing could tend more to degrade authority than to make the people believe, that such an act as that of the habeas corpus was of little or no value. He would much rather place this power in the hands of James II. or ministers who would abuse it, than in the hands of those who profess to use the measure mildly. Let us only restore prosperity to the country, and we should hear no more of disaffection or alarms.

Mr. Courtenay (of Exeter) thought it was giving an unfair representation of what had passed on his side of the house, to assert that the powers to be vested in ministers were likely to be abused. He went at some length into a general defence of the measure, and said, he gave credit to the sentiments in the report, which he conceived spoke the fair sense of the evidence. If he found the evil existing in five or six counties in England, it would not be prudent to leave the whole of the other parts exposed to the influence of the meditated mischiefs.

Sir John Newport was against the further suspension, and of course would vote against the bill.

Mr. W. Elliot would pass by the grounds of the measure being an encroachment on the constitution. The parliament having reserved to itself the right of renewing the act, the point at issue now was, whether we were in sufficient security to abandon the measures which had protected us. It had been proved that there was a system in action to corrupt, morally and politically, the most extensive and efficient part of our population. The danger which he felt, did not result from partial disturbances, but from the peculiar mind and disposition of the people; for who could observe the conduct of the delegates without feeling that precaution was absolutely necessary?—If this principle were let alone, it would work from low hands into higher classes of the community. There were men who had considerable influence on the public

public mind.—Nobody could doubt that the object of the Manchester expedition was force. The demagogues harangued, the people followed. Then the detention of the leaders would operate as a salutary precaution; and by detaining them their dependents were confounded and disheartened. If we were now to withdraw the measure, we should give them a fresh impulse. He therefore not only gave his vote for it, but he was ready to acknowledge that he had joined in recommending it, because he was convinced that it was calculated to protect the best interests of the country.

Mr. Brougham would avail himself of this opportunity of delivering his opinion, as it was not likely he should find one in the future stages of the bill. The question was exactly the same as when the first report was laid on the table, all men admitting that the measure was a suspension of the constitution; and it resolved itself into this. —Have we evidence that such a necessity exists? No: on a comparison of the first report, with the facts that have since turned out, it would be seen to be all one from beginning to end. It was of the nature of alarm to be infectious, and nothing were men more anxious to do than to communicate the disease to others. The Manchester plot bore the same reference to the present report as the London plot did to the first; and now it was said that the plot was confined to the country, and there was no focus of it in London; so that we had not so formidable an enemy to contend with. He alluded to Thistlewood, as being supposed to possess the power of paying for all expenses of the insurrection, which no funds could have defrayed. Yet it turned out that he was so poor, that he could not afford to appear in the ordinary dress of the country, but was habited in a sailor's jacket. The honourable and learned gentleman then reviewed, in a satirical strain, the statements of the former plot for taking the Tower and the Bank, seizing the hackney coaches, and making a man who could not walk a general of cavalry. The barges were to be sent out with a gun a piece, to make all the royal navy attorn to the new government. The ammunition waggon turned out to be an empty cart, into which Castles—a wretch whose name he was ashamed to mention—had conveyed the ammunition in an old tin cannister, and the balls in the foot of an ancient stocking. This was the plot, and no man would have given his credit to it, without great hesitation indeed, if, instead of being presented then, it had been presented now. The question was, on what foundation the information rested. The persons who had been tried were not guilty of high treason; but it was not proved that those persons were worthy of the respect of any honest man; and it was not proved that if they had been tried for the offence they had actually committed, they would not have been found guilty by the very same jury. But undoubtedly the riot was a great crime, and he should deeply regret the day when those companions of Castles should be lifted into the least degree of public importance. The honourable gentleman went on to contend, that the conduct of the rioters at Manchester did not bear out the opinions entertained of it. Adverting to 1812, he observed, that not one word was then suggested, of the necessity of gagging acts, much less of suspending the constitution. He then noticed the different arguments

ments of the honourable member for Yorkshire, which he considered as inapplicable to the case. He did not accuse lord Sidmouth of intending to abuse this power, because it was not necessary to his argument. But was he infallible, while there were Castles and Olivers in the world? He stood at this moment the recorded dupe of Oliver; and private malevolence might find its way into that quarter where self-interest had already made a lodgement. He condemned the doctrine that spies must be employed, and expressed his astonishment that it should be asserted there was nothing against the moral character of Oliver, who had excited people to acts of high treason, in order to extort money from the government by fraud. If a rising had taken place, he would have been guilty of every drop of innocent blood that might have been shed, either by the insurgents or by the executioner. He defied any man to show him a more blackened villain than him who was defended under this new system of morality. He concluded with insisting that the real remedy for the evil was in bringing the persons to trial against whom there was evidence. The imprisonment of one hundred and forty persons in Lancaster castle, without bringing them to trial, was the best proof that there was no evidence against them, and was the strongest argument against giving ministers such inordinate power. He alluded to the opinion of earl Fitzwilliam, as a corroboration that there was no ground whatever for these exaggerated alarms, and that no new power was necessary to preserve the public tranquillity. He would deny that we had a constitution if we were to fear for it every time it was assailed by a Watson, a Hooper, a Preston, or a Thistlewood; for until such reptiles swarmed in every street, it was a gross and pitiful injustice and cruelty to deprive the people of England of their liberty. If this bill were passed, let the expression never be heard again, that Englishmen were happier than the rest of mankind, by possessing a greater degree of civil liberty.

Mr. Canning said, however much the house might differ as to the conclusion to be come to, there was a general opinion as to the grounds on which the subject was to be argued. There were three points on which the arguments must rest. In the first place, it was not denied that there was danger in the state of the country; secondly, that the ordinary laws were not sufficiently applicable for its suppression; and lastly, that the specific measure proposed did apply to that danger. But the honourable and learned gentleman had undervalued that danger to such a degree as to make it appear ridiculous that any remedy should be sought for. He could safely say, that up to the period at which he spoke, no person had distinctly maintained such a proposition. The honourable and learned gentleman had referred the house to the information in the first report, and had alluded to the acquittal of the persons lately brought to trial. God forbid, that he (Mr. C.) should not go as far as himself in stating the effect of that acquittal! It was to absolve them from all imputation of the guilt of high treason. But he would not go so far as the honourable and learned gentleman, and consider that his being so discharged negatived the existence of the crime. Why, if the effect of the acquittal was to be, that because Mr. Watson and

others were no longer chargeable for particular crimes, was all that was laid to their charge harmlessness and innocence? The honourable gentleman seemed to think, that in those designs there was no real and substantial danger, and that the government might have remained safe without having recourse to measures of precaution. But it was only necessary to look back to the time when the mobs of Paris sacked the palaces of their kings, and to profit by the example. Respecting the late trials, surely the honourable member must remember, that at an earlier period of the year, when these men were first tried, it was made one of the charges against the officers of the crown, that they had abandoned their duty, for if there was any thing at all against them, it must be a charge of high treason, and for this they must be tried. He impeached it on the ground on which it now rested. As to the spies, what, he would ask, must be the state of the kingdom, if they were to receive no evidence of treasonable designs, unless they were received from men of unimpeachable and moral character? What plot was ever discovered by men who were found actually blameless in all the relations of life, and who were engaged in treason only for a day, and by accident?—Did he mean to say, that the mere fact of informing took away all the credit of the information? Did he mean to say, that if the peace of the country, in consequence of his learning and talents, were committed to his hands, he would altogether have rejected such evidence? If so, he would be precluded from the best means of detecting and defeating conspiracies, and would contravene the main feature of the office intrusted to him, and by which the government was enjoined to detect conspiracies against the state. One thing, however, he must state, which he thought must be satisfactory. It was, that on the testimony of this man, no one human being had been arrested or molested; and that every communication from him was laid *in extenso* before the committees of both houses of parliament. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to argue that the system of Luddism was a canker in the country highly desirable to be eradicated; but this was not all that ought to be put down by the legislature; and let it not be supposed that if this system had not been proposed, any others adapted to Luddism would have met with a ready concurrence. A most active and persevering opposition was made five years ago, when the measures deemed necessary were brought forward. The re-enacting of these laws against Luddism would not meet the present evil in the country. He denied that the powers were confided to improper hands, though this assertion had no weight with him. He believed such powers to be necessary; and he could not conceive any gentleman in that house to whom he would not be ready to confide them, from a conviction that no men could be found capable of abusing such authority. The imputation against the noble lord (Sidmouth) must be rejected with disdain. What was the character of the question? Was it against the people of England that we were called on to pass this measure? What an absurdity! Was it the people of England who were to be imprisoned? No: it was the people of England who were to be preserved by putting a stop to that fermentation which, if suffered to proceed,

ceed, would explode and destroy them. Its use and object was, to save the deluded from the deceivers, and to rescue the wicked from themselves, and secure them for a state of repentance, and better times. He did not think the picture the honourable gentleman had drawn to be true in any of its parts; but if he inferred that by pursuing this system parliament was pushing the people to despair, he would say, on the other hand, that for all they had done they merited the good wishes, the applause and thanks of every thinking man in the countrry. There was a morbid sensibility afloat which felt only for crime, but which thought nothing of all the miseries, injustice and outrage which were inflicted by the criminals upon the innocent. But he looked towards the country with different eyes, and was convinced that those who voted for the bill would make the criminal an object of merciful consideration; and it was in the name of those whose lives were embittered by his threats, as well as for the tranquillity of all the well-disposed, that he called on the government to take from the people for a time those who were disturbing them and putting them in danger, and thus to prevent the destruction of both the criminal and the innocent.

Lord Folkestone spoke at some length, and repeated all the arguments urged by the previous speakers against the measure.

The house then divided,

Ayes - -	276
Noes - -	111
Majority.....	165

The motion for the second reading of the bill this day was then put, and carried without a division.

June 24.—Mr. Wynn obtained leave to bring in a bill for shortening and regulating the duration of polls in elections.

Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for the second reading of the habeas corpus suspension bill, which was opposed by Mr. F, Douglas, Mr. Curwen, and lord Deerhurst (the latter having voted in its favour before), and supported by Mr. Lockhart, sir W. Curtis, and Mr. H. Addington. When the house divided; for the second reading 80, against it 30—majority 50.

June 25.—Sir S. Romilly made his promised motion for the production of the case on which the law officers of the crown had given the opinion promulgated by the celebrated circular of lord Sidmouth—that the magistrates of counties are vested with a power of committing or holding persons to bail for selling or publishing seditious libels. After a learned discussion, in which ministers were unexpectedly supported by Mr. C. Wynn, who concurred in the opinion that magistrates do possess this power of committal, the motion was negatived without a division. Sir S. Romilly then, in reference to the circular of the secretary of state, moved, as a resolution, that it was prejudicial to the due administration of justice for a minister of the crown to interfere with the conduct of magistrates, by instructing them how they ought to administer the laws:—but this also was negatived by a majority of 157 to 49.

House of lords, June 27.—The royal assent was given by commission to the yeomanry cavalry bill, Irish peace preservation bill, Newfoundland marriage bill, and several others.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Bennet presented a petition from a person of the name of Evans, who had been imprisoned under the

suspension of the habeas corpus act. The petitioner stated, that on the 10th of April he and his son were taken from the prison in which they had been at first confined, and he was immured in a condemned cell in Horsemonger-lane prison. The room had for its furniture a pail with water in it, another for a water-closet, a chair and a table. He was put in irons, and deprived of a flute, with which, being a musical man, he had amused himself.

Mr. H. Addington said, he would take an early opportunity of inquiring into the matters stated, and would communicate the result to the house.

The third reading of the habeas corpus suspension bill was moved by lord Castlereagh, and after a long discussion carried by a majority of 130; the numbers being 195 to 65. With the consent of ministers the duration of the bill was limited to the 1st of March. The motion to this effect was made by Mr. Stewart Wortley, and seconded by lord Castlereagh. Mr. Wynn proposed to limit it to the 25th of December; but the former proposition was carried by a majority of 152 to 50. The bill was then passed.

House of lords, June 30.—Lord Grosvenor presented a petition from certain working artificers, praying for the discouragement of the use of machinery in manufactures. His lordship said he felt it his duty to present the petition, though he thought the views of the petitioners erroneous.

Lord Lauderdale said, that without the use of machinery one half of those who were now employed would be utterly destitute; and the petitioners, therefore, were blindly praying for that which, if granted, would constribute to their own destruction.

The earl of Liverpool moved that the amendment made by the commons to the habeas corpus suspension bill, limiting the duration of the bill to the 1st March next, be agreed to.

The marquis of Lansdowne moved to substitute 1st of December.

Lord Donoughmore approved of the latter amendment, and called for some explanation as to the reports of the treatment of the two Evanses.

Lord Sidmouth said the reports alluded to were gross exaggerations. The prisoners were confined in large and airy apartments, and had every indulgence that could prudently be allowed. Their petition, instead of being detained by him, had been taken from the office by their solicitor, and had been presented to the other house by Mr. Bennet. He had uniformly told the prisoners that they had a right to petition the crown and parliament. He had that morning examined the gaoler of Horsemonger-lane prison; and if the facts alleged had been found correct, that person would not have been suffered to remain an hour longer in his situation. He had ordered the irons of prisoners under the suspension act to be knocked off; and though he had prevented the magistrates in general from indiscriminate access to them, it was not true that he had prevented the regular visiting magistrates from seeing them.

Lord Grosvenor censured the employment of spies; and praised the administration of the duke of Bedford in Ireland, who rejected their services with contempt and indignation.

Lord Redesdale said, the fault, if there was any, of the administration which preceded that of the noble duke was, that it listened rather too little than too much to the informa-

tion

tion of spies. If more attention had been paid to them, his venerable friend, lord Kilwarden, might have been yet living. He himself, from a neglect of such information, had been in great danger of being seized and detained as a hostage by the insurgents.

The marquis of Lansdowne's amendment was then negatived, and the amendment made by the commons agreed to, without a division.

A long discussion arose on the question for committing the various bills for the abolition of certain offices, and regulating others.

Lords Lauderdale, Erskine, Redesdale, and Arden opposed them, as, for the sake of a paltry saving, entrenching on the prerogative of the crown, and innovating upon the old established mode of remunerating great public services.

Lord Grosvenor approved of the different measures as a whole, but objected to some of the details.

Lords Liverpool, Harrowby, Bathurst, and the lord chancellor vindicated both the principle and the details of the series of bills.

The motion for committing them was carried on a division, by 27 to 7; and they accordingly went through a committee.

The royal assent was given, by commission, to the bill for further suspending the habeas corpus act.

In the commons, the same day, the report of the usury bill was, after a general conversation, ordered to be considered this day three months, by which it is lost for the present session.

A petition was received from Liverpool against the excise license bill, complaining that, under pretence of regulations, it would impose additional taxes to the amount of 110,000*l*. Petitions to the same effect were received from Bristol and Cambridge. In answer to the observations of the supporters of the petitions, the chancellor of the exchequer explained and justified the provisions of the bill.—The house then went into a committee of supply, in which various sums were voted for the army.

At the close of a discussion, in which Mr. Ponsonby had spoken, finding himself unwell, he retired behind the speaker's chair, where he fell down in a fit.

The speaker immediately put the question of adjournment, and quitted the chair, to pay attention to Mr. Ponsonby, who was conducted to the room of the speaker's secretary, and medical assistance was immediately sent for. Mr. Lynn and Mr. White, of Parliament-street, attended, and Mr. Ponsonby was bled; after which he recovered considerably, and was conveyed home in the speaker's carriage. Several members showed great anxiety and attention to the right honourable gentleman. Lord Grey and other friends of Mr. Ponsonby were sent for.

House of lords, July 1.—On the motion of the lord chancellor, the further consideration of the savings' bills, relative to this country and Ireland, was postponed for three months, with the view of introducing them next session in a more perfect shape.

In the commons, the same day, the attorney-general obtained leave to bring in a bill for the more effectual suppression of the Luddite system.

Mr. Bennet having inquired whether the under-secretary of state was prepared to give any answer as to the petition of Mr. Evans, Mr. H. Addington replied to the different allegations in the petition. As to the charge of a former petition having

been detained by the secretary of state, it was totally unfounded. Mr. Evans sent a petition on the 21st of February to the secretary of state's office, by the hands of Mr. Abbot, for lord Cochrane; but next morning he sent to request that it should be given to Mr. Harmer, his solicitor. Mr. Harmer got it accordingly, and since then no word was heard of it in the office: but on looking over the papers in the vote office, he found that it had been presented to that house on the 27th of February, and by the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Bennet). Mr. Abbot, the gaoler, assured him, that he had never refused Evans the use of pens, paper, and ink. The practice at Horsemonger-lane gaol was to iron the prisoners. Three gentlemen (the present sheriff, the late sheriff, and a Mr. Harris,) went to see Evans, and one of them asked the gaoler whether it was the practice to put prisoners there into irons? Being told that it was the uniform practice, they acquiesced. The next day the irons were taken away. He next read a description of the room in which he was confined, which had been called the condemned dungeon. It was twenty-five feet long, eighteen wide, and eleven high. There were two large windows, a fire-place, and a coal-place. There was a fine view of the Surrey hills from his window. The younger Evans had a room exactly the same, except that, being lower, the view is not so extensive. It had been alleged that they had not been allowed to walk any where. There was an arcade fifty-five feet in length, in which they were allowed to walk. He asked the gaoler whether there was not a place where they could conveniently enjoy free air; and he answered, "Certainly not, without being exposed too much for their security." Another point he would mention was the alleged want of communication with his dearest friends. His wife had been allowed to visit him and to converse with him through the iron grate, which was open from top to bottom, so as to admit them to see and converse freely. All the possible modes in which any grievances felt by prisoners could be made known were two: the one was by writing to the secretary of state. This Mr. Watson had often done, and always obtained redress, for which he had written a letter of thanks. This was the best mode. The only other mode was by sending to inquire at the gaols, which it was impossible to do as to every gaol in the country; and which, if possible, would be a libel upon the individuals who were most carefully chosen to watch over the treatment of prisoners and the management of prisons.

Mr. Bennet, notwithstanding the explanation given on some points, persisted in thinking that the two Evanses and their associates had been harshly treated.

Mr. Barham said he was not satisfied with the explanations given, and would make a motion on the subject to-morrow.

Mr. Brougham asked whether he was to credit the assertion that Mr. Evans was without fire or candle?

Mr. H. Addington could only say that no severity had been exercised towards him but what was usual in all other cases.

Mr. Brougham said he must then consider the charge as true. It had been stated that there were no means of allowing exercise to the prisoners consistently with their secure custody: he, on the contrary, could tell the house that there was a large space, a garden, with a high wall set with spikes, in which they were in perfect security.

On

On the motion of sir E. Brydges, a return was ordered from the universities, as to the way in which the books claimed under the copy-right act were disposed of.

The petition of the watchmakers was referred to a select committee.

After a conversation of some length, the order for a committee to inquire into the policy of restricting or prohibiting the exportation of cotton-yarn, was discharged, on the ground that it was too late in the session to inquire and to report on so extensive a subject.

Mr. Vansittart, with the leave of the house, brought in a bill to prevent the circulation of bank dollars and tokens after the 25th of March next.

July 2.—Mr. Hammersley wished to know whether government had made any application for repayment of the Austrian loan of 19,300,000*l.*

Lord Castlereagh said, a proper time for making such a demand had not yet arrived.

Mr. Barham addressed the house at considerable length on the case of Mr. Evans. He had supported the measures of government for thirty years from conviction; upon the same principle he now opposed them. He would defend the liberties of Englishmen, because, in this country, the subversion of our liberties implied the subversion of the government and constitution. He agreed with a noble lord who had, on a preceding evening, said that he would rather see the country revolutionized than enslaved. He would ask the gentlemen on the treasury benches, who received that sentiment with a clamour of disapprobation, whether they charged the people of England with treason to James II. or upon what principle, but that revolution was better than slavery, could they justify their attachment to the reigning family? He then contended that the secretary of state, having taken upon himself the custody of the prisoners under the suspension act, ought to know, from day to day, how they were treated; and condemned the new doctrine, that men whom it was never intended to bring to trial were to be confined to produce repentance. We had come to the turning point: we must go back to the iron age, renounce our free constitution, and get an arbitrary government, and take all the machinery of despotism, foreign armies, arbitrary imprisonments, solitary confinements without specific object or limited duration,—and above all, spies and informers, as the authority for law, the evidence for trial, and the safe-guard of government—or we must take liberty with all its inconveniences. He did not, however, think that the people of England were prepared to yield up the liberty purchased by the blood of their ancestors, without a struggle worthy of the cause. The honourable member then adverted to the details of the petition. He had somewhere read of a prisoner who amused himself with feeding a spider. Was not the taking away of the flute an act of more barbarous cruelty than killing the spider? It appeared he had been ruined in his trade through the rigour with which all intercourse with his friends was denied. This surely was a very great hardship. It was stated, too, that the circumstances in which he was placed would terminate his life. If in consequence of the severity, which was admitted to have been exercised towards this man, he lost his life, it then turned out, that it was not only the power of arbitrary imprisonment that was given to ministers, but the power of life and death. After some further observations,

he moved that the petition should be referred to a select committee.

Mr. H. Addington, in opposing the motion, repeated the statement which he made the preceding day. The petition had been delivered to Mr. Harmer at the prisoner's desire. Of coals there was an unlimited allowance. Candles were allowed liberally, according to the seasons of the year. Evans complained to the gaoler that he had not enough of candles, but the gaoler told him he must apply to higher authority. One of the rules of the prison was, that no musical instrument could be allowed. If the flute could be allowed, no person would be more apt to feel the hardship of withholding it than himself. The gaoler told him, that the reason why Evans was not allowed to walk in the garden was, that the way to it was through the felons yard. The bed was perfectly new, and as good as could be afforded. The gaoler is a most humane man; and he (Mr. H. A.) had received two letters from the four state prisoners under his charge, stating that they had experienced great humanity from him since their confinement. He had that morning visited the prison along with an honourable member, who would state what passed.

Mr. B. Shaw, (the member alluded to) said that the elder Evans mentioned, that so far as his treatment in prison was concerned, he had no charge to make; but that liberty was sweet, and that no situation could be agreeable in which he was deprived of it. Pilkington confirmed this testimony to the conduct of the gaoler, by declaring, that he was so far from complaining of any oppressive or hard usage from the gaoler, that he regarded him with love and gratitude as his friend and benefactor. The younger Evans had no complaint to make, except with regard to the supply of candles; and Ogden declared, with tears in his eyes, that he should never forget the kindness which he had experienced from his hands, that he should always remember his conduct with gratitude; "for," added he, "he has been to me a friend and benefactor in my distress."

Mr. Bennet repeated his former observations, and contended that a sufficient case had been made out for reference to a committee.

Mr. H. Sumner stated that lord Sidmouth, the instant a memorial was sent to him, ordered the prisoners to be taken out of irons. The rooms in which they were confined were large and airy, and the gaoler was remarkable for his humanity.

Mr. S. Wortley had never heard a charge more completely disproved than the present; nor had ever seen a case that appeared more completely trumped up to deceive the public, and to excite odium against the government.

Sir F. Burdett was not inclined to put much faith in the praises of a gaoler.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that circumstances had arisen in the course of this discussion which would lead to a correction of the evil; and the presumption was, that whenever an abuse did exist, it would not be long before it came to the knowledge of government; who, he could assure the house, would be disposed to pay the utmost attention to it.

After a few observations from lord Cochrane and general Hope, the motion was negatived without a division.

Sir J. C. Hippesley brought in a bill for securing the payment of the wages of colliers in the lawful money of the country.

House

House of lords, July 3.—Lord Colchester (the late speaker of the commons) was introduced by lords Redesdale and Dynevor, and took the oaths and his seat.

In answer to a question from lord Montford, as to the persons convicted of a conspiracy against the lives of the three poor Irish coiners, lord Sidmouth said they were still under sentence of death, but that the execution had been respited. If it should turn out that these persons could not, from a defect in the law, be brought to punishment, care would be taken that the law should be amended in that respect. He did not mean by any means to say, however, that these persons might not still be punished; but at present the state of the case was as he had mentioned—that they were still under sentence of death, but that the execution had been respited.

In the commons, the same day, lord Binning observed, that of the 950 parishes in Scotland, 259 had not made their returns respecting the lunatic poor. There appeared something like negligence, though not wilful, and he hoped this notice of it would have a due effect.

The report of a committee on the Newfoundland trade having been read, Mr. M. A. Taylor impressed upon the house the necessity of taking immediate measures for the relief of that settlement, which was threatened with all the horrors of famine, and for the permanent support of the fishery, as connected with both our naval and mercantile interests. Out of a population of 80,000, not less than 10,000 or 12,000 were without the means of subsistence. The best fishing parts of Newfoundland had been conceded to France by treaty. The French traders were very active; and the French government exerted itself, by means of bounties equal to half the cost and cure of the fish. Duties against our own merchants amounted almost to a prohibition. Spain, whom we had protected with our treasure and blood, gave her proofs of gratitude by her duties on our trade. Murat, when he reigned at Naples, levied a duty, which was to go to the ransoming slaves at Algiers; which the present king, much as he was indebted to us, not only had kept up, but had increased. Our merchants had thus to cope with a host of difficulties. They wished that 5000, at least, of the starving population should be removed to other settlements; and that an attempt should be made to keep up the fishery, our best nursery of seamen, by a bounty, for one year, of 2*s.* per quintal. The honourable member then moved, that the report should be taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house.

Mr. Robinson disapproved of the proposed bounty, as proceeding on false maxims of political œconomy; and looking to the distress which prevailed in this country and in Ireland, and to the unproductive state of the last harvest in Canada and Nova Scotia, he could not see that government could administer relief to a greater extent than they had offered, which was to provide settlements for 1000 persons in Nova Scotia, if the merchants would defray the expense of removing them. This offer had been rejected.

Mr. Holdsworth, Mr. W. Douglas, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Protheroe, urged the necessity of doing something to avert the threatened calamity.

Mr. F. Lewis did not see how government, with all the difficulties which pressed on it, could do any thing effectual, and suggested that recourse

recourse should be had to a subscription.

Mr. Vansittart objected to the proposed bounty, but assured the house that government would exert all the means in its power for the relief of the present sufferers, as they had done with regard to the sufferers by the fire at St. John's. After some further discussion, the motion was negatived by 50 to 29

July 4.—A petition was presented from Ashton-under-Lyne, in Lancashire, stating distress, and imputing it, in part, to the exporting of cotton-twist. To a question from Mr. Cawthorne, Mr. Vansittart answered, that he was not pledged against going into an inquiry on the subject next session.

On the question for the third reading of the election poll bill, Mr. Brougham argued for further delay, and moved that the bill should be printed. The motion was negatived by 60 to 2. An amendment by Mr. Calcraft for excepting persons in the army, navy, or militia, was negatived by 55 to 23. The question for the passing of the bill was then carried in the affirmative by 52 to 19.

Mr. S. Bourne brought up the report of the committee on the poor-laws, which was ordered to be printed, with a view to its circulation in all parts of the country, preparatory to a more mature consideration of the subject next session.

Mr. Bennet, with respect to the alehouse bill, said, from the sort of opposition, and the emphatic tone used against it, he had little or no hope of success if he pressed it this session. While he was, therefore, obliged to delay a remedy, he protested, in the name of the morals of the people of England, against a system that contributed more than any other measure whatever to destroy them. He then moved the further consideration this day three months, which was ordered.

The third reading of the Irish grand jury bill was carried, by 46 to 8; and the bill passed.

The extents in aid bill was also passed.

July 2.—Mr. Tierney rose to call the attention of the house to the finance resolutions which he had already moved, but the debate on which had been hitherto, from various circumstances, unavoidably delayed. On this subject he had, in the first place, to state to the house, that in the first of those resolutions he now found that a great mistake was committed on his part. It was therefore his intention to move that the first resolution be withdrawn for the purpose of substituting another. When the resolutions were read, he must remind the house, that he had stated he could not be answerable for the accuracy of every thing in them, for the reasons which he had then mentioned. The mistake to which he alluded arose from his not being aware that Irish treasury bills to the amount of above 4,000,000*l.* had been paid off during the present year. In that part of the resolution which stated the amount of the unfunded debt, he made 12,600,000*l.* the amount of the addition made to that part of the debt for exchequer and treasury bills issued this session. The honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. C. Grant jun.), who had also moved a set of resolutions, made the whole amount of this branch 1,900,000*l.* less. The mode in which the honourable gentleman did this, was, as he apprehended, by supposing that the new issues of exchequer bills would be strictly applied to pay off those outstanding; and if this were taken for granted, then he must admit that the honourable gentleman

gentleman was right. By referring to the votes of the house, it appeared that the total amount of the supplies granted in the course of the year, was 64,336,000*l.* To meet this, the gross amount of the ways and means, as stated in what was commonly called the budget, was 64,141,000*l.* leaving a deficiency, as compared with the supplies, of 195,000*l.* From the exchequer bill account, produced to the house last month, it appeared that a sum of 583,000*l.* must have been paid off from some quarter. Where this sum was taken from he knew not, unless it was from the ways and means—[Here the chancellor of the exchequer said, across the table, that this sum had been paid off before.] If it had been paid off before, it certainly ought not to be stated as outstanding on the 5th of January. It appeared, however, that the whole sum between the honourable gentleman and himself was no more than 1,300,000*l.*, which, certainly, in this case, was hardly worth talking about. In opposing the funded to the unfunded debt, it was to be recollected, in one point of view, how immaterial the difference was, since all that now appeared under the head of unfunded would, some time or other, come to be added to the funded debt. As to the navy and transport debt, he considered it to be a sort of running account between the government and the contractors; and it was highly necessary for the country to know whether the sum of 1,660,000*l.* of the navy and transport debt was now actually paid off. His whole object in these resolutions was to bring a few questions of finance into such a point of view, as to make them intelligible to any one; for the truth was, that nine persons out of ten were not in any degree conversant with these questions. But if he had made a mistake, his resolutions had at least produced one good effect. He had to congratulate himself and the country on having at least been the means of bringing out a set of resolutions from the other side of the house, which showed the real state of the funded and unfunded debt. As to himself, he had to complain that several papers which ought to have been produced had not been produced. What the difficulty was which prevented their production he could not comprehend. The effect generally produced on the minds of members was, when they saw any balance on the budget in its favour, that this would be a surplus really applicable to pay off the public debt. On this subject he had therefore thought it necessary to have a resolution. The receipts of the ways and means of last year had not produced more than 5,115,000*l.* above the sums required for the service of the year; and a great part of that sum arrears of property tax. This was before stated with the consolidated fund; but this year it was put with the ways and means. The truth was, it had nothing to do with the consolidated fund. On this account there was an extraordinary receipt of 2,028,000*l.*, which would not occur again. In the report of the committee of finance, it was stated that the arrears of the property tax might be required to meet the expenses of this year and of the next. How this was made out he did not know. It was material, therefore, to have a resolution which would show, that although it appeared that there was a surplus of 1,660,000*l.* applicable to pay off one part of the debt, yet that, in fact, there had been paid a sum of more than two millions out of what in reality were our assets. The next resolution

resolution went to say that, assuming the revenue of this year equal to that of the last, there would be an excess of charge to the amount of 3,521,000*l.* The only object which he had in view by these resolutions was, that the truth should come out. The finance committee stated, that their way of estimating the revenue of this year, was by taking the year 1815, which was a year of extraordinary productiveness, and comparing it with this year, which was one of extraordinary unproductiveness. The committee said, too, that the second year of peace would be equal to the average of the three last years of war; and, in proof of this, they referred to what had taken place at the termination of the American war. This was really very fallacious. There was no analogy whatever between the present state of the country and that in which it was at the end of the American war, in 1783. The American war, during its continuance, had produced nothing but distress to the country; whereas the late war had, on the contrary, been the cause of much prosperity. During the American war we lost all our trade; but in the late war we gained the trade of the whole world. There was, therefore, not the least reason to assume, because the revenue was in a flourishing state in the first years of peace after the American war, that the same would now be the case. For his own part, he had all along argued, that when peace came it would be impossible for us to keep up our taxes. The right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer had constantly maintained an opposite opinion, and it was now to be seen which of them was right. His last resolution was given with the view of illustrating the preceding. Here he took occasion to observe, that the report of the finance committee had been delayed, on the plea that it could not be made up until the accounts were made out up to the 5th of April. Now, it was very curious to observe, that at least when the report was produced it contained not one word about the 5th of April. It was to be noticed how the consolidated fund stood this year. The whole surplus of it, up to the 5th of April, had been voted as part of the ways and means of the year, so that there remained only three quarters of it. He should, perhaps, be told, as this was the case, that the whole of the charges on it were paid out of this; and although he must admit this, yet unless the whole year was stated altogether, one quarter with another, the consolidated fund was not fairly dealt with, and there would be the three bad quarters for the one good one. The quarter ending the 5th July was the worst one; and upon it, in the present year, there was a deficiency of 725,000*l.* leaving out Ireland. This great deficiency showed the fallacy of estimating the produce of the revenue in the years of peace by the average of three years of war. There was certainly a great deficiency in the revenue this quarter—as much perhaps as 3,000,000*l.* and then the revenue would not be sufficient to pay the interest of the national debt. He did not say this as meaning that there was any danger to the creditors of the nation, but to show that parliament must not think lightly of it. It was, however, said, that the distress was only temporary. If this were the case, there surely was never any temporary distress of such long continuance; and what was most alarming was, that it was getting worse and worse every day. Even on the showing of the finance committee

committee themselves, the presumption was, that the produce of the revenue would not be adequate to the payment of the interest of the national debt; and that in order to pay the interest, recourse must be had to borrowing. As matters now stood, parliament would separate without having made any arrangement for the payment of the interest of the national debt. He had now generally stated the topics embraced in his resolutions; and whatever inaccuracies might have crept into them, he rejoiced that they had produced the effect of inducing the honourable gentleman opposite to apply his talents to this subject; and he hoped that honourable gentleman would continue annually to produce resolutions of the same nature with those which he had now laid before the house. If this were done, it would enable them to go on intelligibly from year to year. He believed that no country was ever in such a state as we now were. That the national credit should be improving, and the price of stocks increasing, at the very same time when the revenue was falling off from hour to hour, seemed most extraordinary. The price of stocks was higher now than when the revenue was daily increasing at such a rate, that the exchequer was hardly able to contain it. He did not by any means impute blame to the right honourable gentleman opposite for issuing exchequer bills, although they certainly had been issued to an extraordinary amount. What was the amount of exchequer bills which could really be borne by the market could not be very exactly stated. But the mode pursued by government in setting a premium on them he understood to be this—they fixed a premium, below which they said they would not sell them, and if they did get them sold at that premium, they could have the money in the meantime from the bank. The natural consequence of this was to leave us at the mercy of the bank. Next year there would be a great trial of strength between government and the bank, for then cash payments were to be resumed; then would be 17,000,000*l.* exchequer bills outstanding; it was impossible that the bank could make issues to such amount in specie as it had done in notes. The house had lately heard that the distress in the country was at the highest pitch—that every one wished to borrow, and no one was able to lend. All this, however, which was then denied, was now adduced as a proof of the prosperous state of the country. Trade of every kind was in a state of complete stagnation; and the merchant having no other way to dispose of his capital, laid it out in the money market, and bought an exchequer bill because he could buy nothing else. This system was carried on to the utmost extent. Bankers made a most inexcusable use of the money of their customers, by laying it out in the purchase of stock. Every banker thus became what was, in the city phrase, called "a bull." This was, at best, a most dangerous speculation;—the effect, in the mean time, was to raise the price of stocks. But, supposing trade should revive, they would be obliged to sell out at the price of the day, which would then probably be low enough. The chancellor of the exchequer had, some time since, come down to the house, and said that money was so plenty that they could lend out a million and a half on good security. Out of this million and a half he now understood the regent's canal company was to have 200,000*l.* What he wished principally

principally to press upon the house was, that all this apparent temporary prosperity was not to be built upon. At present, the revenue was daily decreasing, and the price of the stocks rising. But supposing the best case, and that trade should revive, it would take a considerable time before the return of prosperous times would be evinced by the revenue. In the present circumstances of the country, unless the revenue could be raised, and greatly raised, the difficulties to be encountered by the country would be without any parallel. A bill had lately passed through the house to enable the commissioners of woods and forests to borrow 300,000*l.* Did any one think that they could obtain this without having recourse to the stocks? With respect to the sinking fund, after all the many discussions on the subject, it seemed that both sides of the house had talked themselves into a conviction that the country was in a flourishing way, if it was unnecessary to apply any part of the sinking fund to the ways and means of the year. It was, however, to be considered, that the rise of the stocks counteracted the effects of the sinking fund. The finance report talked of the revival of commerce; but it was impossible for commerce to revive under such a weight of taxes as oppressed it; and how much worse would it be if any alteration should take place in the value of money! It was his wish to have entered at some greater length into the state of trade, and of the resources of the country; but he must abandon that intention, having neither health nor spirits to support any further consideration of the subject, and being sensible that he had already trespassed to a great extent on the patience of the house. He then moved that the first resolution be read, for the purpose of being withdrawn.

The resolution having been read from the chair—

Mr. C. Grant jun. said, he would not detain the house by entering at large into a statement of the finances of the country. He would merely confine himself to state the difference between the resolutions of the right honourable gentleman and those which he himself had moved. The resolutions of the right honourable gentleman might be divided into two parts: one relating to the state of the debt, the other to that of the income and revenue of the country. To the latter of these his resolutions did not extend; and that for reasons which he would by and by state to the house. On the first part, between himself and the right honourable gentleman there were two points on which they essentially differed. The right honourable gentleman stated the amount of the unfunded debt to be 66,490,000*l.* whereas he (Mr. G.) stated it at the utmost to be 64,648,000*l.* The other point was, that there was an increase of the debt this year to the amount of 1,814,000*l.*; in opposition to which he (Mr. G.) made it appear that there was a diminution of debt to the amount of 1,270,000*l.* It appeared to him that the right honourable gentleman had adopted a fallacious mode of estimating the exchequer bills. The right honourable gentleman assumed that there would be a deficiency in the ways and means for the present year—an assumption by no means authorized, as nearly the whole of the ways and means were already realized. From the votes of the year it appeared, that the whole amount of the supplies for the year was as he had stated, 64,648,000*l.* The total of the ways and means

was

was 64,461,000*l.* which very nearly balanced the supply. The error of the right honourable gentleman seemed to be, that he had computed the same sum twice. The honourable gentleman proceeded to show that the supplies of the year being only 22 millions, there were 26 millions of ways and means to meet them; and also that there was a reduction of 1,207,000*l.* in the debt, which appeared in the face of the operations of the year. He stated his intention to move the previous question on the motion of the right honourable gentleman, as the merit of the resolutions quoted on his side of the house was, that they were strictly resolutions of fact, and not of conjecture. If a great subject were opened by a series of resolutions, the mover was bound to bring the whole scope of them before the house, and he had to regret that the right honourable gentleman had not done so. He therefore objected to them, because they were resolutions of supposition, and proceeded on inadequate premises. With respect to the property tax, although it was true that it was an extraordinary receipt, there were also extraordinary charges upon it. The charge on the supplies for this year was 19,740,000*l.* With respect to the 4th resolution, it did not point out any error in his calculation; but admitting the data on which the right honourable gentleman went, he must think he had estimated the charge at too high an amount.

Mr. Tierney explained.

On the motion being put, the chancellor of the exchequer said he did not feel it necessary to trouble the house with any arguments on the subject after what had been adduced. But with respect to the payment of exchequer bills of five hundred thousand pounds sterling, that may be out-standing at the end of the year, if the whole of the supplies were issued, it followed, of course, that the whole of the exchequer bills would be paid off. The bills to be paid off in the course of the present year were, as every body knew, those which were issued in the last year, and government had already been able to exchange or discharge such bills down to the month of October; so that it was much more likely that there would be a scarcity of exchequer bills for sale than a surplus of them.—This was altogether a proof of the wisdom of the system which had been recommended to parliament, but which the right honourable gentleman and his friends had persuaded parliament to reject. There was no question, that if the plan of continuing the income tax had been approved of, it would have led to a considerable discharge of the debt; and he was far from thinking that that proposition would, on the whole, have led to those injurious consequences which the right honourable gentleman had pointed out. Yet, in the course of last year, there was, notwithstanding, a very considerable diminution of the public debt; and he could say that it would to some extent, though not considerably, be diminished in the present year. If, however, by any unforeseen and unfortunate political circumstances, those sources of revenue which were open to improvement should fail, it would become the duty of parliament to take measures to improve our financial situation. But he hoped and trusted that a further improvement which was looked forward to would obviate the necessity to which he alluded. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had been so far from denying the improvement that

that had been made in the finance of the country, that he had even been inclined to carry it to a more sanguine pitch than he (the chancellor of the exchequer) could have expected; for he not only talked of paying off the four and one-third per cents, but admitted that there had been an improvement of our public credit in the present year, though he had expressed his opinion that the circumstance had in it something unnatural and extraordinary. He had shown the rapid improvement in the state of the unfunded debt of the country, and if the funded debt had not increased in the same proportion, he thought gentlemen could not be at a loss to account for some diminution. When the stockholder had been alarmed with vague ideas that he had no security for his property at home, it was not surprising that he might think it could be better protected abroad; but the proceedings in the present session had dispelled all such ideas—and there was very great merit due to parliament for abstaining from doing what it had not done. It had forborne from any measure calculated to shake the system of the corn law, which was founded on the wisest principles, and had been attended with the most advantageous effects; and he would say that nothing would be so injurious to the public interests as the shifting of this sytem. As to the exchequer bills issued for the service of the present year, they had actually cost the public less than three per cent. The right honourable gentleman then alluded to the subject of the resumption of cash payments by the bank; and declared, that on this point his mind was made up; that nothing but some extraordinary shock, totally unexpected, in political affairs, could prevent this occurrence at the time already stated. The next point he should notice was the diminution of the public debt, which was likely to be greater this year than last, as Providence had secured us from scarcity, by the prospect of an abundant harvest; and which prospect was equally favourable on the continent, where we might also confidently look to a more extensive commercial intercourse. It had been charged against this country, that we had joined in effecting the oppression of surrounding states; but such a charge had no foundation. On the contrary, it was our pride that we had mainly contributed to restore them to liberty. He firmly believed that this country, though apparently embarrassed, was yet capable of great exertions, though he trusted there would be no occasion to call them forth. But every thing would depend on the firmness and wisdom of parliament, of which he thought this session had shown an eminent and noble example.

Sir H. Parnell attributed our present embarrassments to the profuse extravagance with which the war had been carried on for the last twenty-four years. One of the reports had stated, that no less than nine millions had been expended in fortifications, such as Chatham and Plymouth lines. The right honourable gentleman had clearly intimated that he meant to propose vigorous measures, consisting of new taxation; but the only vigorous measures ought to be in adopting as severe a system of œconomy as could possibly be devised. As long, however, as the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues filled their present situations, no such hopes could be entertained. There was no one suggestion of œconomy in the whole of the report, on which it

it could be hoped any amendment would take place. There would be no diminution whatever except 500,000*l.* in the army department; so that there could be no hope of any reduction in our permanent peace establishment, to bring it below seventeen millions; and those honest servants of the public, the ministers, instead of reducing our expenses to the level of our income, were raising our income to the level of our expenses. The honourable baronet then alluded to various items of the report; and concluded with expressing his hope, that the country would take such steps in time as should prevent that vigour with which the right honourable gentleman threatened it, and compel him to adopt in its stead a vigorous system of œconomy.

Mr. W. Smith had no hesitation in declaring that he thought the present situation of the country required a relaxation of taxation; and that it would be well purchased, either by a reduction of the interest of the national debt, or the application of some part of the sinking fund to the ways and means of the year. He could never think any measures wild or mischievous that might preclude the necessity of forcing upon us again the income or property tax. After some allusions to the state of the sinking fund, the honourable gentleman treated the financial system at present pursued as the greatest delusion, and observed that any man must be blind not to see that we should be worse off every year, unless the interest of the debt were reduced. It was in vain to dispute that there had been this year taken from the sum for the reduction of the national debt no less than 14,729,000*l.* This sum had been raised from the people, and would be to be raised by them. It had not been paid off, and therefore it remained to be paid off. The honourable gentleman then alluded to the rising of the stocks, which he considered as an artifice, and argued that by raising the 3 per cents. from 65, there was now 25,000*l.* less stock purchased on the three or four buying days, than when they were at that price, making the redemption of the national debt 5,000,000*l.* a-year lower than it would be if they continued at that price. He agreed, that it was better to borrow money this year by exchequer bills than to raise it by taxes; but this was only putting off the evil day: and he repeated, that it was only by the application of the sinking fund to the purposes of the year, and by no other means, that the right honourable gentleman would be able to avoid his difficulties. At all events, he sincerely hoped never to see the income tax revived.

Mr. Grenfell thought, under all circumstances, that the plan of the right honourable gentleman was most likely to be for the interest of the country, and it should have his support. He believed that the resources of the country would ultimately be found sufficient for its exigencies; and that, therefore, any additional burthens would be unnecessary. The people had a right to demand that, as long as we remained at peace, no attempt should be made to impose on them any additional taxes, and, in his opinion, any such attempt would be impracticable. After some remarks on the operation of the sinking fund, in the course of which he deprecated the plan of creating debt with one hand for the purpose of diminishing it with the other, he concluded with denying that he had ever expressed any disbelief of the capability of the

bank to resume cash payments; but had only said, that what the right honourable gentleman had called a virtual resumption of cash payments was, in fact, no payment at all.

Mr. Baring contended, that for all practical purposes the sinking fund was completely swept away, and that at present it was a mere delusion. He thought the country was highly indebted to his right honourable friend (Mr. Tierney) for affording every man the means of making himself acquainted with the real state of the finances. It appeared to him that the receipts would meet the expenses; or at any rate that there would not be above half a million either on one side or the other. He commented on the necessity of keeping inviolate the public credit, which was not to be played tricks with, as had been the case in other countries. He was surprised to hear the right honourable gentleman so often express his unavailing regrets at the loss of the property tax, for the house had showed that they had judged rightly in getting rid of it,—he hoped for ever. Alluding to the duties from the customs and excise, he thought it utterly impossible to maintain the high duties on many of the articles. He went into a detail of the facility with which smuggling is carried on between this country and Flanders, where tea, which sells in London for 8*s*. per lb. is procured for 2*s*. 6*d*. On the point of the peace establishment, he thought if the house had done its duty, it would have been brought down to the present sum of 17,200,000*l*. at once, instead of being kept at 22,000,000*l*. till this year. He had no hope of reducing the expenditure of Ireland but by the civilization of the people. He was convinced that the general trading state of the country was reviving; but it was not to be expected that it would be brought up to that extensive scale which it had attained during the war. Yet the prospect was that we should soon return to that sound and healthy state, as to leave us that proportion of commerce we had a right to expect, without monopolizing what belonged to other nations.

Mr. Huskisson was glad to find that every body concurred in the propriety of resorting to the means that had been adopted. He denied that the peace establishment could have been more promptly reduced to its present state, and showed that till the troops abroad had been brought home and disbanded, it was impossible to ascertain to what extent the reduction could be made. He added, that it was not even in the present session that the full reduction could be looked to. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to answer the various comments of the speakers on the opposite side; and laid particular stress on the assertion of sir H. Parnell, that 100,000,000*l*. might have been saved during the war, by a system of œconomy instead of extravagance. Every body must see that it was impossible to apply those checks which were introduced on the peace establishment to a war more important and extensive than any in which the country had ever been engaged; and however the expense might be regretted, it was impossible to have been avoided. The sum for the fortifications comprised all that had been expended abroad, as well as at home, in these means of defence. The corn laws, by allowing the free export and import, had been the means of enabling us to pass through all our distresses; and those salutary regulations

lations which would relieve the country in time of abundance, would also encourage importation in periods of scarcity. He then entered upon an elaborate comparison between the amount of our present peace establishment and that after the American war, contrasting the supplies of that time with the permanent revenue, and showing that the difference between the supplies actually voted and the revenue was 4,884,000*l.* At that time Mr. Pitt pursued the same course as was now adopted, by issuing 5,558,000*l.* in exchequer bills; therefore, we were now only following a precedent that had been attended with the best effects. He was sorry the right honourable gentleman had been prevented from going into a statement of his views with respect to the situation of the country perspectively, in order to show that no improvement was likely to take place. He, however, believed him to be in error in consequence of his having assumed, that no provision had been made in money for paying off the unfunded debt. He then showed, that by the accounts made up to the 24th of June, it appeared that there remained 1,225,000*l.* at the disposal of parliament; and though that money could not then be used by ministers to pay off the unfunded debt, the exchequer bills which had been issued must eventually be diminished in amount, by the sum which he had stated to have been left in the exchequer. He defended the calculations of the finance committee, on the subject of the expected produce of the revenue in the present and in the next year; and he confessed himself sanguine enough to hope, that all the causes which had led to the diminution of the income of the country, would not remain in operation for another year. He therefore was not disposed to think the gloomy apprehensions which many entertained on the subject of our future prospects would prove to be well founded. He traced the present stagnation from its remote and pre-disposing causes; from that combination of political and financial circumstances, which, during the war, supplied a more than ordinary excitement to the agriculture and commerce of the country, and encouraged that spirit of unbounded speculation which had prevailed, and which had brought our currency into that state which had lately been the subject of complaint. He maintained that the existing distress arose out of these causes, and out of the sudden transition from a state of war to a state of peace: and similar embarrassment and pressure had always been experienced by this country at the close of a protracted contest, whether the course of it had been fortunate or unfortunate; whether it had been marked by disaster like the American war, or closed triumphantly like the last. He traced the stagnation through its various stages—showed the effects produced on the country banks by the sudden return of peace; and proved the low prices of commodities to result in a great degree from the difficulty of borrowing money at legal interest; and from the alarm which had prevailed, and which had made every creditor anxious to call in his capital, and thus occasioned forced sales, that served but to increase the evil. This state of things, followed by the calamity of a bad harvest, had produced that pressure which had been so severely felt. The distress had been the greater, in consequence of 500,000 persons disbanded from the army and navy being driven to seek their bread as labourers at a time when

the market was already overstocked. These persons added to the labourers, and taken from the consumers, had contributed to the stagnation, and caused such distress to be experienced, that ministers could not by any possibility supply an immediate remedy. The falling off of 10 per cent. on a revenue like that of this country was no very extraordinary circumstance. The cause removed, the revenue would revive and flourish as formerly. The revenue, in other times, had been affected in nearly the same degree, when a want of provisions was the only subject of complaint, and when there was no want of employment. Though the supplies formerly called for by the community had not been demanded as usual, consumption had not ceased; and if the harvest should prove abundant in the present year, it would be increased, confidence and credit would revive, and an improvement in the revenue must follow as a matter of course. After what had been experienced, he expected the next year would be one of comparative ease. The objects which that house would have in view, namely, the cherishing and prolonging the peace—the restoration of our currency, and the adoption of all measures of œconomy consistent with the security of the state, would not fail to ameliorate the situation of the people, and finally to compensate them for all the sacrifices they had made in the late arduous struggle. To prevent the importation of contraband goods would be most desirable. This could not be so successfully done in time of peace as it had been while the country was engaged in war, but what could be effected ought to be accomplished. At present he did not believe that in this respect the revenue had suffered in any material degree. He maintained there was nothing in the returns of the last quarter, or that preceding it, to justify any gloomy fears for the revenue. He had expected, under all the circumstances of the case, that the diminution would have been greater, and he was sanguine enough to predict that we should regain all our former prosperity.

The question was then put on the several resolutions, when the previous question was carried on those of Mr. Tierney; after which those of Mr. Grant were severally put and carried.

July 11.—Mr. Brougham said, if the present situation of the country presented that aspect which we had been led to expect—if no extraordinary occurrence had marked the commencement of the session—and if, at the close of it, the house were to retire, leaving the liberties of our constitution on their ancient footing, and the powers of the crown only as limited as that constitution should keep them, he should not have found it necessary to trespass once more on the indulgence of the house in their present exhausted state. But, when he looked at the expectations the country had formed, and the disappointment of these hopes in the course of the parliamentary proceedings—and, above all, the footing on which now stood the rights and liberties of each individual member of the community; he could not allow the house to be prorogued without performing the not very agreeable duty of rendering an account of what it had done, and what it had not done, and of endeavouring to carry to the foot of the throne such an address as, during the prorogation, might make a proper impression. It must be in the recollection of every man, that

that the distress of this country, for some months previous to the opening of the session, was such that it was beyond all description. He should not attempt to describe it. It was, however, too feelingly described in the language of many of the petitions that had come before the house; and the picture of it given by the noble member for Hertfordshire was indeed such as to render any description of it unnecessary. In the midst of these grievous sufferings, it was natural that there should be great discontent amongst the people at the measures of government, and an anxious desire for a change; and that here and there there should have been partial excesses of a trifling extent. A variety of persons, inconsiderable in point of weight and understanding, had certainly attempted to avail themselves of this distress for the worst of purposes. But amongst the reasonable people of this country—those who admired the stability of our excellent institutions, there was a universal expectation of relief, particularly where the distress was most deeply rooted, from the parliament alone. It was here only that they found they could or ought to look for relief. How had parliament answered these expectations? They had begun, not with measures for relieving the people, but for destroying them. Before asking what they could do for them, they had proceeded to take from them what they possessed; and when they did inquire into their distresses, and measures were proposed on his side of the house to relieve them—when it was shown that these measures consisted of a revision of our commercial policy, the answer made to such a proposition was, by adoption, a motion "that the other orders of the day be now read." If, when the starving people turned their eyes towards the house of commons, and refused to be misled by demagogues, who told them that the members were not the representatives of the people—if any one had got up and said at a public meeting, "Why go there? they will do nothing for you!" he was sure such a person would not have been safe. Much had been said of the panaceas and nostrums of parliamentary reform, but they had been derided even by the best and warmest friends of reform; and the natural consequence of this great distress was to catch at straws. But as the house had done nothing for these people, it might not be amiss to inquire whether the distresses of the country had been greatly diminished by the course of nature. Undoubtedly there was a prospect of an abundant harvest, and he would fain hope that the trade of the country had reached its lowest level. The effects of the late harvest had, he hoped, spent themselves: there was said to be a considerable increase in the value of land, though he thought this might be exaggerated: there was also a rise in the funds, and there was every reason to believe that we should not see the revenue so bad as it was five or six months ago. But that very harvest had had the effect of reviving our revenue by the opening of the ports for the importation of corn, which paid no duty. The falling off in our commerce was the want of goods to import, and the want of riches, so that it could not fail to be observed that the opening of our ports for corn had been the practical cause of the increase of our trade. But the fear was, that this change might be only temporary, as the cause would soon cease. As to the

rise in the funds, there were two causes, permanent and temporary. The diminution of taxes and the annual savings in consequence, of persons in trade, might have in some degree improved them in the course of the last year; but the want of issue or vent for our trade, and the want of any other mode of laying out our money, rendered this cause only temporary, and the funds must, as soon as trade revives, sink to a lower level. Therefore, he could not look at their present state as an unequivocal proof of our prosperity. But when wages were down as low as 5*s.* or 6*s.* per week for an able bodied workman in the weaving line, it could not seem that there was any thing like a considerable improvement in our general circumstances. Yet he hoped and trusted we had seen the worst. But this was no reason for the house to remain satisfied, and not proceeding to improve the condition of the people, because that condition was a little worse five or six months ago. He denied the assertion that parliament could do nothing. As long as any remedy remained within their reach, it was a breach of duty to sit idle, with their arms across, and wait the event. Now, what had been proposed, and what acted upon? No man charged ministers with the consequences which must have been expected to happen by the natural transition from war to peace, however much blame might be thrown on them for the conduct of the war. But it had been said, our system wants revision, which every great change rendered necessary. Revise your commercial policy; revise your financial system, for the purpose of reducing the taxes. These were the propositions; and how were they answered? The right honourable gentleman at the head of the board of trade had admitted the justice of every principle which he (Mr. B.) had ventured to lay down, on the subject of our commercial policy; and, in that memorable candour of his disposition, still more memorable from the result that followed it, he had said, that though he admitted all the principles that had been advanced, government must not act on one of them, because they were surrounded by conflicting private interests. Why were these conflicting interests submitted to?—there was the interest of the Baltic trade; then came Canada and the shipping interest; and what, it was asked, could be done? Next came the iron and the copper merchant, and they besieged the board of trade, and then it was asked what could be done with all these gentlemen? If we oppose the linen trade of the North of Ireland, all these gentlemen will come upon us in a body. Such was the touching simplicity with which the gentlemen opposite confessed their utter inability to do what they wished. So, said they, in effect, "we will move the other orders of the day, because we admit that what you have proposed would greatly benefit the country; but the little paltry considerations of wood, iron, copper, and linen, have tied up our hands." But if the house had done its duty, it would have answered, "Go on; and if you are not dismissed from your places for imbecility, we will back you, by the result of a committee of inquiry, and then you can no longer complain." The house, however, had thought proper to adopt the other course, and thus, in the third year after a definitive treaty of peace, we remained without any rational attempt having been made to restore the commercial and trading

trading interests of the country. Now with respect to our finances, gentlemen on his side maintained, that the way to improve the revenue was by lowering the taxes, as by lowering the duties they would increase the amount of the consumption, and consequently of the income, while the people would be relieved from their burthens. But the right honourable gentleman opposite would do nothing until he could re-enact the income tax. Now he got a loan from the bank with interest; then a loan without interest; then an issue of exchequer bills, and similar expedients; and, in short, the chancellor of the exchequer's system was to have no system, but to leave things as they were under the cheering consolation of the rise in the funds, till circumstances rendered it possible to revive that favourite child of his, of whom himself and the right honourable gentleman near him (Mr. Rose) were continually singing the dirge. But he was sure they never would succeed—they never could, till the house of commons became generally detestable and abandoned. With respect to foreign commerce, there was the same want of articles of importation from abroad, while we were pressed by the competition of foreign skill and foreign capital, so that the finance committee could resort to nothing but an average in their opinions as to the causes of the revenue falling off. It had been said, that though there was some reason to believe the foreign trade would revive to some extent, there was but too much reason to believe it would never regain its former state. This was his opinion, and he maintained it still. There was an incapacity on the part of the continent to take our goods, and their growing activity would go to supersede them. Our advantage lay in our skill and machinery; but at Vienna, Muhlhausen, and other places, they had attained to so much like equal ability, that those who reckoned on such manufactures being exclusively our own, would too soon find themselves under a great delusion. This brought him to a topic connected with our home manufactures. There was a petition proposed by the master cotton manufacturers against the exportation of cotton twist, which was to have been signed by 200,000 of the working people. It had been said that if things should remain in the same situation till next session, there would be no difficulty in persuading the house to enter into a full investigation of the subject, and he should be one who would be most ready to enter into it. But though nobody would be more anxious than himself to catch at every thing that could afford the slightest relief to those people, it was his duty to state, that the more thoroughly the project of prohibiting the exportation of twist was investigated, the more it would be found to have the effect of diminishing the export trade, by the amount of the exportation and the value of the article imported for it, and to increase the price of the article at home. The honourable and learned gentleman proceeded to attribute much of the distress amongst the operating cotton weavers in distant parts of the country, and their reasons for joining persons of discontented views, to there being no permanent and regular connection between them and their employers. He contrasted their situation with that of the clothiers in the west riding of Yorkshire, where the connection was more regular and substantial, and consequently there was less distress and disturb-

ance. He argued that we had no better means of meliorating our general condition than by finding new channels for our commerce. He adverted to the resisting of a proper intercourse between this government and South America; and observed that there was in this precisely the same uniform want of system as in all their other operations. We had a consul at Trinidad, but he only produced his commission after the Spaniards had revolted; while in Portuguese and British America we had no such officer. Every merchant condemned the governor of Trinidad, who had shown himself from the greatest to the minutest details of his government, hostile to the interests of the Independents, and had caused an almost total interruption in the communications with the Spanish Main; so that the price of provisions had been advanced about 1000 per cent. or from *5d.* per pound to *5s. 6d.* He must beg to call the attention of the house to the manner in which ministers had exercised that very preponderating influence which all the victories and credit we had with the allied powers gave us a right to expect. One fact was worth a thousand arguments, and this existed in the case of Genoa, where a circumstance had lately taken place, which showed as great oppression and baseness on the one hand, as humiliation and indecision on the other. It was known that the king of Sardinia, though an ancient and legitimate sovereign, and a model of legitimacy he was, was principally of our creation; he had been expanded by us into such a bulk, as to be almost called our own. We endowed him with Genoa, and the congress declared it to be a free port. He prevailed on the chamber of commerce, in which the British merchants had no representative, to make him a donation to construct a large frigate, and the assessment was carried over all the British and Maltese merchants. These merchants were assessed in considerable sums each, for what was called a voluntary contribution. They applied to Mr. Hill, our resident, who told them to go to the chamber of commerce and make a complaint. They did so; but no answer was given for three or four months, and then they sent a soldier, who was quartered on every British merchant, and three francs a-day levied for his pay. Mr. Hill said the chamber of commerce could not be justified; but there was no help for the merchants, and they had nothing to do but to submit, as there was no means of redress. But the noble lord had consulted the king's advocate upon a half-statement of facts, and no more, and it was made to appear that the extortion was contributed in the shape of a tax; on which the king's advocate decided that the laws of nations had not been violated. Such conduct on the part of an ally, was an insult to us, and a mere mockery of justice. It was a mockery to say that the noble lord could have used no influence, but sat silent, and made no representation or attempt to obtain redress. It struck him that this was an act inexcusable and shameful on his part. But was it to be endured, that the British merchants were to be thus treated and insulted by such little petty contemptible sovereigns, creatures of our own policy, and not to be protected? He next adverted to the preference shown at Genoa to articles of French manufacture, particularly woollen cloth, which paid only three or four per cent. while ours paid seven: so that no cloth could be in future

future exported from this country to the king of Sardinia's territories. He specified numerous other duties to which British commerce was subjected, and argued that it was impossible we could expect any commercial facilities from Russia, Austria, or France, after we had suffered ourselves to be so treated with impunity by such a little petty king. After some severe animadversions on the propensity of ministers for attempting to follow the military mania of the continental powers, he adverted to the large armies which those powers were still keeping on foot; not one of them having attempted to reduce them since the peace. From this circumstance he augured a speedy political shock, notwithstanding the holy alliance, of which Russia was the founder, but who had always had views of aggrandisement at the expense of Turkey, and who could easily compromise with Austria, who seemed to entertain similar views towards this power. He proceeded to comment on the line of conduct lately pursued with respect to Lucien Bonaparte. The course which had been taken by the allies he compared with that adopted by that house on Dyott's divorce bill. The petition presented by Lucien for a passport had been turned into an enactment against him; and not only did they refuse to allow him a passport, but they also decided against granting one for his son, lest this should enable Lucien to cover his designs, and effect his escape to America. He was sorry to see the name of the duke of Wellington connected with this transaction. Such, however, he must observe, was the mania for mixing up military authority with diplomatic arrangements, that he should not be surprised if he were shortly to hear that lord Stewart, the minister of this country at Vienna, was not to act as diplomatists had been accustomed to do, but on the instructions which he might receive from the military commander in chief. In answer to the application of Lucien Bonaparte for passports, it had been stated, that the number of malcontents who had found their way to America, was so great that his presence there might be dangerous. He wished to know what danger could be rationally apprehended from such a man going to America? What was there to be feared from a man like Lucien Bonaparte, devoted to literary pursuits and to poetry, who spent his time in collecting specimens of painting, engraving, and statuary, and in making researches after the remains of antiquity near his seat at Tusculum? The conduct pursued in this instance resembled the policy of the peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648. He recited the answer given to the application of Lucien, and the decision come to by the allies to remove him further from the coast, and to assign him some other abode than Rome. Was it worthy of the allies, or of England, to act such a part? After all the exertions made by this country, was it well that its influence should be exhausted in this way—that it should be used to remove an individual from the dominions of an independent sovereign? If, in this enlightened age, a convent had been ransacked in order to draw from it a monk; if such a character had been taken from his beads and rosaries, to be made an independent sovereign, it should be remembered that we had been the means of setting him up, and had no right to interfere with his authority now. We had however taken upon ourselves

selves to act where we had no occasion to do so, on receiving news that an individual was about to proceed to America in order to assist the plots of the malcontents who were already there. Now, from all that he had heard of the peaceable and decorous conduct of Lucien Bonaparte, both while he was in this country and while he was abroad, where his actions were most sedulously watched, he had reason to believe that the news which had been received concerning him was like that furnished by some of the agents of the noble lord for the home department. Such persons, anxious to be enabled to dispatch a courier with a great bag, or a little scrap of paper with a broad seal (for these things were the luxuries of such agents), if they could not discover any mischief, would endeavour to make some. He could not but suspect that the subordinate spies, who had furnished the information received against Lucien Bonaparte, resembled the Olivers and others that might be mentioned in this country. He next animadverted on the mismanagement of the patronage of the foreign officers. He had nothing to say against the two most respectable officers now representing this country in Austria and Russia; but to appoint two soldiers to situations like those confided to them, he held to be an abuse of that most delicate branch of patronage. He had talked with persons of all countries on the subject of these appointments; and he found that at Vienna, and at other places, there was but one opinion as to the fitness of lord Stewart to fill that situation which he now held. He honoured the professional merits of that gallant officer, but still his appointment he had everywhere found a subject of regret with some, and of blame with others: but those who regretted and who blamed it the most had still been ever ready to do justice to his private character, and to his military talents. The appointment was objectionable, as it ought only to have been given to one who had been bred up in the diplomatic line. He hastily noticed the consuls lately appointed, which he contended were such as reflected no credit on those with whom they originated. It remained for him to mention the posture of the country, in a constitutional point of view. He lamented that the hopes which had been entertained that the catholics would be admitted to a full participation in the blessings of the constitution, had ended in bitter disappointment; new strength had been gained (for it was in vain to attempt to disguise the fact) by bigotry and misgovernment, and the means of raising a new cry of "No popery" had been secured. On this occasion he thought he could descry, as intrusted to certain hands (hands well known too), the repetition of a well known intrigue. This he was sure, that whatever the design might be that had been formed, enough had been done to damp the hopes of the country. The question which had been disposed of was not merely whether the catholics should be admitted to such and such offices from which they had heretofore been excluded; it was not whether this or that branch of patronage should be given to one particular branch of the community; but the question at issue was, whether or not Ireland should be well governed? It was necessary that the claims of the catholics should be conceded, to rescue them from a situation, which in some respects was not superior to that of the negroes in the West Indies.

dies. He did not mean to say that in colour or in treatment they were the same; but the comparison which he made was this, that they were like the slaves in the colonies, in being distinguished from their fellow subjects. The protestants and catholics could not consider each other as brothers and fellow subjects. In this respect their situation was similar to that of the negroes, but with this difference, that a distinction was, in the one case, stamped by the hand of nature; in the other, it was created by foolish, and, he might almost say, by wicked legislation. Till catholic emancipation should be granted, the people of Ireland would never unite heart and hand with this country. The present system must prove fatal to the finances, and not much less so to the liberties of England, as it made an enormously large standing army necessary to the security of the government. At present the catholics were not the only sufferers by the system pursued by ministers. It was in this session of parliament that, for the first time since the revolution, in a period of profound peace, and when there was no risk of the public safety that could scare a child, the liberties of the people were confided to the ministers of the crown, not merely for a limited period, but "*durante bene placito.*" It was important to consider by what hands the new code was to be used. He would assume the noble lord opposite to have been wholly ignorant at the time of what passed in Ireland in 1798, when the victims of the government were taken to the Castle, and thence to the barracks, where they were flogged till their bones appeared through their skin,—nay, till their flesh was nearly cut off from their bones, when gunpowder and salt were rubbed into the wounds till the most excruciating torment was endured, and then, without reprieve, a new punishment had been inflicted. One man had brought an action, for having been flogged (he shuddered to relate the fact) till his bowels appeared through his wounds, when an attempt was made to dispatch him, by throwing him into a dungeon for six or seven days, without affording him any medical assistance. If then such tortures as these could be inflicted in Ireland without coming to the knowledge of the noble lord, for the avowed purpose of extorting confession of crime, what security could the people of England now have, that while he sat in Downing-street the same enormities would not be practised in Cornwall or Yorkshire? He illustrated his argument, by referring to the case of Wright v. Fitzgerald, in which the defendant had avowed that he tortured those who were apprehended, in order to obtain the truth. This man had been supported on that occasion by the son of the chief justice, Mr. Yelverton; and when he applied for a bill of indemnity, the application was sanctioned by the attorney-general, who hoped the house would grant it with one unanimous voice. He did not now apprehend that the torture would be applied in England; but he was afraid that unfortunate persons would be dragged from their homes, and confined, without having deserved such punishment, in solitary dungeons; and it was that which he feared could not be guarded against by all the sagacity of the noble secretary of state for the home department, or by that of the right honourable gentleman opposite. Under these circumstances, he thought the house, after passing the bill for suspending the habeas corpus

corpus act, ought to do all they could to guard against the powers which they had intrusted to ministers being abused, by carrying up an address to the throne, praying that every attention should be paid to those who might be confined under the habeas corpus suspension act. He apologized to the house for the length of his speech, as also for that of the address which he was about to submit to them. He then moved a very long address, embracing, with little variety, nearly all the topics comprehended in his speech.

Lord Castlereagh was sure, after the speech which had been made by the honourable and learned gentleman, that he should be considered entitled to some indulgence from the house, while offering a few remarks on the statements they had heard. If deliberation had been the real object of the honourable gentleman, and not inflammation, the house would see that he would not have brought forward such a variety of topics at a time when it was impossible to go into them. The house would feel, that if half the facts which he had stated were true, he ought to have moved for an impeachment against the parties concerned. They would also observe, that the subjects which he had now pressed on their attention, he had not thought it his duty to bring before them in the course of the session; but having written a pamphlet during its progress, containing a considerable quantity of libellous matter, he now, on the last day the house was to sit, came down to make a speech in illustration of its contents. Knowing what the conduct and what the measures of government had been, he had reserved this attack till the last day of the session, and had now preFaced an address, which he had moved, with a long inflamatory speech, though, from what had been previously said, it might have been expected that he would hardly have spoken on it at all, as his object was understood to be merely to give in his solemn protest against those measures which he could not approve. If the charges now made were well founded, in not bringing them forward sooner the honourable gentleman had abandoned his duty. He had, however, thought proper to come down with them on the last day of the session, in the hope that, taking ministers by surprise, they would not be prepared to give him an answer on every point. He could not thank the honourable and learned gentleman for the candour he displayed, or feel that he was at all indebted to him for any grace or favour that had been shown to him. Knowing the indulgence of the house, he should now proceed to offer such explanations on some of the topics which had been touched upon, as he had it at present in his power to supply. He felt himself called upon to do this, not only for the sake of his own character, and that of those with whom he had the honour to act, but, in order to protect the character of parliament itself against those whose object was to run it down and destroy it: and, among the various attacks which had been made on it, a more illustrious instance of hostility had not occurred, than that which it had been their lot to witness that day. The first most opprobrious charge which he had preferred against parliament was, that it had been wholly unmoved by the distress of the people. Could this, he would ask, be seriously urged by any fair, by any honest man? could it

it be denied by any man that parliament had sincerely devoted itself to the consideration of the public distress—shown the warmest sympathy in the sufferings of the people, and exerted itself to remedy them as far as it could? The extent of the calamity he (lord C.) would not deny. But the honourable and learned gentleman went on to say that parliament had done nothing to relieve the distress of the people, but instead of doing this, they had taken from them their liberties. He would, however, contend, that parliament did relieve them. The first step which it was necessary they should take was to protect them against those disturbers of their peace, who, under the pretext of calling for reform, were endeavouring to destroy the constitution, in the hope of raising themselves to power, by the destruction, perhaps, of all that was dearest to the hearts of Englishmen.—The parliament could not do the nation a greater service than to rescue it from the dangerous designs of such men. What could afford greater relief to the honest and industrious man, than a measure which enabled him to carry on his business without dread of the dagger of the ruffian, without fear of the attacks of the unprincipled and the disaffected? Parliament would have acted the part of a driveller if it had gone into abstract discussions on the subject of a reform, when it was necessary for them to protect the nation against the projects of those whose attacks were directed not only against the character but against the very existence of parliament. He (lord Castlereagh) differed from the honourable and learned gentleman on the subject of parliamentary reform. The changes which the honourable gentleman wished to make in the constitution, he (lord Castlereagh) considered to be of a revolutionary character: he, for his own part, wished to keep the constitution such as it was at present—to ameliorate it where the inroads of time made revision necessary; but, in his opinion, the plans of the honourable gentleman went too far. He (Mr. Brougham) aimed at that which he (lord C.) did not, and he thought tended to the subversion of the constitution. He wished to do that which would only go to maintain and to improve it. He was of opinion that parliament had in the present session done more than could reasonably have been expected from them. He wished the state of public confidence to be looked at. Let this be judged of by the conduct of those who were ever looking to the state of the country for their own interest. Let this be done, and the increasing confidence of honest and good men in the security of the nation would be seen with much satisfaction, to exceed every expectation that could have been rationally formed. Let the increased value of property be looked at, measured by the funds, which, at the time parliament were called together, had been at 62, and which were now 80, and a new subject of gratulation would present itself. Deep as the distress had been at the commencement of the present session, he could not but think that much had been accomplished by the practical relief which had been afforded, and by the improvement which had taken place in the value of property, and consequently in the situation of those whose industry depended on it. Never was there a session in which parliament had done more to relieve the people, and never were the efforts for

that

that purpose more wisely directed to the objects in view, than they had been in this instance. That wealth which we ought to prize above all other riches, the constitution of the country, had been preserved by the measures resorted to by parliament. He thought none but an uncandid mind could charge parliament with having neglected the distresses of the people. He could almost challenge the honourable gentleman to point out one subject of complaint which had not been taken into consideration. It was easy to say taxes ought to be taken off in order to relieve the people; but neither in the speech which had just been made, nor in the pamphlet which the honourable gentleman had written, had it been shown that any one of the existing duties could with propriety be repealed. Was it nothing that what was last year called the permanent expenditure of the country had been materially reduced? It was true it had been stoutly denied on that side of the house that the supplies called for in the last year were to be regarded as the permanent peace establishment; but it had been repeatedly imputed to ministers, that such, from their system, was its real conduct. Now as the honourable gentleman had been pleased to assume that he (lord Castlereagh) was ignorant of those scenes which he had described in Ireland, he would for the moment assume that the honourable and learned gentleman had last year in his view of this subject been perfectly right. Was it then nothing, he would ask, that the expenditure of the nation had been reduced to 18,000,000*l.*; that was, seven or 800,000*l.* lower than it had been calculated by the most rigid critic on the opposite side, that it could possibly be brought? If the committee on the poor laws had not been enabled to come to any determination on the enactment which it might be proper to propose, would it be denied that they had given much of their time to the investigation of this most important subject. He might further ask, had not a bill been passed to sanction an advance of exchequer bills for the purpose of completing public works now in progress, and, in short, he might ask what there was that had not been brought under their consideration? Was it nothing, that a committee had been appointed, on the reports of which no fewer than thirteen bills had been brought in for the abolition and regulation of sinecures? Such measures, it had been contended, could alone save the country, till it was found they were adopted by government; and from that time they had nothing but objections urged from the opposite side, or seen only empty benches. The people of this country might be assured that it was sufficient for ministers to adopt the measures suggested by their opponents, to determine the latter to endeavour by every means in their power to deny them those benefits to which they had before contended the country had an undoubted claim. The conduct of the honourable gentleman in bringing forward the charges urged in his speech, on the last day of the session, had proved that his only motive was a desire to make an attack on ministers at a time when they would least have an opportunity of replying to it. In the early part of the session the course which he had taken was somewhat similar. He had then called for no specific inquiry into the general system of our

commerce,

commerce, or into any particular branch of it. If he had done so, he (lord Castlereagh) could assure the honourable gentleman there would have been found no disposition to resist it on the part of government. He would have found them ready to go into such an inquiry, and willing to give the subject all the consideration in their power. But this he had not desired. He had attacked the proceedings at Vienna, at Genoa and Ragusa, and had favoured them with a learned dissertation on the ancient system of Europe, but had never called for an inquiry. He had moved four abstract resolutions, the first of which declared the state of the country to be very bad, and the last in a sweeping manner described the present system to be the worst that could exist, and represented that which had been established by those who formerly occupied those thrones which were now in the possession of their legitimate possessors, to have been infinitely better. The honourable gentleman of course was always ready with his sneer against legitimacy, and sovereigns who came within that description were sure to encounter severe criticism from him. He had applied himself this evening with great energy to misrepresent the speech of his right honourable friend. The language imputed to him he had not used. He had never given that character of this country's commercial policy which he had been described to have supplied. He had lamented that the system of other governments was that of protections and counter protections, but never broadly condemned the policy of the government of England, as he had been supposed to have done. He repeated, had such been the wish of the honourable gentleman, there was every disposition on the part of ministers to accord him as full an inquiry as he could desire. With respect to Ireland, if what had been advanced by the honourable and learned gentleman were true, he ought long since to have taken up the subject, by moving a personal impeachment against the parties. This was the course which ought to have been pursued by the honourable and learned gentleman. Instead of coming forward with black and malignant insinuations, he should have brought forward the matter in a regular way, and not have come down to make a speech of a libellous character, to which it was his hope, ministers, taken by surprise, would not be prepared to reply.

Mr. Brougham said, it was very unpleasant for him to interrupt the noble lord in the course of his observations; but there were some expressions which, for their own dignity, members of that house would do well to abstain from using.

Lord Castlereagh defended the line of conduct he had taken.

Mr. Bennett spoke to the point of order.

Mr. Canning contended his noble friend had a right to repel the attack which had been made on him as he had done.

Mr. Brougham only complained of particular expressions. He admitted the noble lord was called upon to defend himself if he could.

Lord Castlereagh said he should always consider that such statements as had been made with respect to transactions in Ireland, to which gentlemen were very fond of referring, but on which they had never ventured to raise a single proposition, merited the character which he had bestowed on them. It was likely to be most mischievous in

in its effects, and calculated to countenance traitors to the government. The honourable and learned gentleman had indulged himself for half an hour in condemning the sovereigns of the continent as tyrants. Was it, he would ask, to be expected, that this country could long remain at peace with other nations, if such language were to be held, with respect to their sovereigns, in that house; language which, if used any where but within those walls, would subject the party using it to punishment by the laws of the country? The ministers of the prince regent could not be responsible for the foreign relations of the country, if members conceived they had a right to hold such a course. In answer to what had been said on the subject of Genoa (of which he should have more to say by and by) with respect to the commercial system proper to be adopted, he would say that in his opinion nothing could be more unwise than to impose upon any government of Europe, a commercial policy, which we might think right, but which they would look upon as wrong. He could never sanction an attempt so extend our commerce by such means. The honourable and learned gentleman, however, though he was very indignant that this country should use its influence to protect the settlement made by the treaty of Paris, was willing that it should be exerted to favour the views of British merchants in opposition to every principle of commercial policy. He would never consent to put our commerce in such an odious light as that in which it would be seen, if the course recommended by the honourable and learned gentleman was pursued. The ancient treaties under which particular exemptions were granted to British subjects, were not among those which he valued most. The government might enforce such treaties while they remained in existence, but against the general adoption of the principle of which he must protest, and to such he could never feel himself authorized to become a party. That which had been done in forming our commercial arrangements under the late settlement of Europe, had been done on the advice of the law officers of the crown, and had been in strict conformity with the law of nations. To this course we would still adhere, instead of changing it for that which the honourable and learned gentleman would recommend. He would continue to act on those principles by which his conduct had heretofore been regulated, instead of following the honourable and learned gentleman through those crooked, despotic, and tyrannical paths in which he seemed disposed to tread. He would especially avoid doing this where weak states were concerned; who, instead of being thus oppressed, had a right to look up for succour and protection from our magnanimity and justice. On the subject of South America he had to say, that whenever a question should be raised on the policy of this country towards that country, he was convinced the house would be satisfied that nothing had been done for which the government ought to reproach themselves. Commerce had sustained no injury in that quarter from the measures that had been adopted. It was difficult to show how greater facilities for the introduction of British goods could by possibility be afforded. The fact was, with respect to South America the country had nothing to desire. At present some interruptions occurred owing to the war which

which now disturb that part of the world, and owing to the absence of all settled government; but these were evils which could not be corrected by parliament. With respect to the Austrian troops now in motion, to which the honourable and learned gentleman had referred, he had to state that the Austrian corps d'armée now on its march, was, he believed, on its return from Naples, and news would probably very shortly arrive of its having reached Austria. The interference with Lucien Bonaparte he next justified, and showed that the part which the duke of Wellington had taken was perfectly in conformity with the provisions of the treaty of Paris. The honourable gentleman had represented Lucien Bonaparte (who perhaps had had the honour of his acquaintance) as devoted to literature, the fine arts, and heroic poetry. His past conduct, however, proved him to be a dangerous character. It might be said that it was through him in a great measure that Bonaparte last ascended the throne. He was of opinion that the negotiators at Paris would have proved themselves besotted if they had put the liberties of the Bonaparte family in competition with the peace of Europe, and suffered the members of it to sit wherever they pleased in perfect liberty. The course which had been taken, was in his opinion most lenient; and if it was thought that precautions were now unnecessary, he could assure the house, though he would not now go into particulars, that circumstances had transpired which proved the contrary. With respect to this family, who had made the greatest inroads ever made upon the liberties of Europe, the honourable and learned gentleman objected to any interference to prevent future plots, while he was for cramming restrictions of the most odious character on those legitimate sovereigns whom he called the petty tyrants of Europe. Notwithstanding all that he (Mr. Brougham) had said, he (lord Castlereagh) should adhere to his own avowed principles, and alter his conduct in no respect, for any thing that had fallen from the honourable and learned gentleman. He then commented on the anxiety of the honourable gentleman to send forth his gloomy views of the situation of the country before the session had closed—before the declaration from the throne had been heard. He showed that the armaments at present kept up in the several states of Europe, might be expected to be reduced as low as the most passionate admirers of peace establishments could desire, if they could for a time effectually repress that restless spirit which still laboured to produce new revolutions. The appointments which the honourable and learned gentleman had criticised, as having excluded the diplomatic for the military character, he then defended, as having been necessary at the time they were made. Had not such persons been appointed as ministers from this country, diplomatic agents must have been accompanied by general officers. One must have gone with the ambassador to each court. This would have given an increase of patronage; but such an expedient had been rejected as inconsistent with sound policy. Both the appointments referred to had led to the most satisfactory results. For though the brother he loved (lord Stewart) had not been bred up in the diplomatic line, yet his good sense and experience in the army had enabled him to render

his country essential services. The manner in which he had discharged the duties which devolved upon him, had satisfied, he believed, all his majesty's ministers; and he hoped they were not such unfaithful colleagues, as to conceal from him any cause for dissatisfaction if such existed. He replied to the observations made on the British army now kept up in France. The circumstance of that corps being annexed to the allies, was, he believed, most fortunate, and had greatly tended to conciliate the French people, and to remove from their minds all idea of conquest or dominion on the part of this country. He vindicated the recent appointment of Mr. Reynolds, and showed that he had made atonement for his former treason; that his evidence had been believed by three juries; that the freedom of the Guilders' company in Dublin had afterwards been presented to him by the corporation of that city. This had been given to him as to a person who had rendered important services to the state, since it was on his testimony that the O'Connors and other traitors were forced to confess their crimes, and to implore the mercy of that government which they had plotted to destroy. He contended that Mr. Reynolds had served the country to a very considerable extent. As far as he had heard from lord Chichester, the honourable baronet could have nothing to impute to Mr. Reynolds for his conduct in business. Government would never have known any thing of Mr. Reynolds, even after he had given information, if he had not been taken up to the Castle of Dublin for his anterior intercourse with the traitors. It was then that in self-defence he claimed his having revealed the conspiracy, and was set at liberty. He was, at the time of the rebellion, in good circumstances, and a man of considerable property. As to Mr. Manners, the office to which he had been appointed was only one of two hundred pounds a-year, and of no great political responsibility. Previous to this appointment he knew nothing of Mr. Manners, of his having been engaged in a literary work, or of his conduct having been arraigned. All that he had done on receiving a recommendation of him, was to direct him to call on the under secretary of state, who was to ascertain whether his manners, abilities, and education, rendered him fit for the situation of consul. The answer was, that Mr. Manners appeared to be a man of intelligence and education, and he was consequently appointed. Ignorant at the time of his being the author of a libel, he (lord C.) had since made inquiries, as the fact of an appointment having been given would not certainly prevent its being recalled, if the individual were found unworthy. The learned gentleman had represented Mr. Manners to have received the sentence of the court for slander. That transaction had taken place in 1812. At that period Mr. Manners was studying the law. A short time after he applied to the benchers of Lincoln's Inn to be made a member of their society. A question was then raised against his admission, on the very same ground as that now mentioned by the learned gentleman, who certainly would not say that if Mr. Manners was found worthy to be a lawyer, he was not fit to be a consul. With all the jealousy of a respectable body, the benchers informed Mr. M. that they could not admit him without previous inquiries. They then called on the person who had

had prosecuted him, for a statement of his side of the case, and on Mr. M. for his own. Mr. Manners then wrote to the present attorney-general for his opinion on his conduct as it stood affected by what had passed in court. He (lord C.) had not known till now that Mr. Manners had ever libelled Mr. Finnerty, (whom he had occasion to prosecute himself,) in the "Satirist." But the answer of the attorney-general was most satisfactory. It stated, that he had examined the case, and that nothing appeared improper in Mr. Manners's conduct; that he had been most unfairly libelled by Mr. Finnerty previous to his taking the pen against that individual, who had brought an action for the account of him in the "Satirist," which action the judge and jury thought so entirely unfounded, that only sixpence damages were given. In consequence of this reply, and of their own inquiries, the benchers had informed Mr. Manners, that his character stood justified before them, and he had been admitted. This was another instance of the spirit too often displayed on the other side of the house, not to sift facts, but to bring forward any assertion which might give the triumph of a day. The next appointment complained of was, that of a gentleman to the post of consul at Genoa, and it was objected to chiefly because he had been an officer. He (lord C.) had known him twenty years, and could speak to his being a most respectable character. Lord C. contended, that because the marquis Wellesley's administration had appointed a consul at Buenos Ayres, it was not incumbent on his majesty's government to send consuls to the other parts of South America, that had declared themselves independent. He would not follow the honourable and learned gentleman into the catholic question, where he had lost himself in clouds; but however favourable he was to that question, he deprecated the use that had been made of it to-night. As to the rebellion in Ireland, he knew that he (lord C.) had incurred the inexpiable guilt of protecting that branch of the united empire against the separation planned and so nearly effected by traitors. He had witnessed their endeavours to throw calumny on his name and character; but he had never felt them offensive, for those who knew him would never suspect him to be of a cruel temper, to wish to persecute even the guilty in Ireland, or to adopt any measures but those which were calculated for the safety of the country. If cruelties had been committed, and he did not deny that they had, the blood thus shed should be on the heads of those who had promoted that rebellion, and those who, without joining the traitors, had not behaved as they ought to have done. The loyal had been the persecuted, and not the persecuting. They had only used the arms which Nature gave them to protect their lives and property. Until the martial law bill had been passed, government had had no power to protect the loyal, by whom those enormities had only been committed when they had received no protection from the government, and had taken it in their own hands. It was ungracious to bring such charges, after so many years had elapsed, and when the means of disproving them no longer existed. It was unmanly for myriads of individuals who might have been made to suffer under the arm of the law, but who had been spared by the clemency of the government, to employ that

impunity in calumniating those who had saved them. After a silence of twenty years on acts, which, if they could be proved, should be made the ground of a regular impeachment, and when no attempt of the kind had been made, it was unfair that advantage should be taken of every debate to calumniate those who had protected the country. It was also unfair that the learned gentleman should bring forward such a motion on the last day of the session, when there had been an understanding that he only intended to record his protest without entering into any details, and letting it rest with his illustrious name, for the benefit of posterity.

Mr. Brougham, in explanation, stated, that the scandalous libel of which Mr. M. had been convicted, and for which he had been confined, was not on the prosecution of Mr. Finnerty, but on that of Mr. Hallett, a respectable magistrate in the country.

Sir Francis Burdett was not astonished that the noble lord should enjoy the gratification of a triumph, when it was considered on what bench he sat, and the sympathy which existed between that bench and the majority of the house, who were always ready to support those by whom it was occupied. He contended, however, that the enormities which the noble lord had now acknowledged to have been committed in Ireland, had not been passed over for twenty years in silence. He remembered that whilst they had been carried on, a proposition had been made in this house to declare that it was highly illegal, improper, and inhuman, to force confession by torture. But the influence of the ministers of the day had prevailed. At any rate, neither twenty years, nor even forty, should be a bar to preferring an accusation against the ministers of the country. He then alluded to the panegyric passed by the noble lord on Mr. Reynolds, whose only fault was that he had been engaged in rebellion. He then repeated, on evidence capable of proof at the bar of the house, the charges made on Mr. Reynolds during the trial of his betrayed associates, by his own relations and others, of his having poisoned their mother and stolen several hundred pounds from private drawers. He read the affidavits of major and captain Witherington to that effect, and of Mr. Ballantyne O'Connor, and Mr. Warren, and said that when the counsel for the prisoners had asked him if he denied such a charge, Mr. Reynolds had replied with indifference, that he did not deny it, and that he had employed the value with a whore whom he had in keeping. After hearing such facts, was it possible not to feel disgust at the noble lord, or any other individual who pretended that the character of this Reynolds had no stain? It was equally disgusting to hear the noble lord assert, that the persons tortured in Ireland were the persecutors of their torturers. As to Reynolds, it was not he (sir F.) who had dragged him from his obscurity; it was himself and the government, who had enabled him to live in splendor here, and placed him on a grand jury to bring in bills of indictment, by which the lives of men had been put in jeopardy;—those were the means that had brought him forward. He contended, that such a person, *non probus aut legalis*, was sufficient to vitiate any bill of indictment. He then inveighed against the system of employment of spies—miscreants who, issuing from the secretary of state's office, excited those acts of sedition

sedition on which ministers built their measures to destroy the liberties of the country. He stated that some time since, a person had been sent to a printer, desiring him to print the most inflammatory hand-bills, which were to be sent to a Mr. Nichols, 24, Blackfriars-road. The printer had called with a copy of them at lord Sidmouth's office, where, after waiting a considerable time, a person had come to him to inform him that his lordship was engaged. But what was his astonishment a few days after, when he found that the person who had spoken to him at lord Sidmouth's office, was the very Mr. Nichols for whom the bills had been ordered! He (sir F.) believed that no treason existed but what was the work of government itself. The noble lord was the only one who countenanced traitors. He ought to bring them to trial, if he wished to prove that he was not connected with them. But he said he knew of no stain on the fair fame of Reynolds, and was ignorant of the despicable calumnies vented by Manners against a private, for it was not even a public or political character. These were the traitors, Castles and Oliver. There could be but one opinion on such contemptible characters. As to Reynolds's private conduct, he (sir F.) had been informed by officers, that that person had been guilty of great extortion in the situation which he had held, and had excited general dissatisfaction and disgust in consequence of the large sums which he had taken, and which had never been claimed by any other, either before or since his appointment. But he supposed, that under the present system an order would be invented for those spies! And that as a great torturer in Ireland had been made a baronet, so Mr. Reynolds would be made grand cross of the order! History showed that employing spies was the characteristic of despotic and tyrannical governments. Had the noble lord been Nero's minister, at the time of conspiracies, he could not have made any other speech against traitors than that which he had addressed to the house this night. He wished government at least to explain what they wanted. Was the nation to be governed by despotic acts of parliament, supported by the bayonet out of doors? She was already under a military government, for soldiers were employed every where. He would rather intrust the power of death to any government than that of secret imprisonment. For public executions would be avoided; whilst persons might be snatched from their families and tortured to death by long imprisonment, without its ever being discovered. He instanced the case of an individual, whose petition for parliamentary reform was now on the table of the house, and who from reading that petition to several others, before it was presented, had been seized, loaded with irons, and confined three months in Lancaster gaol, and then liberated, as guilty of no offence. Such was the effect of the power intrusted to ministers. He only owed allegiance to his king: he did not profess it to the house: but if the house would have it, let it say so publicly, and not entrap individuals into acts which are afterwards declared criminal. Let it be proclaimed at once that to petition parliament is high treason.

The attorney-general defended the conduct of Mr. Reynolds, who had not acted as a spy, but as a man who repents of a crime into which he was engaging, and makes

the fullest atonement in his power. The charges against him had been made at the time for the purpose of invalidating his evidence; but his veracity had been established by the verdict of three juries. As to his being placed on the grand jury lately, ministers and their legal advisers had no more to do in it than the learned gentleman himself. The sheriff's officer had summoned that grand jury, like all others, not to return those bills of indictment in particular, but to attend the court of King's Bench on the regular business. When summoned, he had endeavoured to excuse himself on the ground of his having received the commission of consul; but as he had not departed immediately, the excuse was not admitted. As to Castles, he would say, notwithstanding what had taken place, that ministers would not have done their duty to the country, if, with the statement of that man, and the other facts of the case, they had not brought the prisoners, lately acquitted, to trial. He deprecated the idea that a verdict of acquittal in their case proved that no conspiracy existed in the country. He then defended the appointment of Mr. Manners on the same grounds as lord Castlereagh. Unless it were shown that the libel of which he had been convicted was of such a nature as to impeach his moral character, and his conduct as a gentleman, no blame could attach to government for employing him. Much had been said about spies and informers being only used in despotic countries. This was a very convenient doctrine for those who were not averse to conspiracies themselves; but let it be once established that spies and informers are not to be believed, and the complete impunity of the guilty will be established also. He wished their testimony to be received, but with the utmost caution, and only when corroborated by other evidence.

Lord Castlereagh, in explanation, read the resolutions of Lincoln's Inn, in June 1812, to admit Mr. Manners, as, after proper inquiry, they found nothing to implicate his moral character, or his conduct as a gentleman.

Mr. Bennett should repel with proper scorn the imputation cast by the noble lord opposite on this side of the house—that they were abettors of evil and calumniators of all good. He was not a malignant accuser, but he should maintain his right of discussing the conduct of his government. He then blamed the late partition of Europe, and the transfer of Genoa and Upper Saxony, as acts which future historians would mark as blots in our annals. He was disposed to agree with the noble lord's declaration that he had not a cruel heart; he would not say that he had positively encouraged the atrocities committed in Ireland; but he could show persons high in church and state who had countenanced them. He contended that the house had never been silent on the subject. He remembered with what feeling and natural eloquence the late member for Cork had frequently treated it. The noble lord had no right of accusing him and his friends, and God knew that he would not long accuse them, of not bringing the wrongs of Ireland before parliament. If that government would be thought clear of them, why had it associated itself to those enormities, by making sir Judkin Fitzgerald a baronet, a man who ought to have perished on the scaffold to which he had dragged so many—a man who had committed the most atrocious crimes, and who,

who, for a defence, after having flogged a loyal individual in the most horrible manner, impudently said, "that he had flogged hundreds, and would do so again." He then quoted the case of a schoolmaster flogged till his bowels came out, because a French note had been found with him, and Mr. Fitzgerald did not understand French. After that atrocious punishment had been inflicted, the note had been translated, and found to contain the following words:—"Sir, I am extremely sorry not to be able to wait on you at the hour appointed, being obliged to attend sir Lawrence Parsons." He then mentioned other individuals who in their conduct were led only by the love of money and of base lucre, and on whom titles ought not to have been prostituted. He stated that several affidavits had been put into his hands, since he had been in the house, dated 31st October 1810, several of which he should read. They were those of tradesmen in Dublin, who swore that whippings, floggings, and other cruelties, had taken place in the lower Castle Yard, in May 1798, and at the barracks, under such circumstances that they must have been known to lord Castlereagh and the other members of government, as the privy council met daily; another swore that he had seen a parcel of people hunted naked through the streets by armed men, and covered with pitch caps and feathers; and a third, that major Sands had caused him to be taken up, tied up naked by his hands and legs, and whipped till he had received one hundred lashes, when his back was rubbed with salt and gunpowder, which rendered the pain of the wounds intolerable, and then the flogging renewed with still greater ferocity.—Mr. Reynolds swore an oath to be true to the United Irishmen, and then betrayed them. It was very true, that a liar might speak truth: but, because he was believed in one instance, did it follow that his character was good? As to Castles, it might be very true, that the right honourable gentleman knew nothing of him; but it was not true that the noble lord, secretary of state for the home department, knew nothing of him. That noble lord did know about him, for he had a correspondence about him; and yet, after all, let him loose upon the public in the way which had been happily exposed. He (Mr. B.) must caution his majesty's government during the recess, not to continue their old game of employing persons to stimulate people to acts of treason and violence. He begged pardon for having so long troubled the house, for he did not intend to have done so, but for what unexpectedly came out in the course of the debate.

Lord Castlereagh said, that although the honourable member who spoke last said he had not meant to trouble the house, yet it appeared that he had come down to the house fully prepared with the materials for his speech. He would ask the honourable member (Mr. Bennett) whether he had not received from Finnerty those affidavits which he had read to the house? [*No reply was made to this question.*] In the cases of Finnerty and of Jones, the facts were so notorious that it was hardly necessary for him to trespass on the house by offering any refutation of a charge supported by such evidence. The scenes in which he was charged with having been concerned were of a kind so abhorrent to his nature—were such as he was so incapable of taking any part in, that it could not be

wonderful if charges of such a nature did not sink very deeply into his mind. In the case of Finnerty, it was not true that he had been the means of removing that person from the expedition to Walcheren, although this was imputed to him. In revenge, however, for that removal, Mr. Finnerty thought fit to libel him, and impute to him the legal murder of a person named Orr, who had been tried and convicted before lord Yelverton in Ireland. After Mr. Finnerty had been convicted of this libel, he sent to him (lord C.) through an honourable officer now in India, offering to make a humble submission or apology; but he (lord C.) of course declined having any intercourse with Mr. Finnerty. Soon after this he understood that Finnerty went to Ireland, and employed the whole summer in collecting extra-judicial affidavits from his old associates against him (lord C.). Finnerty was a person who had been some time ago convicted, not indeed as a traitor, but as traitorous, and for seditious libels, for which offence he had, pursuant to the sentence of the law, stood in the pillory. He therefore declined any apology or intercourse with this person. The fruits of his labours in Ireland were upwards of a hundred affidavits, obtained in the way just mentioned; and with these he came armed as his justification, when brought up for judgement. When, however, he had read two of these affidavits, he was stopped by the court. Of those two which had been read, one accused him (lord C.) of having, by his own absolute power, sent a man to Botany Bay. When he understood that such a charge was made against him, he certainly felt it to be very extraordinary, because he was perfectly conscious how utterly devoid of foundation the charge was. Let it only be considered what was the situation of a public man who is to be called upon to disprove all the slanderous falsehood which any perjured wretches may devise—And he must really express his surprise that the honourable member who spoke last should hold intercourse with such persons. Indeed, he might never have heard of the accusation in the affidavit, were it not that shortly after it was read in court he received a letter from lord Bantry, and one from captain Sutherland, both of whom stated that they had been members of that court martial of fifteen officers, who had tried and sentenced the person in question to be transported to Botany Bay. The other affidavit read in court by Mr. Finnerty charged him with having been present at the infliction of tortures upon certain unhappy wretches, for the purpose of extorting evidence from them. He would go to the furthest extent in expressing his abhorrence of the arbitrary infliction of torture with the view of extorting evidence. As to this charge, he had only to say, that he had never in his life even seen any person flogged, except in one instance, in his own regiment, at which he had been by his duty compelled to be present. But these two affidavits were only a specimen dragged out of a bundle of more than a hundred such, which Mr. Finnerty had collected among his old associates, from whose treasons he might, perhaps, claim some merit in having delivered the country.

Mr. H. Addington rose for the purpose of doing justice to the character of Mr. Oliver; and in a perspicuous and able statement informed the house, that within the last fortnight an investigation into the

the character and conduct of that individual had been made at the home department, before two of the most respectable magistrates of Yorkshire; and the result of that investigation was a complete conviction that the insurrection did not in any degree originate in any thing said or done by that individual—that he had in April last, for the first time, come to the home department, and that he was furnished with many recommendations from many respectable magistrates—that he asked no reward—that he had got none—that nothing was done for him except the paying of his travelling expenses on the last mission in which he was employed, from the 23d of May to the 5th of June, by the express direction of the secret committee. As to Castles, he had only to say that his noble relative knew nothing of that individual till January last.

Mr. Barham questioned whether the house or the country would attach much importance to the singular sort of tribunal before which Mr. Oliver's conduct and character were investigated. For his own part it had no force in his judgement. He could only say that a right honourable gentleman, now no more (Mr. Ponsonby), told him that he solemnly believed that the last insurrection would never have taken place but for Oliver. As to the system of spies and informers, it was not to their employment in particular cases that any objection was made, but to their employment growing into a regular system.

Lord Cochrane said, he did not expect any thing from this house, constituted as it was. What had the house done to relieve the country from taxes? He expressed a conviction that his majesty's ministers would ultimately, in order to relieve the country, be compelled to reduce the interest of the national debt. The conduct of administration had been such as to make them deserve the name of an Algerine administration.

Mr. W. Smith, with respect to the transactions in Ireland which had been alluded to, said it was a mistake to say that the attention of parliament had not been called to them at the time. The truth was, that not a session then passed during which the attention of parliament had not been called to these proceedings. He then referred to the published report of the vindication of sir Judkin Fitzgerald, which he characterized as a most infamous production. He did not know whether sir Judkin Fitzgerald was alive; but whether alive or dead, it was impossible to speak of his conduct except in terms of the utmost abhorrence and disgust—they were revolting to humanity. He then dwelt with much vehemence, and in very strong terms, on the conduct of the government in Ireland in 1797 and 1798.

Mr. Canning.—After the revival of those charges against his noble friend and the government of Ireland, which not only now, but every time they were brought forward, had been distinctly disavowed, he could not agree that this question should go to the division which was to consign it to the contempt of the house and of the country, without troubling them, even at so late an hour, with a few observations. The honourable gentleman who spoke last had recurred to these charges with unusual acrimony, and upon one individual (sir Judkin Fitzgerald) had been remarkably violent in his invectives. That honourable gentleman said, he did not know whether the individual

dividual whose conduct he traduced was alive or dead; but at any rate the honourable gentleman took care to select as the objects of his attack the absent or the dead. It might be some satisfaction to the honourable gentleman to be informed that in the present case the individual was dead. The honourable gentleman, by experience, knew what it was to attack the living. This subject was introduced upon a motion of such a nature, in which foreign politics were so mixed up with cotton twist, that it was impossible to know that it was to be the occasion of introducing such charges. These charges were of a nature, that if substantiated against his noble friend they would make him unfit, not only for the situation which he now holds, but were even sufficient ground for an impeachment. These charges were not brought forward after a due notice—not in the middle of an active session. He would say nothing as to their being founded on the transactions of twenty years ago: for even these, if they were fairly brought forward, his noble friend ought to be prepared to meet. And by what evidence were they now supported? The house would observe that the honourable gentleman who had been asked the question, did not answer whether he had received those affidavits from a pardoned traitor or a pilloried libeller. He would not say that even from such a polluted source information might not be deserving of notice; and if he might wish that it could be procured from a purer source, that arose perhaps from his not being up to the practices of the times. The afflictions of Ireland had been raked up, and when that was done, it appeared that no atrocity, no crime, no species of private violence or public treason could be found which did not far outgo the worst outrages of the present time. And yet he could not but feel that there must be a time when a veil should be thrown over the crimes and the punishment—when neither should be brought forward without the solemnity of a judicial trial. But now the accusers were safe under repeated acts of pardon and amnesty. Those convicts who had shrunk from the scaffold to obscurity, who had escaped from the gallows to oblivion, now came forward with their charges against his noble friend, under the shelter of his clemency. Thus it was that his mercy was requited. If the legislature consented to pardon, it was not too much to expect that rebellion should remember they had been forgiven. For it was but justice to mention what the delicacy of the noble lord had avoided stating, that it was to his interference in the interval between the government of lord Camden, that the libeller was spared the rest of his punishment. And now the house saw the return which was made for this intercession. Surely if the honourable gentleman had known this, he had too much gentlemanly feeling to have brought statements from such a quarter. Could it be believed that the motion of which such a notice had been given, was to be made the vehicle of accusation against an individual—that it should be made the means of consigning him not to trial, for that would have been fair—not to arraignment on a distant day, for that would have been candid—but to consign him to the misconstruction of five months—to the obloquy of the whole period between session and session!—He would ask whether any member came down to the house with the least suspicion that the subject to be discussed

discussed was the conduct of the government of Ireland in the crisis of 1797 and 1798. Was this so slight a question that it might be treated collaterally? Would the motion before the house, which, with all its alterations and additions, and blots and un-erased pencil marks —among all the many topics which it touched, said not one word about this—would the motion reconcile the house to the conduct of the Irish government?—But in the motion, with all its complicated alterations, one thing had escaped the various heads which had been concerned in framing it. No allusion was made in it to that which occupied no small portion of the attention of the house, and of which the house had in his opinion most properly disposed;—namely, the numerous petitions for parliamentary reform. When the unfortunate historian so often alluded to, who in future times undertakes the task of recording the events of these days, should, for an account of the business of the session now closing, refer to the voluminous epitome of the honourable and learned gentleman, how would he be disappointed! Not one word about those numerous petitions for reform, of the contents of which it might be said,

"——— Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen," &c.

these petitions framed after one pattern, which all bore the stamp and mark of that hand which was so busy in the metropolis, touching the springs and wires which gave motion to the sentient puppets in the distant quarters of the kingdom. How did it happen that the honourable and learned gentleman, when from the Pisgah of the last day of the session he took a retrospect of that land of promise (for so he had termed the late sessions, though in respect to this part of its business, happily it had not proved a land of performance)—how did it happen that he omitted that which principally marked the session? He really wondered that some of the honourable and learned gentleman's friends did not insist upon inserting a paragraph upon this subject. How could they have consented to acknowledge this as a true picture of the session, which omitted the most characteristic feature? How could they acknowledge this portrait, in which the nose was left out?—It might be said of this motion, what the poet had said—

"Authors lose half the praise they would have got,
Did readers know but half of what they blot."

No man who had seen the manuscript of this unfortunate motion could miss observing, that it was even more remarkable by what it left out, than by what it contained. But it was easy to guess why nothing was said about parliamentary reform. There were many gradations among the reformers. There was first the honourable baronet (sir Francis Burdett), who stood forward for annual parliaments and universal suffrage, as established by Hugo the Great, first conqueror of the Picts—who, while he built the wall with one hand, established universal suffrage and annual parliaments with the other.—But the Hugonists had more recent antagonists, who formed the second class and the third class, among whom was the honourable and learned gentleman, who scouted the doctrines of the Hugonists and others, with more ridicule and contempt than he (Mr. C.) could venture to use towards such respectable authorities. When all these differences were considered, it would be less

less surprising that nothing was said in the motion about parliamentary reform. But there was a graver objection to the motion—that it contained not one word about the decision of the house to return the constitution firm and unimpaired. This was the proudest feature in the session. Not one word was said as to what the house had done towards retrenchment. The total abolition of sinecures, against which the cry of the people was so distinctly heard, and so implicitly attended to by the legislature, was also entirely omitted in the motion. The honourable and learned gentleman thought the exhilarating prospects of the country at this time were fallacious, and therefore they were unnoticed. What was the state of the country in January last?—Was it not that then—

"Good men look sad, but ruffians dance and sing?"

But now how has the prospect altered? The words of the poet were now reversed. The ruffian was now abashed, and good men danced and sung. In this state of things the house was to separate, and they might go boldly forth to meet their constituents, satisfied that they had done their duty, and justified in telling them that this happy change, the proceedings of the house in the late session had mainly under Providence contributed to effect.

Mr. Brougham replied.

After a few explanatory words from Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson, the motion was negatived without a division.

July 12.—This being the day appointed for the prorogation of parliament, this house, as is usual on such occasions, was crowded to excess at an early hour, both within and without the bar.

At two o'clock the lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsack, and in half an hour the discharge of 21 guns announced the arrival of his royal highness the prince regent, who, after the usual formalities in the robing chamber, entered the house, and took his seat near the throne.

Shortly afterwards the speaker of the house of commons, very numerously attended by the members of that house, entered the house, and advanced to the bar; the usher of the black rod being on his right, and the sergeant at arms on his left.

The speaker then addressed his royal highness in a short speech, in which he took a review of the business of the session; and, in conclusion, presented to his royal highness a bill, entitled "an act for applying certain moneys therein mentioned for the service of the year 1817; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament."

At the conclusion of this speech the lord chancellor received the bill, to which the royal assent was given.

His royal highness the prince regent then read his speech, of which the following is a copy:—

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot close this session of parliament, without renewing my expressions of deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition. The diligence with which you have applied yourselves to the consideration of the different objects which I recommended to your attention at the commencement of the session, demands my warmest acknowledgements; and I have no doubt that the favourable change which is happily taking place in our internal situation, is to be mainly ascribed to the salutary measures which you have

have adopted for preserving the public tranquillity, and to your ready adherence to those principles by which the constitution, resources, and credit of the country have been hitherto preserved and maintained. Notwithstanding the arts and industry which have been too successfully exerted in some parts of the country to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects, and to stimulate them to acts of violence and insurrection, I have had the satisfaction of receiving the most decisive proofs of the loyalty and public spirit of the great body of the people; and the patience with which they have sustained the most severe temporary distress, cannot be too highly commended. I am fully sensible of the confidence which you have manifested towards me, by the extraordinary powers which you have placed in my hands; the necessity which has called for them, is to me matter of deep regret; and you may rely on my making a temperate but effectual use of them, for the protection and security of his majesty's loyal subjects.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—I thank you for the supplies which you have granted to me; and for the laborious investigation which, at my recommendation, you have made into the state of the income and expenditure of the country. It has given me sincere pleasure, to find that you have been enabled to provide for every branch of the public service without any addition to the burthens of the people. The state of public credit affords a decisive proof of the wisdom and expediency, under all the present circumstances, of those financial arrangements which you have adopted. I have every reason to believe, that the deficiency in the revenue is, in a degree, to be ascribed to the unfavourable state of the last season, and I look forward with sanguine expectations to its gradual improvement.

"My lords and gentlemen,—The measures which were in progress at the commencement of the session, for the issue of a new silver coinage, have been carried into execution in a manner which has given universal satisfaction; and, to complete the system which has been sanctioned by parliament, a gold coinage of a new denomination has been provided for the convenience of the public.—I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country, and of their desire to preserve the general tranquillity. The prospect of an abundant harvest throughout a considerable part of the continent, is in the highest degree satisfactory. This happy dispensation of Providence cannot fail to mitigate, if not wholly to remove, that pressure under which so many of the nations of Europe have been suffering in the course of last year; and I trust that we may look forward, in consequence, to an improvement in the commercial relations of this and of all other countries. I cannot allow you to separate without recommending to you, that upon your return to your several counties, you should use your utmost endeavours to defeat all attempts to corrupt and mislead the lower classes of the community; and that you should lose no opportunity of inculcating amongst them that spirit of concord and obedience to the laws, which is not less essential to their happiness as individuals, than it is indispensable to the general welfare and prosperity of the kingdom."

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The lord chancellor then read the commission for proroguing the parliament till the 25th of August next.

His royal highness now withdrew, and the commons retired from the bar.

CHAPTER VI.

State of Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce, during the Year 1817 *—Distress of the labouring Classes—Plans for their Relief—Poor Laws —Emigration.*

DURING a period of peace, the internal state and circumstances of a country present more ample and interesting materials for the annalist and historian, than any thing connected with or resulting from its foreign relations: This remark is most strictly applicable to Great Britain. If, indeed, we advert to the short time which has elapsed since France was under the power of Bonaparte;—since his ambition and talents, aided by the military ardour and success of the French nation, had reduced nearly the whole of the continent of Europe, directly or indirectly, under his sway,—we might be disposed to think that our attention would still be most anxiously and deeply fixed on the probabilities of the continued repose of France, and consequently of Europe. This, undoubtedly, is an interesting and momentous question; and it is one which would probably fill our thoughts and anticipations, almost to the exclusion of every other, were it not that our own country's situation was so critical, or rather so unparalleled either in its own history or in the history of any other nation. The state in which it has been left at the termination of a most arduous, obstinate, protracted, but successful warfare, may be told in a few words:—A debt of nearly one thousand millions,—a sum almost beyond the grasp of the imagination, or the power of numbers; an expenditure of nearly sixty millions annually; many of the sources of revenue dried up,—some of them certainly for ever; and others, though they may partially recover, yet cannot flow as abundantly and regularly as they formerly did; want of employment, and consequent misery, the lot of a very large proportion of the agricultural and manufacturing classes; the poor-rates, though raised within forty years from about one million to nearly eight millions, totally inadequate to the support of those who claim them; disaffection spreading among those who are thus distressed, and too many ready to take advantage of their distresses to rouse them into open acts of resistance to the government. Such are the features in the state of our country at the conclusion of the second French revolutionary war, that must catch the eye and occupy the thoughts of the most careless observer.

Such being the internal state of the country, it will easily be perceived that a more full and detailed development of it is the paramount duty of the annalist and historian. He will of course not neglect

lect to pourtray the relations which his own country bears to other countries, especially when he reflects that on their continuing to be amicable or of an opposite character, must depend the amelioration, or the increase of the evils under which it labours.

With these impressions we have entered into a pretty detailed account of the state of the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of Britain, ever since she has ceased to be at war; and in this volume we shall pursue the same plan.

We shall begin with the state of agriculture, or rather of the agricultural interests, during the currency of the year 1817. Till within the last half century, when Britain began to be distinguished for the extent and improvements of her manufactures, and the consequent importance of her commerce, it was a favourite position with her politicians and political œconomists, that agriculture was of much more importance to a state, than manufactures or commerce; the reverse position was afterwards maintained; but we are much mistaken, if the circumstances in which the country has been placed during the last two years, have not had a tendency to reconvert her politicans and political œconomists to their former doctrine. This at least is certain; during the two revolutionary wars in which Britain has been engaged, her manufactures and commerce have sustained at least three or four very severe shocks, and from them have proceeded great pecuniary difficulties, as well as much misery among the labouring classes: but these difficulties and this misery were light, and of small extent or duration, compared with those which desolated the land in consequence of the agricultural distress that has taken place during the last two years. It was supposed, if the price of the necessaries of life fell —if corn and cattle were reduced to what were called their peace prices—that the country would benefit much; that the great mass of the people would be the gainers—that our manufacturers would be enabled to sell their goods cheaper, the price of labour falling with the price of provisions—and that the only drawback to all this good, would be the temporary and very limited distress of the farmer. This opinion, though plausible, has been put to the proof, and found utterly erroneous:—All kinds of agricultural produce fell rapidly and greatly in price; but the beneficial consequences did not take place: on the contrary, woeful experience convinced many, who had eagerly looked forward for peace prices, that it was better for them to have full employment at good wages, even though bread and other kinds of provisions were dear, than to see the necessaries of life cheap, while, from want of employment, they were unable to purchase them. In fact, this conviction was wrought in their minds: That cheapness and dearness depend as much on the ability of a person to purchase, as on the price demanded for any article; and that bread may in reality be very dear in France, or any other country, at one penny a pound, if the earnings of the labourer are reduced in a greater ratio.

The distress arising from the depression of the agricultural interests, was first felt in those villages, the shopkeepers, &c. of which entirely or mainly depended for their trade on the demands of the farmers and their labourers: but those shopkeepers, no longer receiving so much from their customers, were unable

unable to spend as much, either in the articles of their respective trades, or for the luxuries, comforts, or necessaries of life: hence, the evil spread to other descriptions of people; and as, when a stone is thrown into the water, the circle widens as it moves from the place of the first impulse, so the evil covered a larger space, as it afflicted those who were more remote from its first seat.

We have already in our former volume pointed out the causes of this depression of agriculture. Before, however, we proceed to describe the state of the agricultural population during the year 1817, it may be proper briefly to recapitulate those causes. In consequence of several years of comparative scarcity occurring while we were at war; and when, of course, there was not only an increased demand for provisions, but also greater difficulty and expense in getting corn from foreign countries; the rent and value of land had risen greatly in Britain. Much land was brought into cultivation, or cropped with wheat, which, if provisions had been lower, would not have paid the rent and expenses. The farmers possessed of a valuable produce, found no difficulty in procuring from the country banks almost any sums that they required, either to render it unnecessary for them to sell their corn, because they were pressed for money, or to extend their farms, or to improve them. While things were in this state, peace came:—the demand for corn, on account of government, almost entirely ceased, while the supply was increased by the importation of foreign grain; the necessary consequence of a diminished demand and an increased supply followed. The price fell much, and rapidly: the country bankers, alarmed at seeing the farmer's produce, on which they had, in fact, lent their money, becoming much less valuable, pressed the farmer to repay them. This he could not do, unless by bringing into market a larger proportion, than he would otherwise have done, of that produce: the supply being thus still further increased, the price fell still more; and the banker's alarm increasing in proportion, the farmer was still more strongly pressed for money. It is needless to point out more fully the operation of those causes, or to add any further illustration of the dreadful state to which the agricultural interests were thus reduced, than barely to state, that while the value of his produce thus rapidly and greatly fell, the burthen of the poor-rates grew heavier, and till he was relieved of the income tax, his taxes were the same;—that is, with much less money coming in for his corn, &c. he had more to pay for the support of the poor, as much to pay to government, and in general as much to his landlord.

While agriculture was labouring under these disadvantages, the dreadful harvest of 1816 occurred; this, though it necessarily raised the price of corn, brought no alleviation of his distresses to the farmer. Indeed, those who, when corn had been raised to an unnatural price during the war, had taken farms, which could only pay while prices were high, and the crops raised on them were good, were by this harvest totally ruined; while, even on land naturally fertile, the produce this year was so scanty, and of such bad quality, that, at the highest price at which it could be sold, it by no means remunerated the farmer for his rent, capital, taxes, and labour. It will be recollected, that

that by the last corn law, the importation of foreign corn was allowed, whenever the average of the maritime districts rose above 80*s.* per quarter: in consequence of the bad harvest of 1816, the price soon rose above that sum; from Europe, at least from every part of Europe except Poland, little corn could be procured; but from Poland and from the United States of America the importations were immense. The country at large were of course greatly benefited by these importations; but the farmer was not benefited; in fact, he was injured in two ways: in the first place, the value of his scanty crop was diminished by the great supply from abroad; and in the second place, a great deal of his grain, being of very bad quality, was rejected for the superior grain thus imported.

It was hoped that the harvest of 1817 would prove more beneficial than that of 1816, both to the farmer and the public; but the climate, which during the latter year seemed to have received a rude shock, from some unknown but powerful cause, did not recover itself during 1817. The spring was distinguished by cold dry weather of uncommon duration. This was succeeded by a short space of intensely hot weather: but the months of July and August —those months so trying to the corn crops in this island, were remarkably cold and wet. Fine weather set in in September; but it seems to have come too late to secure a good harvest, either in respect to quantity or quality, in Scotland and the north of England; and even in some districts of the south of England, the farmers, alarmed by what they suffered in 1816, were so eager to finish their harvest operations, that they injured the quality of their grain. On the whole, however, the late harvest may fairly be said to have been considerably more beneficial both to the interests of agriculture and of the country at large, than the harvest of 1816. In consequence of this, an increased demand for good land, on account of its having been proved that inferior land would not pay, unless both abundant produce and high prices could be secured,—and of capital, from the low state of interest in the funds, being again directed to agriculture, *it* is certainly beginning to recover, and will probably assume a more healthy appearance and a stronger constitution than it ever possessed before.

So far the picture of the internal state of Britain during the year 1817 is pleasing and satisfactory.—We must next turn our attention to the state of manufactures during the same period. In 1816 they were in a dreadful state of depression and embarrassment, arising from several causes. The principal of which were the withdrawing of the demands of government;—this cause, however, principally affected the iron manufactures;—the poverty and distress of all the European nations, who, labouring under the consequences of a long and burdensome war, aggravated by a bad harvest, could hardly be expected to become purchasers of our manufactures, at a time when they could scarcely afford to purchase food:—while the United States of America, cut off from any commercial communication with us by the war between the two countries, had begun to endeavour to render themselves independent of us, by establishing manufactures of their own. Such was the state of our manufactures in the year 1816, and such the principal causes that had reduced them to that state. In the

course of 1817 they began to revive. It is a curious fact, that one of the principal iron-masters in England, who used, during the war, to supply government, annually, with 6000 tons of cannon, in 1817 employed as many furnaces and men, though of course the government demand for cannon was at an end. Thus it would appear that one branch of our manufacture, which, certainly, more than any other, is fed by war, and which, we know, suffered most dreadfully when peace took place, is recovering fast. This fact, probably, can be accounted for only from the circumstance that iron is now used for an infinite variety of purposes to which it was never put till within these very few years. The other great branches of our manufacture are the woollen and the cotton. In our former volume we stated that the former, not depending so much as the latter on taste, caprice, and the uncertainty of foreign demand, is more steady than the latter; of course it did not suffer so much: and from what it did suffer, it is certainly recovering fast. The continent of Europe is again able to become a purchaser of the comforts and luxuries of life; and the United States of America have forgot their enmity to us, in the wise and politic consideration that their country, for a long time to come, cannot possibly direct their labour and capital to manufactures with nearly so much effect and real wealth as it can to agriculture.

Spanish America, or at least that part of it which is in possession of the insurgents, and the West Indies, have also contributed to the revival of our manufactures: but the most surprising circumstance, in the history of our manufactures and commerce, for the last two years, and which cannot be paralleled, even in the astonishing circumstances with which the annals of our manufactures and commerce abound, is yet to be told. To those who are even superficially acquainted with the state of our manufactures, it cannot be unknown, to what a degree capital, skill, and machinery will overcome obstacles apparently insurmountable. At first sight it would seem that that country which produced the raw material in the greatest abundance, and at the lowest price—especially if in that country labour was very low—would be the most favourable for the introduction and prosperity of the manufacture of that material; and that another country not producing the raw material, but obliged to purchase it from the country first alluded to, and moreover labouring under heavy taxes and dear labour, would be utterly incapable of becoming its rival. How completely, and in how many instances, has Britain proved this supposition to be erroneous! Till within these few years, when British iron was rendered equal to Swedish, we brought almost all our iron from Sweden, manufactured it in Britain, and then exported it to that very country from which, in its raw state, we had brought it. A still more striking instance is found in our cotton manufacture: the raw material is brought from a great distance, manufactured here, and then exported among other places, to those countries from which in its raw state it was brought. That machinery is the principal cause of this extraordinary circumstance will appear from the fact, that the silk manufactory, to which machinery is, comparatively, little applicable, or rather little applied, has never flourished among us.

But

But to come more directly to the case to which we alluded above, as at once illustrating the wonderful effects of capital and machinery, and pointing out one cause of the revival of our cotton manufacture. It will be recollected, that when the question regarding the opening of the trade to India was agitated and discussed, it was most confidently asserted by those who opposed the measure, that it would cause the certain and absolute ruin of those who first engaged in the free trade, even if afterwards it should prove lucrative and advantageous. It was said that the East India company already exported a sufficient quantity of all kinds of articles which were in demand among the inhabitants of the East Indies;—that they must be better judges of the wants and demands of those inhabitants than new and inexperienced adventurers; and that their capital would enable them to bear down the private and individual efforts of the adventurers in the free trade. To the opinion that these adventurers would open out to themselves new channels for their goods, or create demands for such kinds as had never been exported, or in demand before, it was answered, that the manners and institutions of the inhabitants of the East Indies were so proverbially fixed and unchangeable, that there was no possibility of altering them so as to induce them to purchase those articles which they had hitherto rejected, or been indifferent to, from the influence of habit or religion.

When the free trade to India proved, at its commencement, beneficial and lucrative, it was said that it had not yet had a fair and ample trial, though this very success destroyed one of the arguments used against it, namely, that whatever might be the fate of it subsequently, and when it was conducted with due caution and increased experience, it certainly at first would be attended with the pecuniary ruin of the adventurers. It succeeded, however, even at first. It did not, like the trade to Buenos Ayres and other places, when they first were laid open to our commerce, produce immense fortunes to the very first adventurers, and then ruin those who next adventured; for those who embarked in the free trade to India profited by it; those who, imitating their example, next embarked in it, profited by it; and at the close of the year 1817 it became one of the most extensive and lucrative branches of our commerce.

By such as learnt that it had succeeded, and was succeeding so extremely well, it was naturally asked, what were the articles sent out to India which the East India company had not already sent in such abundance as amply and regularly to supply the market; and certainly the surprise occasioned by the information of what these articles principally were, must be much greater even than the surprise occasioned by the knowledge that the free trade had succeeded to such a great degree.

All our readers must be well informed, that the manufacture for which India has been peculiarly distinguished, ever since the earliest periods of history which teach us any thing respecting that country, that is at least 2500 years, is the cotton manufacture. The muslins and calicoes of India must have been common in Britain even in the recollection of most of our readers. There were many circumstances which rendered India the favourite seat of this manufacture: in the first place, the wonderfully low

price of labour; secondly, its being the country where the raw material was produced; and lastly, the circumstance that this, like all other trade and manufactures in India, had been hereditary in families from time immemorial, and consequently by them it must have been carried on with all the advantages of experience and skill. Besides, it is said that the climate of India is peculiarly favourable to the spinning by hand (and no machinery is employed) of a fine, soft, and delicate thread. One would imagine, therefore, it could hardly have entered the thought of any adventurer to send to India that very manufacture for which it had been so long famous; and the certainty of failure would have been confidently predicted, had it been told that such a speculation was in contemplation. There seemed another obstacle to this export to India not yet adverted to; namely, the almost insurmountable religious prejudices of the Hindoos, in every thing that regards their food, dress, &c. If, therefore, cotton goods could be sent out to India, and sold there at a cheaper rate than the cotton goods of the country, it might have been apprehended, that the mere comparative cheapness would not have procured them a market.

It is, however, the fact at present—and a fact, perhaps, as astonishing and instructive to political œconomists and commercial men, as any in the whole history of the commerce of this or any other country, not only that the free trade to India has succeeded most surprisingly—so much so indeed as to employ a large number of vessels—fifteen, we believe, from the port of Liverpool alone, and to bring great profits to those who have engaged in it; —but that the principal and most lucrative branch of the trade consists in cotton goods. These goods manufactured in Britain—a country some thousand miles distant from the seat of the growth of the raw material, and where labour is higher than in almost any country in the world, and at least 400 per cent. higher than in India—are exported to India, and sold there with a profit, after all the expense of the freight of so long a voyage, and notwithstanding the market to which they are thus brought is in a country producing the raw material, and where it has been manufactured beyond the reach of history or tradition, and among a people the most bigotedly attached to every thing their own beyond any other nation in the world.

It will naturally be asked, How does this happen; how can our manufactures, in a country where labour is so high, and where the raw material is equally high, compete with the manufactures in a country where labour is cheaper than in any other part of the world, where the raw material grows on the spot, and where, of course, the market is at hand, and consequently there is no expense for freight, insurance, &c.; and even if they could overcome these obstacles and difficulties, how have they managed to overcome the religious prejudices of the natives?

The answer to the first inquiry is highly illustrative of the power of machinery and capital;—the answer to the second inquiry, we are afraid, is not very honourable to the character of our manufacturers and commercial men. The wages of a labourer is certainly much higher in Britain than in India: in the latter country it is not more than 3*d.* or 4*d.* a-day. In Britain, those engaged

engaged in the cotton manufacture, when trade is brisk, will earn at least 3*s.* a-day; and even at present they earn nearly 2*s.* a-day. On the other hand, however, a labourer here, even independent of machinery, will work infinitely more than a labourer in India. This circumstance, of course, has a tendency to reduce the real difference in the price of labour in the two countries; and when to this we add, that by help of machinery, a single individual can perform the work of perhaps 100 men, it will clearly be seen, that by the advantages of machinery not only the difference in the wages of labour, but also the difference in the price of the raw material, and the expense of the freight and insurance of the manufactured goods, may be completely overcome. Such is the fact;—the steam engine acting on most ingenious and highly improved machinery, sets at nought the low price of labour in India, the hereditary experience possessed there, and the advantages resulting from having both the raw material and the market for the manufactured goods at hand. Articles made in Britain from materials which must be brought from India or America, and which articles must afterwards be sent some thousand miles to market, can be sold cheaper than similar articles manufactured on the spot where the raw material grows, and where the articles themselves are sold. This would seem surprising, even if there were no other differences between India and England, in relation to this manufacture, than those just pointed out, viz. that in the former country there is no expense incurred for the freight or carriage either of the raw material or manufactured goods, whereas in Britain a heavy expense is incurred on both accounts;—but the wonder must increase when we reflect, that in addition to these disadvantages Britain labours under the disadvantage of an infinitely higher rate of wages. Machinery, however, which is calculated to do the work of some hundreds of men; and a power, the steam engine, which can give to that machinery the requisite motion, have overcome all these obstacles.

If the unparalleled wealth and resources of Britain have raised her to that rank which she has long held, and still holds, in the scale of civilized nations, it certainly is the duty of the historian to trace and point out every circumstance which has either contributed to, or which illustrates, her advance to such wealth and resources; they must be found in the extension of her manufactures and commerce: her commerce necessarily depends upon her manufactures; and her manufactures have risen to their perfection, principally, from the improvement in machinery, and from the capital and skill of her manufacturers. We are of opinion, that no proof could have been given, at once more striking and satisfactory, of the power of machinery, capital, and skill, to overcome difficulties, and to create wealth, even where there was the least prospect of obtaining it, than that which we have just drawn from the success of the free trade to India.

But we must advert to the second point of inquiry, as connected with the trade. By what means are the religious prejudices and inveterate habits of the Hindoos so far overcome as to induce them to purchase our cotton goods? We have already observed, that the answer to this inquiry will not prove honourable to our manufacturers and commercial

men. The morality of commerce is almost proverbially loose and accommodating. In this branch of trade to India it was found necessary to manufacture the cotton goods as nearly as possible like those made in India, and also to put on them the particular marks by which the different casts in that country are distinguished. It may be, however, that the goods were so marked and manufactured, not so much for the purpose of passing them off, among the Hindoos, as manufactured in India, as in order to render them fit and proper for them to wear, in the same manner as they could be manufactured to suit any other particular market. This is certainly the most candid construction to put upon the fact: and perhaps it is also the best founded: for it can hardly be supposed that the Hindoos are unable to distinguish between cotton goods made in their own country, by hand, and cotton goods made in Britain by machinery, when the distinction is obvious to good judges in Britain.

But it may be asked, What returns are made from India for the increased exports to that country, occasioned by the success of the free trade? When the question of the free trade was discussed, it was urged against its success, that the East India company brought to Europe, or at least to Britain, quite as much of the produce of India as there was a demand for; and consequently that the adventurers in the free trade would not be able to dispose of the goods they brought back. It is evident, however, that a continuance of lucrative exports cannot go on without imports to the same amount. We are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the nature of all these imports, to point them out specifically or in detail; but we believe that the free traders have displaced the East India company with regard to many of these articles in the home market; and that they are thus exhibiting an additional proof and illustration of an important problem in political œconomy and commercial history, viz. that though companies, by reason of their great capital, may possess advantages over private merchants, these advantages are often counterbalanced by the greater activity of the latter, and by their attention and measures being exclusively directed to commercial profit; while in companies there are private and clashing interests, and all their movements are slow, irregular, and too much led by precedent for commercial advantage.

But it was to be expected that the enterprise which suggested the export of cotton goods to India, would find out some new articles for import; and this has been the case. Till the free trade was opened, the cotton wool of India was in general of so coarse a nature, as not to bear the expense of importing into Britain. It was indeed known that very fine wool was produced there, and that of this wool the India muslins were fabricated; but little or none of this fine wool was brought into England. Now, however, the case is different; the growth of fine wool has been greatly increased in India, so that it is highly probable, not only that this country may become one of the greatest markets for our cotton goods, but one of the greatest sources whence we may draw the raw material for the finest and most valuable of those goods. Then will be exhibited another striking instance of the division of labour, and of the wonderful power of machinery and capital—Cotton brought from

from India to Britain, a distance of 3000 miles, manufactured in Britain, and sent back in this state to India, and there sold with a profit sufficient to cover the import and export, the wages of labour, the taxes levied directly or indirectly on it in Britain, and the profits of the importer, the manufacturer, and the exporter.

To this flattering picture of the revival of our manufactures, however, there are some drawbacks: those who labour in them are still paid very inadequately. In order to obtain what will barely support themselves and families, they are obliged to work much longer, and with much more exertion, than is compatible with comfort, or even with health. In 1816 many thousands in the manufacturing districts were totally out of employment; in the year 1817 there were comparatively few in this state, but on the other hand they did not receive a due and adequate recompense for their labour.

As the state of commerce in a great measure depends on the state of the manufacture of those articles which are to be exported, it revived along with the revival of manufactures. On this head, therefore, there seems no necessity to dwell.

Althongh, however, in the course of the year 1817 manufactures revived, and employment was consequently found to many who were before destitute of it, yet in the beginning of the year this was not the case; and even through the year the number of cases of distress and poverty was very great. The benevolence of such as are able to be benevolent in Britain is well known. Various plans and modes of relief, therefore, were suggested and carried into execution for the relief of those who could not support themselves. Most wisely, as well as humanely, nearly all these plans and modes of relief set out on this principle,—that the poor ought to earn the money they got; that above all things, the formation or strengthening of habits of idleness and dependence should be most carefully avoided. It was therefore almost universally determined to employ the poor: where employment could be found that would, even in a small degree, repay the money subscribed, that species of employment was performed; but where none such could be suggested, employment beneficial to the community, though not such as would bring in any profit, such as the making or mending the roads, was given to them.

Among the benevolent persons who came forward with the most zeal and perseverance to suggest plans for the permanent benefit and amelioration of the poor (for it was evident that mere subscriptions could afford only temporary relief) was a Mr. Owen. He is the principal proprietor of very extensive cotton mills at New Lanark, in Scotland. It is well known, that of all kinds of manufacture carried on in this country, that of cotton is the most hurtful to the health, and prejudicial to the morals of the labourers. It was generally thought that these defects were inherent in the very system of the cotton manufacture: but Mr. Owen was of a different opinion, and he determined to exert himself in such a manner, as to prove that disease, ignorance, and dissoluteness of morals might be banished from this manufacture. From all accounts he certainly succeeded in a surprising manner; and this success confirming in his mind his favourite doctrine,—that men are entirely the children of circumstances, he boldly came forward

with a plan for removing distress and vice from the country. This plan he never clearly and fully developed; and so far as he did develop it, it was in many respects objectionable, and in some respects impracticable. His own success at New Lanark by no means warranted his inference, that similar success might be brought about in every manufacture. He did not take into the account many things: he forgot that, in order to accomplish what he had, men of similar energy and perseverance of character to himself must be placed at the head of each manufacture; and that the difficulty of finding such would be very great, if not insurmountable. He forgot the difference between a manufactory situated in a small village, the labourers in which were Scotch, and a manufactory situated in such a populous place as Manchester, the labourers in which were, for the most part, Irish. But, if he had contented himself with merely insisting upon the practicability of greatly improving the condition and the morals of the manufacturing labourers, and in support of his opinions had referred to what he himself had done, perhaps he might have seen his example imitated; but he injured what was sound and practicable in his plans, by mixing them up, or rather founding them upon what was most absurd and visionary. His grand plan was to purchase a certain portion of ground, on which was to be erected a building sufficient to contain a certain number of people;—these were to cultivate the ground, or to work at different trades, but the produce of their labour was to go into a common stock. In short, Mr. Owen's plan, as far as regarded the poor, was exactly according to the Spencean plan, of which we gave an account in our last volume. It therefore encountered great opposition, or rather was met with deserved ridicule, especially when he gave a sketch of the various classes into which the poor were to be divided, according to their religion and politics conjointly.

While this visionary scheme of benefiting and improving the poor was under contemplation in London, a plan had been gradually carrying into execution in Edinburgh, marked by that cool, sensible, and practical character for which the Scotch are distinguished. Though in this part of the united kingdom they are free from the poor laws, and consequently have not the same lamentable proof which exists in England, of the effects of a claim to relief, to debase the character of the poor, and to extend and increase the evil of pauperism, yet the bad consequences of indiscriminate charity had been clearly seen in Scotland. A society was, therefore, formed in Edinburgh, for the suppression of mendicity. The great objects of the plan were to find work for those who were able and willing to work, but could not procure employment; to relieve those who were unable to work; and to make those feel the real evils of poverty who, though able to work, and to obtain employment, preferred being supported by alms. Their object, in short, was to distinguish between the real objects of relief, and those who did not deserve it; and of the former, between those who could work, and those who could not. Their first step was to call upon the inhabitants of the city to give up the practice of relieving mendicants in the streets or at their houses; and to subscribe the money which they were thus in the habit of expending, to the society

ciety for the suppression of mendicity. In return for this money, each person was given a certain number of tickets, which he might bestow in lieu of money; while the members of the society took the trouble of inquiring into the character, situation, &c. of those mendicants who obtained such tickets; relieving such as deserved relief, and refusing relief to such as did not deserve it. The consequence of acting on this plan (seconded as it has been by the inhabitants at large refusing to give money to mendicants) has been that beggars are almost entirely banished from Edinburgh, while each individual who subscribes to the society, has the satisfaction of knowing that his money now goes to the relief of a deserving object.

In Scotland also originated the savings banks, the object, plan, and regulations of which we described in a former volume; as well as pointed out their superiority, in many respects, to friendly societies. Notwithstanding the distress of the times, when of course a large proportion of the labouring classes did not earn so much as was sufficient to keep themselves and families, yet these savings banks have prospered; and consequently we may be assured, that the habit of prospectiveness, and the desire of independence, are gaining ground among the labouring classes. The return lately made to the house of commons represents the rapid increase of savings banks in a much more flattering point of view than had been anticipated. It appears from these returns, that from the 6th of August 1817 to the 5th of January 1818, a period of only five months—and that period by no means one of steady or lucrative employment to the poor—no less a sum than 325,054*l.* was received by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, from the trustees of the savings banks in Great Britain, to be applied for the purchase of stock for the subscribers. This sum has purchased 376,733*l.* of three per cent. stock.

It is indeed only from themselves that the great mass of the poor must look for permanent and really beneficial relief; and it is a lamentable fact, that in England their number is now so great, their condition so deplorable in many respects, and the sum raised by poor's rates so enormous, and at the same time so inadequate to their relief, that the evil must be fairly investigated and met even by the most unpleasant remedies. In a subsequent part of the volume we have given the report of the committee of the house of commons appointed to consider the poor's laws: it is a most interesting as well as a most melancholy document. To think that in England, a country the inhabitants of which boast of their political freedom and privileges, such a large proportion of those inhabitants should have become so degraded in mind and feeling, as to prefer support from charity to the produce of their own honest and industrious labour, is indeed lamentable: while the reflection that the evils of this system, in all their complexity and magnitude, have so incorporated themselves with the present frame of society in this country, as to render their eradication, even by the most cautious and gradual measures, in the opinion of many absolutely impracticable, and in the opinion of all a work of the utmost difficulty, —adds to the melancholy impression thus produced. There are, indeed, two features in the present situation of Britain of a most gloomy and disagreeable

agreeable cast. Trade, commerce, and manufactures may revive; by their revival, and by keeping at peace, we may have a real sinking fund, by having in fact an excess of income above expenditure; the revival of manufactures and commerce may give employment to numbers still dependent on charity; but the blots on our national character will yet remain—namely, the large proportion of our population preferring charity to work; the debasement of character producing this preference, and in its turn resulting from it: the other evil is the great increase of crimes, and the apparent inadequacy of the most severe criminal code in existence to stop the current of crime.

That this picture of a large portion of our poor population is not overcharged, is too manifest from documents of the most public notoriety. In 1776 the poor rates were 1,679,585*l.*; in the year 1803 they had increased to 5,161,813*l.*; and in the year 1815 they amounted to nearly 8,000,000*l.* As the population of England since the year 1776 has not increased in nearly the same proportion, it is plain that the poor at present form a larger part of the population than they did at that period. Besides, in establishing this comparison we should reflect, that at present the sums given by private charity, or through charitable institutions, for the relief of the poor, are much greater than they were in 1776.

To judge of the real prosperity and happiness of a nation, and of the real efficacy of a good government, we must look into the interior of that nation. When we reflect that Britain has come out of the most arduous, protracted, and expensive contest, in which any people ever engaged, with scarcely any permanent evil resulting from it; when we investigate the amount of her revenue, and her commerce, and learn the immense wealth of her merchants and landholders; we are naturally disposed to regard her as a most prosperous and happy nation. But the reverse of the picture is not seen; it is kept out of view; when brought forward, it presents a different result: in it may be seen abject dependence of mind, the most grinding poverty, and the most abandoned profligacy; not amongst a few, but spread over a large proportion of her population.

It is certainly the duty of a wise government, when its attention is not occupied by war, to devote a large portion of it to the state of the great mass of the people; and though in such a country as Britain, where revenue and expenditure are so nearly equal, (besides an immense debt,) much must be overlooked or even sacrificed for the time, which is connected with the morals and improved condition of the people, it cannot be expected that the government will take immediate and decisive measures to root out the evils of pauperism and depravity of morals; yet they certainly ought to be preparing themselves for such a line of conduct, and to avoid as much as possible, by what they actually do or permit, adding vigour to these evils.

As the ministers agreed to the appointment of a committee to investigate the poor laws, it is probable they mean at some future period to reform the administration of them, or perhaps to alter some of their provisions and enactments. But hitherto the only step taken by government of a decisive and permanent nature, to relieve the poor and unemployed, has been to encourage

courage emigration to Canada; and this step they seem to have adopted, in order, if possible, to turn the channel of emigration, from the United States to our own possessions in America. It is not probable, however, that the attempt will succeed on any large scale; and, indeed, it has already been in a great measure abandoned. The climate of the United States is so much better than that of Canada, that this circumstance alone would induce many to prefer the former; besides, there must be a much greater demand for labour in the former, where such immense tracts of land are beginning to be cleared and settled; and the greatest proportion of those who emigrate are from their circumstances and experience much better qualified to labour under others than to purchase land for themselves. Emigration to the United States, not only from Great Britain and Ireland, but from nearly all parts of the continent of Europe, has accordingly been excessive; and certainly, if there are no modes by which that part of the population that the cessation of war, and the decline of manufactures and commerce, have thrown destitute, can be employed in their native countries; it is in every respect much better that they should emigrate where they can support themselves by their own labour, than that they should remain a burthen on their countrymen, oppressed with poverty and abject in mind. But it appears to us, that they might be supported in their native countries: their object in emigrating to America is either to purchase land themselves, or to labour for those who have purchased it. Are there no lands in Europe uncultivated; in exactly the same condition as those lands which the emigrants cross the Atlantic to purchase or cultivate? Is it necessary that the inhabitants of Germany should spend their little all in gaining the shores of Europe, that they may there sell their liberty and labour, perhaps for years, in order to purchase a passage to America? Are there no uncultivated lands in Germany? Does not the adjoining country of Poland present immense tracts of land, which, if cleared and cultivated, would be as productive as any land in America? Are England, and Scotland, and Ireland, so completely cultivated, that no ground can be found, on which those might labour who are now forced to cross the Atlantic to seek subsistence? To these questions, even as they relate to the United Kingdom, an answer must be given in the affirmative. Why, therefore, is emigration not rendered unnecessary by providing land and employment at home? It certainly will not be contended that emigration is a blessing to a country; that a country is benefited by a diminution of population. If, indeed, a country is overstocked with people, it is better that the redundancy should emigrate than starve at home, or become a burthen on those who labour;—then it is necessary, but a necessary evil; it can never be a positive and desirable blessing; and therefore it ought always to be prevented if by any means it can be.

There are undoubtedly great difficulties attending the plan proposed, of finding land and labour at home for those who would otherwise emigrate;—but ought not government to endeavour to overcome those difficulties? When war is to be carried on and taxes are to be levied for that purpose, all difficulties vanish; the interests and property

perty of individuals must give way to what is deemed to be the public good; and are individual interests and property to be infringed upon, only when the public good is to be promoted by the destruction of the human species? Are they to be held sacred, when it may be promoted by preserving the lives and increasing the comforts of mankind? In all European countries, individuals or parts of the community have certain rights over the waste and uncultivated lands;—but does not the good of the whole require that these rights should be given up for an adequate compensation, in order that these lands may support those who must otherwise starve, or be supported by charity, or emigrate? Would not the European governments be in the end amply repaid, if they purchased these lands, and disposed of them on low terms? Is it not likely that those who are now forced to emigrate would prefer remaining in their native lands, provided they could obtain employment? In short, is not this plan practicable, and would it not be advantageous, both to government and the people, though arranging its details and carrying it into execution must necessarily be attended with many difficulties?

We are aware of one objection drawn from the doctrines of Mr. Malthus:—it may be said, this mode of relief would be only temporary; an excess of population would soon again take place, and the same misery now felt, would ensue. But the reply to this objection is obvious: in the first place, it may be made to the increased cultivation of land in America as well as in Europe; it might have been made to the first colonization of America: if it were a sound objection, it would lie even against the peopling of the world at all. And secondly, it is certainly a worthy object both of policy and humanity, to increase the number of those who can support themselves in independence and comfort; and by the very terms of the objection it is admitted, that at the future period anticipated and dreaded, there would be a larger number of people supported in independence and comfort by their own labour than there are at present.

CHAPTER VII.

State of the Currency and Finance—National Debt—Sinking Fund—Revenue—Expenditure—Issue of Exchequer Bills—Rise in the Funds—New Coinage—Partial Resumption of Cash Payments by the Bank of England—Rise in the Price of Gold and Silver—Consequent Disappearance of the new Gold Coin.

IN some of our preceding volumes we have considered the several principles on which the currency and finances of this country are at present grounded; or rather the state into which they have been brought by the operation of various circumstances. This state is such as most directly and strongly to prove the truth of a position,—sometimes true and applicable with respect to individuals, but almost always

always so with regard to the affairs of nations,—viz. that erroneous, impolitic, and prejudicial measures or habits may be pursued for such a length of time, and so intimately mixed up with the very frame of society, that the suffering them to continue is almost a less evil than their eradication. All are afraid that the currency of the country is at present, and has been for some time, in an unhealthy state; because, it is in that state which is necessarily exposed to great and even sudden fluctuations of value. But as this state of our currency has continued so long as to be mixed up with our financial system; and as, moreover, it has been and is beneficial to certain classes of the community, the replacing it by the old condition of our currency is represented either as an impracticable, a useless, or a disadvantageous expedient. In the year 1817, a bill was passed by parliament for the resumption of cash-payments by the bank in June 1818; and during the currency of the former year the bank took measures which indicated a determination to resume the payments entirely at the specified period.—Before, however, we advert more particularly to the nature of those measures and their consequences, it will be proper to advert to the finances of last year; as, to all who understand this branch of political œconomy it must be apparent, that the currency of a country and its finance are closely and mutually dependent on each other.

The grand feature in the finances of Great Britain is its national debt; were this paid off, its revenue, even if taxes were taken off to a large amount, would more than equal its expenditure. Before, therefore, the finance of this country can be properly understood, the exact nature of this national debt must be clearly explained. We have already, in a former volume, given a brief explanation of its nature and origin, but it may be proper here to explain them more fully; and this, in our opinion, is done in the following familiar illustration of the several principles of the funding system, as applicable to the public debt of Great Britain.

A nation, like an individual, may contract debts in a variety of different ways.

When an individual borrows money, he may do so, in the first place, on the security of his simple obligation, granted in the form of a bill, or a bond, for the repayment of the principal sum in a certain time, with interest.

If he finds his personal security insufficient, he may pledge his real property, for the repayment, in different ways.

He may make over to the lender, for his repayment, the rents of such a portion of his estate as will be sufficient to pay up the debt in the course of the next year; or he may make over such a portion of these rents as will be sufficient, not to pay the whole debt in one year, but to pay the interest, and a certain portion of the principal, every year, and thus to extinguish the whole debt in a certain number of years.

If he requires money, and yet does not wish to have his revenue tied up to this extent, he may obtain loans, by pledging such parts of his rents as will be sufficient to pay the lender a yearly annuity in place of the principal or interest of the debt. In this case, the lender will have no right to demand repayment of the money lent; but, in place of it, will be entitled to an annual payment, which may be, either for his life, or that of some other person, for a fixed term of years,

years, or for ever. In all these cases, the annual payment will vary according to the length of time that the annuity will probably endure. Annuities for lives will be naturally the highest. Annuities for a term of years will generally be lower than those for lives, as the term will be usually longer than the probable endurance of life annuities—and perpetual annuities will be the lowest of all.

These different modes, by which debt may be contracted by private individuals, are mentioned, as familiar, but exact illustrations of the different methods by which the public debt of Great Britain has been contracted.

A part of this debt consists of money borrowed upon the credit of bills or bonds for its repayment, exactly similar to those of private individuals. Part of the money raised every year, to meet the necessary supplies, is procured by issuing exchequer bills, navy bills, and ordnance bills or debentures; the nature of which is distinctly explained, by saying, that they are bills or bonds granted by the state, (and all of the same nature, but differing in name, merely because they issue from different offices of government), for repayment of money advanced by individuals.

Another part of the money raised by government is procured by anticipation of the revenue, as it is called; or by pledging certain of the taxes for its repayment. Government may raise a sum of money, by making over to the lender the produce of a certain tax, till such time as the money is repaid. Such of the taxes as are annually imposed, are regularly pledged, or anticipated, every year, for payment of sums, which government obtains, upon their credit, before they are payable; and the lenders receive payment of their advances, as the produce of the mortgaged taxes come in. This mode of raising money is carried into effect through the medium of the bank of England, who make annual advances to government, and receive from the produce of the taxes mortgaged, the amount of these advances, with interest, and, of course, a profit on the transaction; so that the taxes thus anticipated are rendered considerably less productive than they would otherwise be. This method of raising money, therefore, is a disadvantageous and improvident one, and ought not to be resorted to, unless it is ascertained that the necessary supplies cannot be procured in any less expensive way.

This mode of borrowing money, by anticipation of the taxes, led the way to the system of funding, under which the great mass of our enormous debt has been contracted. England had no public debt that deserves the name till the Revolution. The foundation of it was laid during the war which terminated in the peace of Ryswick in 1697. During that war, government obtained loans by the method of anticipation, which has been already described; that is, on a loan being made, certain taxes were mortgaged to such an amount as it was estimated would pay it up in a certain small number of years; —for which period the taxes were accordingly mortgaged. It was generally found, however, that, at the expiration of that term, the produce of the taxes had been insufficient to pay up the loan; and therefore the mortgage was prolonged for an additional term. In this manner a number of different loans were contracted, and a number of mortgages

mortgages of the taxes were made. Several successive loans were contracted by anticipations of the same taxes; that is, a tax which had been anticipated before, for the payment of a certain loan, and which would have paid it up in a certain number of years, was afterwards further burthened, by being appropriated to the payment of subsequent loans. Every successive anticipation rendered the period, in which the tax would pay the loans for which it was thus anticipated, more remote; until at length it was found, that, by this course of proceeding, the produce of the whole taxes then existing was scarcely more than sufficient to pay the interest of the debt which had been contracted.

This happened in 1715, when the different taxes, which had formerly been imposed for definite periods, were rendered perpetual, and thrown into one general fund, which was charged with the interest of the whole amount of the different loans which had been contracted upon the several anticipations of the taxes. In place of continuing to keep separate accounts of the different loans, and of the produce of the different taxes which had been appropriated to the payment of each, the whole produce of the taxes was converted into one indiscriminate fund, for the payment of the interest of one great mass of debt, in which all the previous loans were blended, without distinction. The principal sums were no longer payable to the public creditors, who were only entitled to receive a perpetual annuity, corresponding to the interest;—the capital, however, being redeemable at the option of government. The public creditors, however, could raise money, by selling their right to draw the perpetual annuity on the capital which they had lent, and which was thus funded; and the price which they received would be a sum, in general, equivalent to this capital;—varying, however, at different times, like the price of every saleable commodity, according to the demand there might be for it, and varying also from different degrees of confidence in the stability or credit of the government.

In this manner, the funded debt, which was at first in the hands of the individuals by whom the loans were made, was, by means of these sales, sub-divided into small portions, and diffused over the country. Persons who had money unemployed were enabled to lay it out to advantage, by purchasing, either from the original creditors of government, or from previous purchasers, portions of this funded capital, or government stock, as it was called, and drawing the annuity corresponding to the amount of stock purchased. When they wanted the use of their capital, they had only to sell out, or transfer their share of the stock to some other person, at the current price of the day; and in this way they sometimes received more than the sum they had originally laid out, and sometimes less. The fluctuation of the price of government stock, has, of course, rendered it a subject of commercial speculation. Moneyed men buy into the stocks when the price is low, with a view to make a profit by selling when the price is high; and, in speculations of this sort, large sums are every day gained and lost on the Stock Exchange.

For a considerable time after the commencement of the funding system, the interest of the funded debt was the same as the ordinary rate of

of interest; but government made, at different times, reductions of the rate of interest on different parts of the debt;—till, in 1746, the interest of the whole funded debt was reduced to three per cent. For a considerable time, too, the amount of the capital funded on each loan was equal to the sum advanced by the lender:—that is, the lender became entitled to a perpetual annuity, corresponding to the interest of the sum actually lent, and government was entitled to redeem the annuity by repayment of this sum. But afterwards, when the rate of interest on the public debt was reduced, and when the amount of the debt had increased so much, that loans could not be obtained but upon very advantageous terms to the lenders,—the method was adopted of funding a capital larger than the amount of the loan. The lender became entitled to a perpetual annuity on a capital larger than the sum advanced by him; and the annuity could be redeemed only by repayment of this larger capital.—Thus, when a loan of 1,000,000*l.* (for example) was funded in the three per cents.—or, in other words, when a capital corresponding to this loan was added to the amount of the funded debt, on which annuities were paid at the rate of three per cent.,—it would become necessary, in order to make this capital sufficient to afford the lender an annuity equal to the ordinary rate of interest for money, to fund such a capital as would yield, at the rate of three per cent., an annuity equal to the interest of 1,000,000*l.* at five per cent.; and this capital would be 1,666,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In making a loan, in this way, government, in consideration of an advance of 1,000,000*l.*, becomes bound to pay perpetually five per cent. per annum on this sum; and adds to the funded debt of this country 1,666,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* which must be paid before the annuity can be redeemed. It must be observed, however, that, when a loan is funded in the three per cents., the lender is generally satisfied with an annuity under the ordinary rate of interest on the sum which he advances, in consideration of the advantage which he expects to derive from the rise in the price of stock; as, when this rise takes place, he can, by selling the capital funded in his name, put in his pocket a sum beyond the amount of the sum which he had advanced to government. Though, therefore, it is not usual for government, in funding a loan of a million in the three per cents., to burthen themselves with an increase of debt to the extent of the sum above mentioned; yet, it may be said, that, for every million which government has actually received for loans funded in the three per cents., they have added not much less than a million and a half to the funded debt of the country.

Since the general reduction of the interest of the national debt in 1746, to three per cent., it has been the practice of government to fund a great proportion of the debt since contracted in the three per cents., in the way already explained. But loans have also been made, since that period, by funding capitals bearing annuities at four and five per cent. These do not differ from the three per cents. except in the difference of the rate of annuity, and in the circumstance, that the excess of the capital funded, above the actual loan, is smaller than in the three per cents. There is, however, always an excess, even in the five per cents.

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Government has also made loans by granting to the lenders annuities for lives, or for terms of years, exactly analogous to the annuities granted by private individuals. The annuities of the latter description are called long annuities, and those at present subsisting are all made to terminate in the year 1860. Loans have sometimes been contracted entirely upon these annuities; but they have most frequently been granted in addition to the annuities created by funding the loans in the three, four, or five per cents. Thus, it has been usual, when a loan has been made, to fund a capital corresponding to it, and to give, besides, an annuity for a life, or for a term of years. Suppose, for instance, that 1,000,000*l.* was lent to government, and that a capital to that amount was funded in the three per cents., the deficiency in the yearly interest of the capital lent was made up by giving the lender a terminable annuity of so much more per cent. upon the amount of the loan. This method was generally followed before the introduction of the system of making up for the deficiency of the interest on the loan, by funding a capital larger than its amount, and appears preferable to that system, because it enables government to make the terms of the loan sufficiently advantageous to the lender, with respect to the amount of his interest, without producing the evil of increasing the capital of the debt much beyond the sum actually received by government.

Though it is only, strictly speaking, by repayment of the capital of the funded debt, that government can extinguish the perpetual annuities payable to the public creditors, yet government can redeem these annuities by purchasing up the capital at the current price of the day;—and, in this way, they can redeem the three or four per cent. annuities by the payment of less than the amount of the funded capital. Capital in the three per cents., for instance, can be purchased at prices varying generally from 60*l.* to 80*l.* for every 100*l.* of this capital;—and, when the price of stock is at 80*l.*, government may redeem a million of debt for 800,000*l.* But this does not take away the evil of funding by an increase of capital. Loans are almost always contracted in time of war, when the price of stock is low, and are redeemed in time of peace, when it is high. Suppose a loan made when the price of stock is about 60; and that government, on receiving only 600,000*l.*, funds a capital of 1,000,000*l.* On government redeeming this debt, when the price is 80, they must do so by the payment of 800,000*l.*; thus paying 200,000*l.* more than they received.

By the different modes of funding already described different kinds of stock are created—some at three, some at four, and some at five per cent.

The public debt of Great Britain at present amounts to nearly 11,000,000,000*l.*; not, however, sterling, as is often supposed; but of stock of all the different kinds. The interest of the whole debt, redeemed and unredeemed and floating, is about 44,000,000*l.*: of this about 27,000,000*l.* is for the unredeemed debt; 14,000,000*l.* for the sinking fund; and the remainder is the interest of the floating debt. Properly speaking, however, the real debt consists only of the unredeemed and the floating; for the redeemed debt is in fact paid up, although its interest is still raised

in taxes: the value of the floating debt will be afterwards explained, when we come to treat of the exchequer bills issued in the year 1817.

From this statement it will appear that the income of this country ought to cover the interest of its unredeemed debt and of its floating debt; and besides effecting these objects, it ought to discharge its regular expenditure. If the revenue is equal to the accomplishment of all these objects, though the national finances cannot improve, they cannot grow worse; but if, in addition to these objects, its revenue will afford a sum sufficient to constitute a sinking fund of any magnitude, then its affairs must be in a state of progressive improvement, because the sinking fund will be gradually reducing its debt—and of course enabling the government to take off some of the taxes.

We have long had a sinking fund in name: that is, a certain portion of the taxes has long been appropriated to pay off a part of the debt; but as, at the very same time, we were adding to our debt to an equal or greater amount than was paid off by the sinking fund, this fund was absolutely of no avail, and in fact was an expensive mockery.

It was hoped that when peace arrived the sinking fund would become really efficient; because, it was hoped that, during peace, our expenditure would be so much reduced, and our income so improved, that there would be an excess of the latter over the former, which excess would constitute a real sinking fund. In 1816 this was far from being the case: our expenditure was not reduced near so much as was expected or hoped, for it was particularly heavy in that part of it which related to the army;—while, on the other hand, our income, instead of improving, became worse.—Such was the case in the year 1816: in the year 1817 our income (including that of Ireland, for the revenue accounts of the two kingdoms were consolidated in January 1817) reached only to the sum of 51,000,000*l.*;—in 1816, it had been about 57,000,000*l.*, not including Ireland. But then in 1816, about 11,000,000*l.* of income tax had been paid in, and in 1817 only about 1,100,000*l.* Independent of this cause of deficiency, however, there was in 1817 a falling off, in some of the most important branches of the revenue—particularly in the excise. With regard to the expenditure, one branch of it of course remained the same, or nearly so—the interest of the debt and the sinking fund; and the peace establishment was reduced to about 18,000,000*l.* Hence it will appear that in this year the income was nearly sufficient to pay the interest of the national debt, to support the peace expenditure, and to keep up the sinking fund.

As, however, the income and expenditure were not balanced; and as, moreover, during the three first quarters of the year the income fell much below the expenditure, it was necessary that the chancellor of the exchequer should supply the deficiency by some financial scheme. To a loan there were many objections: in the first place, it was apprehended that the very idea of being obliged to have recourse to a loan in time of peace, would lead to unfavourable inferences regarding our national resources:—but a more serious objection was, that if a loan were raised, fresh stock must be created, and thus the operation

ration of the sinking fund would be retarded. The chancellor of the exchequer, therefore, had recourse to a large issue of exchequer bills, which in fact was raising a loan;—when these exchequer bills became due, he paid them either by the produce of the taxes or by new exchequer bills. The bank of England also took them to a very large amount.

So great was the accumulation of capital in the country, beyond the demand for it, that although the interest of exchequer bills was reduced considerably below five per cent. and the issue of them during 1817 was between 50 and 60 millions, yet they bore such a premium as still further reduced their interest, in some cases and at some times, even below 3 per cent.

When government itself received this premium, at their first issue, it is evident it was borrowing money very advantageously; and even when it got no premium, the terms were highly favourable. The advantage of this plan will be further apparent, when we consider that the money thus borrowed at a low interest was in fact employed to reduce the national debt; and though to borrow money at five per cent., in order to pay off a debt bearing the same rate of interest, is, to say the least of it, a very useless scheme; and to borrow money in order to pay off a debt which bears a lower rate of interest than the money borrowed, is a ruinous scheme (both of which were done during the late wars),—yet the plan of borrowing money, at a low rate, to pay off a debt at a high rate of interest, is a wise and beneficial scheme of finance.

Unfortunately, however, this benefit cannot be obtained to any considerable extent: for the same causes which produce a great demand for exchequer bills, and consequently lessen their rate of interest, must affect the funds: besides, the funds were raised by the operation of another cause, more steady and regular than the investing in them of accumulating unemployed capital.—In a former volume we pointed out, how a sinking fund could neither really benefit the nation nor raise the funds, so long as the sums raised by loan were equal to the amount of that sinking fund:—the latter part of this position it may be proper again to illustrate rather more fully. Let us suppose that the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt are enabled to lay out a sum to the amount of 12 millions annually: that is, in other words, they purchase and invest in their own name, as much stock annually, as, at the price of stocks, 12 millions sterling will command; if at the same time there was no increase of stock, it is evident that by thus diminishing the quantity of it in the market, the price of it must rise, provided no circumstance occurred to lessen the demand for it: but, during the war, there was an annual loan; and those who advanced it received in return a certain quantity of stock, or, in other words, the amount of stock was increased. It is evident, therefore, that while the amount of the national debt, or of the stock in which it consists, was increased, by the creation of new stock, as much as it was diminished by the purchasers employed to redeem the national debt, no rise in the price of stocks could take place; because the price of stocks, like the price of every thing else, depends on the proportion between the supply and demand: by the purchases of the

commissioners, the supply or quantity in market was diminished; and therefore, if no new supply had been brought in, the stocks must have risen, the demand continuing the same; but this new supply was brought in, in the form of the stock created, to pay those who advanced the loan.

We have deemed it necessary and proper to go rather minutely into this subject, because, in fact, ninety-nine people in a hundred are very vague and ill informed in their notions respecting everything that is connected with finance, and especially respecting the nature and operations of the funds, and the paying off of the national debt.

Having thus explained the several principles on which the stocks rise and fall, it will be proper to consider in what mode the sinking fund operated on them at a period when there was no loan. The revenue was by no means equal to the expenditure in the year 1817; this deficiency the chancellor of the exchequer might supply, either, as in the time of war, by a loan, or by the issue of exchequer bills: he preferred the latter; apparently, for two reasons. In the first place, he issued them on more advantageous terms than those on which he could have obtained a loan. We have said there was a large accumulation of unemployed capital in the country; and this capital, those who held it were more willing to vest in exchequer bills than in a loan, which in fact would have been in the funds; because, in exchequer bills, it was more readily got back, if they wished to employ it in trade: hence the chancellor of the exchequer borrowed money on those bills at a much lower rate of interest than he could have done by way of loan—but secondly, he thus also avoided the necessity of funding; for when the exchequer bills became due, the holders of them were paid by new bills, or the bank of England took them up. Thus, the necessity of funding being avoided, the quantity of stock was not increased; and the sinking fund, having fair play, operated on the stocks, without any counteraction from a creation of new stock.

Hence the stocks rose to a great height. In November 1817, the 3 per cent. consolidated stock was rather above 84. It is supposed, however, that other causes, besides the operation of the sinking fund, or the quantity of stock bought regularly by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, operated to raise the funds. There always are men of great capital who have great influence on the stocks. A few years ago, the Goldsmids, a Jewish family, by their connexions could bring such demands for, or such supplies of stock into the market, as greatly to affect the price of the funds. A few years after the death of the principal person of this house, the house of Rothschild, (who are also Jews,) by the extent of their money dealings began to affect the funds; and there can be no doubt that they and their connexions co-operated with the sinking fund in raising the price of stocks. There was, however, another cause which contributed to the effect of raising the funds to the height which they attained in November and December 1817. By an act passed last session, for the consolidation of the exchequer, it was enacted, that in order to make the period at which the finance accounts and the accounts of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt were made up correspond; the money available

available by the commissioners for the reduction of the debt, between November and February, should all be laid out between November and the 5th of January,—one of the quarters to which the finance accounts are made up. Now, it is evident that the demand for stock, by the commissioners, between November 1817 and January 1818, being greater than usual, in so much as in this period of two months was laid out by them the sum always before laid out in three months—the price of stocks would rise.

Having thus explained the causes which produced the rise in the funds, it will be necessary to revert to the observation we made,—that this rise was not advantageous to the nation, so far as the reduction of the national debt was concerned; for it is plain, that when the 3 per cents. are at 60, a greater quantity of them may be purchased by a given sum than when they are higher; the reduction of the national debt, therefore, must go on at a slower rate, and require more money to accomplish it, when the stocks are high, than when they are low.

The chancellor of the exchequer was in some measure compensated for this disadvantage by the demand for the exchequer bills: it was supposed he looked forward to another benefit from the rise in the funds. All the different species of stock are redeemable at par; but as the 3 per cent. stock originally bore an interest of 5 per cent. (and the same is true of the 4 per cent.); and as their par, or the price at which they are redeemable, was not changed when the interest was lowered, it is evident that neither the 3 nor the 4 per cents. can be redeemed under 100—a price to which the former, at least, are not likely to rise. It is different, however, with the 5 per cents.; they have risen to 100, and hence probably might be paid off: hence they never are proportionally so high as the 3 and 4 per cents. Now, it was supposed to be the intention of the chancellor of the exchequer to pay off the 5 per cents. if he could have raised the 3 per cents. to 90 or upwards; for the holders of the former stock, it was imagined, would gladly take 100 in the 3 per cents., for every 100 they held in the 5 per cents. and a small sum in money, rather than receive the whole in money, at a period when it was scarcely possible to employ capital at all. If this measure could have been carried into effect, the interest of that part of the national debt, which constitutes the 5 per cent. stock, and which amounts to about 140 millions, would have been reduced from 5 to 3 per cent.; and thus a great saving would have been made to the public. But towards the end of the year 1817 the funds fell; and as they fell still more in the beginning of 1818 (from causes which in our next volume we shall investigate), there was no opportunity of carrying this plan into execution.

We do not think that in writing the annals of such a country as Britain, any excuse is necessary for thus going into the details of its finance: it is indeed a topic which the annalist and historian in general pass over in silence:—but unless it is entered upon pretty fully, how can the state of the country be explained or understood? And as it is a subject on which, as we have before remarked, very few indeed have clear ideas, it seems the more proper and necessary to illustrate it. The two leading topics respecting

ing what may be called the money transactions of the nation, which we proposed to discuss in this chapter, were the finances and the circulating medium:—the former, we trust, we have explained with sufficient minuteness; but before we proceed to the latter, there is an intermediate topic to be noticed, also connected with what we have called the money transactions of the country.

It might have been supposed that at a time when there was so great an accumulation of unemployed capital in the country, and when, for this capital, a rate of interest much lower than the usual and legal rate, could only be obtained in the funds or other public securities, —the price of land would have risen, and that mortgages on land might have been procured easily, and to almost any amount. This, however, was not the case;—when the price of stock affords 5 per cent. for money, land generally sells at such a rate as to bring in about 3½ per cent.: when, therefore, money in the funds brought in only about 4 per cent., it might have been supposed that 3½ per cent. derived from land would have been preferred; but the fact was the reverse. In the midst of this great accumulation of capital, and at a period when the funds were at their highest rate, it was scarcely possible to raise money on the mortgage of land, and extremely difficult to sell landed estates. The former is easily explained;—the difficulties and obstacles which by the laws of England lie in the way of recovering money vested in mortgages on land, are so great, that few persons wish so to vest it, except those who have no prospect of otherwise employing their capital.—With regard to the purchase of land, a similar cause seems to have operated against employing money for that purpose: so long as it was in the funds or in exchequer bills, it was speedily and easily available for any other purpose which promised better returns; but if locked up in land, this was not the case. There were, however, two other causes operating to the same effect: in the first place, monied men were apprehensive of investing their capital in land, after the dreadful losses agriculture had sustained by the bad harvest of the year 1816; and in the second place, though the funds afforded a lower rate of interest than usual—lower than what mortgages gave, and very little higher than what could be secured by the purchase of land, —yet capital might be increased in the funds: if the 3 per cents. were at 70, the holder did not get 5 per cent. for his money; but the chance of their rising to 80, and of his increasing his capital one seventh by this rise, induced him to rest content with a smaller rate of interest; and in fact, if he had bought in at 60 he still secured 5 per cent. for his original capital, notwithstanding the rise in the funds. The case therefore stood thus: If a holder of stock sold out at 70, he might procure 5 per cent. on mortgage for his money; but on the other hand, if he permitted his money to remain in the funds, it was more easily and readily available, and in case of rise, he increased his capital.

Hence, notwithstanding the accumulation of capital, and the high price of the funds, it was extremely difficult in 1817,—especially in the early part of the year,—to sell land, or to raise money on mortgage; and hence the agriculture of the country was little benefited from the

the accumulation of capital. As soon, however, as those who held money in the funds began to realize, as it is called; that is, as soon as, from a belief that the funds had reached their highest point, they began to sell out,—money flowed towards land and agriculture; mortgages could be procured at 4½ per cent., and land sold at a higher rate.

We come now to the consideration of the circulating medium of the country, a most important but difficult topic. It is well known that prior to the year 1797, the bank of England notes were payable in specie on demand. In consequence of a *run* upon the bank at that time, an act of parliament was passed restraining them from paying their notes in coin, till a certain period: this restriction was afterwards continued; and in 1811, a committee of the house of commons was appointed to inquire into its effects, and the propriety of taking it off. The ministers contended that it could not be safely taken off during the war; and accordingly it was ultimately determined that it should continue till June 1818.

All political œconomists, as well as practical men, agreed that the return to cash payments would be attended with great difficulty. So far they agreed: but they differed with respect to the benefit and the effect of this measure. By many it was concluded, that paper money not convertible into cash on demand served all the purposes of cash; and not being of intrinsic value, was a much more cheap medium of exchange: they therefore doubted the necessity or the advantage of resuming cash-payments. Besides, they also doubted whether the immense commercial transactions of this country could be carried on, and the interest of the national debt, or rather the taxes, could be paid by a circulating medium of coin. In this latter opinion they were joined by those who maintained that the resumption of cash-payments would be a national blessing, but who denied that they could be resumed, and the taxes paid to their present amount; at the same time the arguments by which they supported this opinion were certainly ingenious. They assumed that low prices and heavy taxes were incompatible; that if the farmer sells his wheat at 3*l.* per quarter, and his beef and mutton at 3*s.* 6*d.* per stone, he is not nearly so well able to pay the taxes, as if he sold the former at 4*l.* or 5*l.*, and the latter at 4*s* 6*d.* or 5*s.* 6*d.*; and they further maintained, that high prices and a circulating medium consisting entirely of coin were incompatible; because a circulating medium in coin could not be nearly so great in amount as a circulating medium in paper; and consequently, as price must depend on the demand, or, in other words, on the quantity of money in the country, if coin were substituted for paper, prices would fall. The whole of this argument went on the idea that, if the bank of England resumed cash-payments, only coin would circulate; or at least, that the amount of coin and paper in circulation would not be equal to the amount of paper, while the restriction continued; and it likewise supposed, that as soon as coin could be obtained for bank notes, the latter would no longer be taken.

Notwithstanding the real, as well as the imaginary and theoretical difficulties in the way of the resumption of cash-payments by the bank of England, the chancellor of the exchequer declared that they

would be resumed in June 1818; and the bank itself declared that they were not only prepared, but anxious to resume them. Before this, however, could take place, there were two preliminary and preparatory measures necessary: the diminishing of the amount of the issues of paper money by the bank of England, and the preparation of a new coinage.

Towards the end of the year 1815, and during the whole course of 1816, circumstances had occurred which had diminished the paper circulation, not only of the bank of England, but also of the country banks. It is evident that this circulation will be greatest when agriculture, trade, manufactures, and commerce flourish most, and when commercial confidence stands firmest; but at the period alluded to, agriculture, manufacture, and commerce were in a very depressed state, and confidence was much shaken. On the one hand, therefore, less circulating medium was required to carry on a diminished agriculture and trade; and on the other hand, the bank of England and the country banks were much more cautious in the loan of their paper money. Besides, a great number of the country banks failed: this necessarily diminished the amount of paper-money, both directly, and indirectly by lessening the confidence that was placed in the banks that stood the shock.

The number of country banks in 1797, when the restriction was first imposed, is not exactly known. According to Mr. Thornton, in his Essay on Paper Credit, there were 353; but other accounts reduce the number to 230: probably there were 300. In the year 1800 they amounted to 386; in January 1810 to 721; and in subsequent years to between 800 and 900. After this they declined in number.—The following remarks offer a very probable conjecture of the amount of the circulating medium of the country in 1797, when the restriction act was passed, and in 1812, when the system of paper money had attained its summit.

It is certain, that the circulation of all the old established country banks has greatly increased since the restriction, and may be held to be at least doubled. Assuming the issues of the 300 private banks existing in 1797 to have averaged 50,000*l.* each in 1812, and supposing their issues in 1797 to have amounted to 30,000*l.* which allows only 20,000*l.* of increase, that will give an addition of six millions to the circulation from this source.

Supposing the issues of the 500 private banks established since 1797 to have each averaged 40,000*l.* in 1812, that would constitute a further addition to the currency of twenty millions *.

Now, if we could ascertain the quantity of specie in circulation in 1797 and 1812, we would be able to make a pretty accurate estima-

* Mr. Tritton, in his evidence annexed to the Bullion Report, estimated the country bank paper then circulating (April 1810), at 20,000,000*l.* and Mr. Richardson at 30,000,000*l.* The former of these gentlemen reckoned each bank, on an average, to have 30,000*l.* in circulation; but the latter must have computed their issues at above 40,000*l.* for at that time there were only 721 country banks. There seems little doubt that Mr. Richardson's estimate was at the time very moderate: and it is certain the issues, as well as the number of the country banks, were considerably increased, subsequently to the rejection by the house of commons of the recommendation of the bullion report,

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tion of the actual increase of the currency in that interval.

Mr. Whitmore, governor of the bank of England, was of opinion, that the quantity of gold coin in circulation for the three years previous to the restriction, was rather below than above twenty millions*; but supposing it to have amounted to that sum, and that there was besides three millions of silver currency, that would make the entire specie in circulation in 1797 twenty-three millions. The whole gold and silver in circulation in 1812 has been estimated as low as three millions; but taking it at four, the whole amount of the currency at these different periods will be as follows:

1797.	£
Bank of England notes in circulation	11,000,000
Issues of 300 private banks 90,000*l.*	9,000,000
Gold and silver in circulation	23,000,000
Gross amount of the circulating medium in 1797	43,000,000

1812.	£
Bank of England notes in circulation	23,500,000
Issues of 300 private banks 50,000*l.*	15,000,000
Issues of 500 private banks 40,000*l.*	20,000,000
Gold and silver	4,000,000
Gross amount of circulating medium in 1812	62,500,000

If these calulations are nearly accurate, they show that an addition had been made to the currency, in the interval between 1796 and 1813, of about twenty millions over and above the specie displaced, or sent abroad.

The circulating medium of a country may be really increased by other means than by its multiplication.

Where commercial detail is well understood, where credit is high, and where there is a brisk circulation of produce, a very small quantity only of circulating medium is required in proportion to the payments to be made. In London, and other large towns in Britain,

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* App. Bull. Rep. p. 121.—There was coined, in the period of the great recoinage, from 1773 to 1777, both inclusive, of gold £19,591,833
Remained in circulation of old guineas of heavy and light weight, not brought in, [Chalmers's Comparative Estimate, p. 350] about 2,000,000
There was coined in the period from 1778 to 1796, both inclusive, of gold, ... £ 28,863,437
But Mr. Rose states, that very near one half of the gold coined from 1778 to 1798 was procured from melted light guineas, &c. [Brief Examination, App. No. 4.] and therefore deducting 14,000,000
There remains sum added to the currency from 1778 to 179-, both inclusive 14,863,437

£ 36,455,270

Now supposing eight millions of gold coin to have been locked up in the coffers of the bank of England, of the country banks, and of individuals in 1796: and estimating at other eight millions the quantity of guineas sent abroad as subsidies, during the American war, and the three first years of the late war; including those exported by individuals during the unfavourable exchanges of 1783, 1794, 1795, &c. (which, considering that no seignorage is exacted from the gold coin in this country, and that, therefore, when melted down, it may be exported without any loss, is certainly a very moderate allowance;) it results that Mr Whitmore's estimate may be justly considered, as coming as near the truth as it is possible to attain in such matters.

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the œconomizing of currency is carried to a great extent; the number of notes in circulation compared with the amount of payments that are constantly making, being very small indeed.

Mr. Thomas, inspector of the clearing house in Lombard-street, states the average amount of the drafts on the different bankers balanced there daily at 4,700,000*l.* and that not more than 220,000*l.* in bank notes are required for that purpose. Mr. Richardson, whose vast experience renders him an excellent judge, states as his opinion, that the London bankers did not, in 1810, require so many notes by one-eighth in proportion to the amount of payments made as in 1802. [App. Bull. Rep.] The same system of œconomizing money having been greatly extended throughout the country since 1797, though there had been no actual addition made to the then existing currency, it would have been virtually increased to a considerable extent.

During the depressed state of agriculture and commerce in 1816 and 1817, the number of country banks was reduced from between 800 and 900 to between 500 and 600; and it is probable that those which still existed issued less paper money than formerly. The issues of the bank of England do not appear to have been considerably diminished: in the course of 1817, however, they issued notices that they would pay certain of their notes in cash; and this was considered by the public, and represented in parliament by ministers, as indicative of, and preparatory to a full resumption of cash-payments.

Nearly at the same time a new coinage of gold and silver was issued; the amount of the former was about four millions and a half, and of the latter nearly as much; making in the whole between eight and nine millions. This measure had become indispensably necessary: with respect to silver, there was no coin except bank tokens; which, from the fall in the price of silver, were not nearly equal in value to the rate at which they circulated—or shillings and sixpences of still less intrinsic value; and with regard to gold coin, none was to be seen.

It was apprehended that there would be great difficulty in exchanging the old silver coin for the new coin; and that the loss, either to the public or individuals, would be considerable. Neither of these circumstances, however, occurred; the whole business was managed with great judgement and prudence; and in the course of a few days the whole old silver coin had disappeared, and was replaced by the new coin. A loss undoubtedly was sustained by the public, since all the silver coin which appeared to have come from the mint was taken and exchanged at its nominal value, though its real and intrinsic value was in most instances little more than three-fourths of its nominal value. The loss, however, to the public arising from this cause was trifling, when contrasted with the advantage of possessing a good and ample silver currency.

The gold and silver coin which was issued differed from the old gold and silver coin of the country: instead of guineas, twenty-shilling pieces called sovereigns were issued; and half sovereigns or ten-shilling pieces instead of half-guineas. This was a proper and convenient alteration, since thus an approach was made to the decimal division of coins. In other respects the

the new gold coinage resembled the old gold coinage: the standard was the same, and from the ounce or pound of gold bullion the same amount of coin was made; so that a sovereign contained $\frac{113}{123}$ parts of the gold contained in a guinea, and the half-sovereign in proportion.

The silver coinage consisted of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences: the standard remained unchanged; or, in other words, in a pound troy, or 480 grains of standard silver, there were thirty-six grains of alloy, and consequently 444 grains of pure silver; but a seignorage was charged or deducted at the mint. In all former coinages of silver, a pound troy of this metal was coined into fifty-two shillings; but in this new coinage fifty-six shillings were coined from a pound troy of standard silver bullion: and if a person took a pound of bullion to the mint for the purpose of having it coined, the mint were empowered, by act of parliament, to return fifty-two of the new shillings, or $\frac{52}{56}$ parts of a pound troy, retaining four shillings or parts for the expense of coinage. This new plan was adopted for the purpose of preserving the new siver coinage in circulation; for it is evident, that as long as a pound in any given weight of the precious metals is more valuable as coin than as bullion, it will not be melted into bullion; and as both gold and silver coin had disappeared in consequence of the bullion price of these metals rising above their mint or coin price, it was hoped that this evil would in future be prevented. A charge or seignorage of four shillings for coining a pound of silver was fixed upon, as it was thought that this would be sufficient to preserve the silver coin in circulation, while at the same time it would afford no temptation to coiners; for, it is evident, if the metals in the form of coin should be much more valuable than in the shape of bullion, a strong temptation would be created to coin both gold and silver.

At the time when the new coinage was issued, gold bullion of standard fineness was selling for about 3*l.* 18*s.* per ounce, and silver bullion for about 5*s.* 3*d.*; or in other words, as an ounce of gold is coined into 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* and an ounce of silver (before the late alteration) was coined into 5*s.* 2*d.* the market and mint prices of both these metals were nearly the same.

In a short time, however, the price of gold bullion began to rise; and the sovereigns and half-sovereigns began to disappear from circulation: and as the price of gold bullion continued to advance, the new gold coin almost totally disappeared.

It is one of the most important duties of the historian to record instances of good or bad management, not merely in the political but also in the financial administration of a country. The latter, as we have observed more than once, has seldom been deemed within the province of a historian; yet how can the military operations of a nation in a time of war, or its commercial enterprises in a time of peace, or the sources of its wealth and strength both in peace and war, be properly detailed, if what regards its finance is not developed by the historian. Posterity ought not to be compelled to seek in detached and fugitive pamphlets for information respecting the state of the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and finances of Britain, in so far as they are connected with, illustrative of, or conducive to the condition of its inhabitants,

inhabitants, and the stability and prosperity of its government. Of what relates to the œconomy of a country, there is no subject more interesting or important than the state of its circulating medium; and therefore the circumstances which render it steady and pure, or the reverse, require to be fully and plainly developed.—From this consideration we shall now proceed to investigate the causes which led to the sudden disappearance of the gold coin.

Two causes immediately suggested themselves: one was eagerly embraced by those political œconomists who had all along contended for the depreciation of the paper currency of the country, from its over-issue, and who had fixed upon the rise in the market-price of gold and silver bullion above mint price, as a proof and consequence of that depreciation. As soon as the price of gold rose, and the new gold coin disappeared from circulation, they declared that the issues of bank paper must have increased. On the other hand, those political œconomists who had always been averse to the opinion that the rise in the price of gold and silver was connected with, or sprung from, an over-issue of paper currency, contended that the rise in the price of gold, and the disappearance of the new gold coin in 1817, proceeded from the circumstance that the foreign exchanges were unfavourable to England; and this unfavourable state of the exchange they attributed to the immense amount of bills drawn on England by Englishmen residing abroad.

But there are serious and insurmountable objections to both these hypotheses: In the first place, it is evident, that if the increased issue of bank paper was the cause of the rise in price of gold, that cause must at the same time, and equally, have affected the price of silver; but while the price of gold rose to 4*d.* 1*s.* per ounce, the price of silver was only 5*s.* 4*d.* which in fact was below the mint price; since the mint price of silver, now that a pound troy is coined into fifty-six shillings, is 5*s.* 6*d.* the ounce. An increased issue of bank paper, therefore, even if proved actually to have taken place, could not operate on gold alone, but must have also had a similar and equal effect on the price of silver; and as this was not the case, another cause must be sought for to account for the rise in the price of gold, and the disappearance of the coin. In the second place, with reference to the foreign exchange being unfavourable to this country, and to this circumstance operating on the price of gold, the fact was the reverse; for the foreign exchanges, though nominally against, were in fact favourable to Britain. The par of the real exchange (as we had occasion to show in a former volume) depends on there being an equal quantity of pure silver or pure gold in those coins of any two countries in which the exchange is estimated: for example, if in twenty shillings of English money, and in twenty-four francs of French money, there was the same quantity of pure silver, then the exchange between the two countries would be at the real par, when a pound sterling, or twenty shillings, exchanged for twenty-four francs. But let us suppose that in twenty shillings English there was less pure silver than in twenty-four francs, then the real par would be altered. Now, by the new regulations respecting the silver coinage, as a pound of standard silver is coined into

into a greater number of shillings than it was when the par between the two countries was fixed at twenty shillings for twenty-four francs, it is evident that twenty of these new shillings will no longer contain as much silver as formerly, nor so much as twenty-four francs contain; and therefore, the exchange will appear to be against England, even when it is really at par. Let us suppose, for instance, that by the new mint regulations twenty shillings now contain only as much silver as twenty-three francs, the real par of the exchange between the two countries will be when twenty shillings exchange for twenty-three francs; though twenty-four francs still being regarded as the par, the exchange will appear to be unfavourable to England, when twenty shillings are equivalent only to twenty-three francs.

The fact was, that at the period when the price of gold advanced, and nearly all the new gold coin had disappeared, the exchange was really favourable to this country; or in other words, a smaller quantity of silver in English coin exchanged for a greater quantity in French coin.

As therefore it is plain that neither of these assigned causes,—the increased issue of bank-paper, nor an unfavourable exchange,—will account for the rise in the price of gold, and the consequent disappearance of the new gold coin, some other cause must be sought after; and this efficient cause will, we apprehend, be found in the new mint regulations regarding the silver coin.

The relative value of the precious metals, or of gold and siver, is more uniform, and more nearly the same, in all commercial countries, than the relative value of any other two commodities. It may vary a little in the same country at different periods, or it may differ in different countries at the same time; but in the former case, as well as in the latter, the variations and differences are very trifling; or if circumstances increase them to any considerable amount, they soon become trifling again. To speak broadly, and without minute exactness, the relative value of gold and silver in most countries is about 1 to 15, or 15 and a fraction; in other words, an ounce of pure gold is equal in value to, or will exchange for rather more than 15 ounces of pure silver.

When 52 shillings were coined out of a pound of standard silver, the relative value of gold and silver in this country was as 15½ to one; or, 15½ ounces of silver in coin were equal in value to one ounce of gold in coin. But a little reflection will convince us, that even if no alteration were made in the mint or coin relative value of gold and silver, from the relative value of these metals in bullion, by increasing or diminishing the number of pieces into which a pound of gold or of silver was coined, still circumstances might arise which would alter this relative value.

In order to render our illustrations more simple and clear, let us suppose that the relative value of gold and silver was as 1 to 20; and that an ounce of silver was coined into one piece, and an ounce of gold was also coined into one piece;—it is evident that twenty pieces of silver coin would be exactly equal in value to one piece of gold coin. But the relative value of these two metals, like the relative value of any other two commodities, may be changed by altering the proportion between the demand for them and the

the supply of them. If, for instance, while the quantity of silver continued the same, the quantity of gold was increased, the price of gold, as measured in silver, would fall; or, one ounce of gold, instead of exchanging for twenty ounces of silver, would exchange only for nineteen or eighteen ounces. On the other hand, if the quantity of silver increased, while the quantity of gold remained the same, the value of silver, as measured in gold, would fall; or twenty ounces of silver, instead of purchasing one ounce of gold, would purchase only $\frac{19}{20}$ or $\frac{18}{20}$ of an ounce.

Let us now suppose, that while the relative value of gold and silver in coin continue the same, or as 1 to 20, that gold in bullion, either from its becoming more scarce, or from silver becoming more plentiful (for these circumstances both operate to the same effect), becomes of greater value than as 1 to 20 to silver in bullion; so that one ounce of gold will exchange for twenty-two ounces of silver:—what will be the consequence with respect to the gold and silver coins? Undoubtedly the gold coin will disappear, and the mode by which it will be taken out of circulation is by no means difficult to be pointed out. By the supposition, twenty ounces of *silver in coin* are equal in value to, or will exchange for, one ounce of *gold in coin*; but one ounce of *gold in bullion* is equal in value to, or will exchange for, twenty-two ounces of *silver in bullion*. A person, therefore, who with twenty ounces of silver in coin, obtains one ounce of gold in coin, obtains that which, when reduced to the state of bullion, will purchase twenty-two ounces of silver in bullion:—a lucrative traffic, therefore, will be carried on, by drawing the gold coin out of circulation by means of the silver coin.

That this is not mere theory may be proved by a reference to what took place in this country in the beginning of the eighteenth century. At that period the quantity of bullion contained in a guinea was, at the relative prices of gold and silver in the market, worth twenty-one shillings and fourpence, while a guinea could legally be exchanged only for twenty-one shillings; and yet this small profit of fourpence on a guinea was sufficient to withdraw them from circulation; for the bullion in a guinea being obtained in exchange for twenty-one shillings, and afterwards sold for twenty-one shillings and fourpence, the operation being frequently repeated, afforded such a profit as induced many to embark in the trade.

To apply these remarks and illustrations to the topic more immediately before us:—By the present mint regulations with respect to the silver coinage, the relative value of silver in coin, and gold in coin, is different from the relative value of silver in bullion and gold in bullion. Twenty-one shillings are still deemed equivalent to a guinea, and will exchange for one; but twenty-one shillings no longer contain as much silver as they did; therefore the same quantity of gold in coin is purchased by a smaller quantity of silver in coin than could be formerly; whereas it requires as much silver in bullion to obtain any given quantity of gold in bullion as it did formerly.

Hence a little reflection will show us that there must be a profit in withdrawing the gold coin from circulation. A pound of silver of the standard fineness is coined at Birmingham, or any other place except the mint (for the mint by keeping

keeping, back the seignorage would prevent any profit from the transaction), into fifty-six shillings of the legal weight; with fifty-two of these shillings as much gold coin can be obtained as will pay for the pound of silver, which was thus coined, leaving a profit of four shillings (with the exception of the expense of coinage) upon the transaction. We say that fifty-two of these shillings will purchase as much gold as will pay for the pound of silver, because the relative value of our gold and siver coin remains the same, that is *3l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* the ounce for gold, and *5s.* 2*d.* the ounce for silver.

This operation will continue either till all the gold coin is withdrawn from circulation, or till the price of gold in the new silver coin advances in proportion to the depreciation of that coin; for to retain the same name to any coin when its intrinsic value is lowered, by its containing a smaller quantity of the precious metal, is in fact a depreciation of such coin. Now, in order that the relative value of our gold and silver in coin should be the same as their relative value in bullion, it is necessary that the guinea should exchange for *22s.* 7½*d.* of our present silver money; and the price of gold in that silver money ought to be *4l.* 3*s.* per ounce, in order to render the relative value of our silver coin, and gold bullion, the same as the relative value of silver bullion and gold bullion: but as at present silver in bullion can be purchased for *5s.* 4*d.* per ounce, and when converted into coin, is worth *5s.* 6*d.* the ounce; and as, moreover, gold may be purchased in that silver coin for *4l.* 1*s.* per ounce, whereas it is worth in it *4l.* 3*s.* according to the relative value of gold and silver bullion, it is evident, that if the mint were to issue twenty millions of sovereigns instead of four or five millions, they could not be kept in circulation so long as the silver coin is issued of its present reduced weight, while only the same number of shillings are allowed to be given in exchange for that gold coin.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of Parties, and their Conduct in Parliament—Ministers—Opposition—Grenvillites—Sir Francis Burdett and the Advocates for Reform—Remarks on Reform in Parliament, and other Species of public Reform.

FROM the elucidation and discussion of topics, which are rather dry and abstruse, and are not generally deemed to fall within the peculiar and legitimate province of the historian or annalist, we turn to topics of a very different nature;—we mean the state of political parties in Britain during the year 1817.

It is needless, and would be a waste of time, to prove that in such a country as Britain a view of the political parties which exist in it, at any particular period, and especially of such parties as take a regular and important share in the proceedings of parliament,—is absolutely essential to the right understanding of its history, as well as to a due

a due and just appreciation of the strength and extent of the different political principles and feelings, which must always exist and operate in such a country as Britain.

But though such a discussion is totally uncalled for, and therefore need not be entered into, yet it may be proper and instructive to preface our history of the state of parties in Britain during the year 1817, by some remarks on the alleged benefits derived from political parties, and on the inconveniences, if not the absolute evils, to which they are exposed.

It is contended, that unless there were political parties, public business could not be conducted. By political parties is understood an association of public men who, agreeing generally in their political principles, and in the view they take of the interests of the country, and of their own duties towards it, resolve to act together on all public points. Ministers contend that unless their friends formed such a party; that is, unless they could on all great and vital questions depend on the support of the members of their party, they could not carry on the business of the nation. While opposition contend, that party must be opposed by party; and that if ministers have a firm phalanx of friends, who on all great and vital questions vote with them, it is absolutely necessary that their phalanx, however inferior in numbers, should be as firm and unanimous on all such questions.

This is plausible, and would be satisfactory reasoning, provided the members of a political party were always associated and acted together, from strict uniformity of principle; and provided also, that the principles on which they did associate and act together were all of them just and well founded. But, in the first place, with respect to the opposition (we do not now allude to the opposition of the present day, or to any particular opposition, but to the opposition as we suppose it has always existed and acted in this country), —with respect to the opposition, is it not proved by their public conduct, that one of their operating, if not avowed principles is, uniformly to oppose ministers? Can it justly be said that they give credit and support to ministers, even in those cases in which the measures of ministers are most clearly and decidedly for the public good? If proof were wanting of this position, it might be found in the circumstance, that often when an opposition have come into power, they have adopted and defended those very measures which, while out of power, they reprobated and voted against. The same remark may be made with respect to that party of which the ministers for the day are the head: they almost uniformly object to measures introduced and recommended by the opposition; so that in fact the axiom of each party seems to be—that whatever the other party does or recommends must be wrong and injurious to the country. Can political party therefore be really beneficial to the country? can it fail to warp the minds and soil the consciences of those who embrace it, if this axiom is necessary to its existence?

Let us now consider the separate members of which any particular party is composed. If they are staunch and really party men, they are expected to support their party, not only on questions which they do not understand (for this conduct may be defended on the plea that they can confide in the intelligence of the heads of the party), but also

on

on questions which they believe to be injurious to the country. That this is no unfounded or exaggerated statement, the history of all periods of Britain will sufficiently prove;—and yet can political party require such conduct in its members? If it does, are the benefits it bestows on the public an adequate and full atonement for such dereliction of principle? for it can be called nothing else. What then, it may be said, ought to be the leading and fundamental rule on which a public man should act? ought he not to unite himself with any set of public men? To this it may be replied, that the only bond of union should be sameness of principle and uniformity of views on all grand public questions. We are much mistaken if public conduct pursued simply, and in all cases, according to this rule, would not more benefit the nation, than public conduct as it is now pursued; and we are confident, that if public men acted on this rule, they would gain and preserve a much larger share of the approbation and confidence of the people—which in fact would at once add to their strength, and ensure those public benefits which their measures were calculated and intended to produce: for a measure, in itself really beneficial to a nation, will often prove neutral, or actually injurious in its effects, if it is not agreeable to the wishes of the people; while it will take a deeper root, spread more widely, and produce more lasting benefit, if it not only meets the wishes of the people, but also is the act of those men who have secured their approbation and confidence.

Having premised these observations on the mode in which parties are formed in this country, the principles on which they act, and the consequences which flow from parties thus formed and acting,—we shall now proceed to a view of the different political parties, in the year 1817.

The circumstances by which the present ministry of Britain attained their power, and been enabled to reduce the influence and the numbers of opposition almost to absolute insignificancy, have been already detailed in some of our preceding volumes. They may, however, be here briefly recapitulated; indeed, they may be summed up in two particulars:—the unexpected success of ministers, arising much more from good fortune, than wise conduct on their part; and the total want of prudence, we had almost said of common sense, in the opposition, at the time when political power was either in view or actually in their grasp. Not even the most zealous and devoted adherent of ministers will contend that they are men of superior talents: in fact, without one exception, they are men of very inferior talents, when compared with the great statesmen of former times; and yet the unparalleled difficulties of the period at which they obtained power—whether we look to political events, or to the state of the country with respect to its commerce and finances—seemed to require the most profound abilities, acting upon, and sharpened by, the utmost degree of experience as statesmen. They exhibited, however, during those difficulties great steadiness, and no common share of prudence, moderation, and good sense: their steady adherence to a line of conduct which required rather perseverance than activity, and which certainly did neither require nor admit of much deviation, benefited them in the same man-

ner, as a man's life is often saved in the midst of a storm, in a dark night, by standing still, till the storm passes away. Mr. Pitt had been active in his opposition to Bonaparte; he had infused his activity into the potentates of Europe, but not into the minds of their subjects: the consequence was, that all his measures increased and strengthened that power which he wished and expected to destroy. The present ministry, on the other hand, allowed Bonaparte to destroy himself by his own measures; they only stood by, prepared to take advantage of his blunders. Thus with little real risque, and with very inferior talents, they witnessed the accomplishment of that, which Mr. Pitt had in vain so long endeavoured to achieve. Hence they became popular: and till their conduct in 1817, (which we shall presently describe,) they continued popular, from the hold which their success had given them on the minds of the people, as well as by the moderation and good sense of their most important measures.

The opposition have been once in power, and twice has power been within their grasp: but at none of these times did they conduct themselves either with prudence and good sense, or in such a manner as to secure the confidence and approbation of the people. Mr. Fox had lost a considerable share of his popularity before he came into power, in the year 1806,—not so much perhaps by his opposition to the war with France, as by his backwardness to rejoice in victories gained by British valour: he was still, however, very popular when he came into power at the period alluded to: but his union with lord Grenville, and the persuasion that his easy temper and un-business-like habits, would in too many points yield to lord Grenville's politics, destroyed a large portion of his popularity. On his death, lord Grenville's influence being now much increased, the whig ministry became still less popular; nor did the cause of their going out of office regain them that hold on the feelings, good wishes, and confidence of the nation, which they had lost by not pursuing measures of œconomical and political reform while they were in power. At the time of the regency in 1811, and afterwards on the death of Mr. Perceval, they might have come into power; but they conducted themselves with so little prudence, and raised up so many frivolous obstacles, that it almost seemed as if they wished to have some excuse for declining power.

Since the latter of these periods, the successful termination of the war against Bonaparte, and the death of their most eminent leaders, have greatly weakened their influence both in and out of parliament.

Such is a general view of the state of the ministerial and the opposition party at the beginning of 1817. During that year, their actual as well as their relative state changed.—Let us first consider the ministerial party. There are at least three men in it, to whom the nation has always been disposed to give credit for moderate and liberal views and conduct, and for feelings and principles by no means in unison with tory notions of government;—we allude to the earl of Liverpool, lord Sidmouth, and Mr. Vansittart; the two latter had indeed formed part of the whig administration, and therefore, from them might be expected some whig notions on government. But a very different idea was formed of lord

lord Castlereagh: a suspicion rested on his political principles from his conduct in Ireland, in bringing about the union with Britain; and it was supposed that his love of political freedom, and his attachment to purity of political principle, had not been strengthened by his having been so long and so intimately connected with the potentates of the continent of Europe during the latter period of the war. Lord Castlereagh, however, is uniform and consistent. This can hardly be said of Mr. Canning—his abuse of, and expressed contempt for the earl of Liverpool, and especially for lord Sidmouth, and his quarrel with lord Castlereagh, have not served to make him popular, or to create confidence in him. He is undoubtedly a dexterous, and at times a splendid advocate for ministers in parliament; but his speeches do not impress on the minds of those who hear or read them, a conviction that they come entirely either from the feelings or principles,—they are more like the declamations of a sophist, or the set harangues of a counsel.

During the year 1817, lord Sidmouth lost a considerable portion of his popularity, by the passing of the act for the suspension of the habeas corpus, and by the measures subsequent thereto. These topics will be afterwards considered; at present we are touching upon them, solely with reference to their effects and consequences on the state of the ministerial party. As lord Sidmouth was secretary of state for the home department, he was supposed to be more concerned in the suspension and in the subsequent measures, than any of his colleagues; and consequently bore a greater share of the odium among those who disapproved of the suspension and subsequent measures, than they did. Mr. Vansittart, on the other hand, rather rose in the estimation of the public, at least in the estimation of those who were interested in, or judges of his financial measures; while, not particularly taking a part in the debates regarding the suspension of the habeas corpus act, his popularity did not suffer on that account to a greater degree, than the popularity of the ministers, as a body, did. His financial measures have been already detailed; their real soundness, and ultimate and lasting consequences, will probably appear at no distant period. But that he should be able to go on, without a loan, even when the revenue fell much short of the expenditure, —that he should be able to raise such large sums on exchequer bills, at a low interest, to preserve the sinking fund untouched, and above all, to go on without additional taxes, while at the same time the funds advanced above 84—were circumstances sure to gain him credit and increase confidence in him as a financier.

With respect to the party of opposition, they dwindled very much during the year 1817: the principles of lord Grenville and his friends were never so thoroughly in unison with those of the friends of Mr. Fox, as to lead to the anticipation of a cordial and lasting coincidence of public conduct; and the question respecting the suspension of the habeas corpus seems to have divided them entirely, and also to have made a difference among the other members of the opposition.

It must be in the recollection of most of our readers, that the popularity of Mr. Fox, as well as the

public confidence in the purity, soundness, and firmness of his political principles, was very much shaken by his union with lord Grenville; to this union it was ascribed, by those who thought that peace could and ought to have been made with Bonaparte, in the year 1816, that it was not made; and it was also very generally supposed, that had Mr. Fox come into power unconnected with lord Grenville, he would have redeemed the promise made by him, while in opposition, in relation to reform and retrenchment. On some grand questions, indeed, the sentiments of lord Grenville and Mr. Fox,—and subsequently to Mr. Fox's death, of lord Grenville and the friends of Mr. Fox,—coincided completely; but, on every question which related to the extension of the rights of the people, or to the curbing of their power, they widely differed. The alarm caused by the occurrences of the French revolution had taken deep hold on the imagination, the feelings, the prejudices, and perhaps the judgement of lord Grenville, and given to his political principles (always aristocratic) a higher tone of aristocracy, and a greater dread of public commotion. Hence, on the question respecting the suspension of the habeas corpus act, he gave ministers his cordial support; and on this question also they had at least the partial support of Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Wynn, and other members, who on most occasions all voted with the opposition.

The opposition, indeed, for some years had been dwindling in numbers, respectability, talents—and had sunk much in the confidence and good-will of the public. Some of the causes that led to these effects have been noticed by us in our former volumes: briefly and generally speaking, they were their anti-British feelings with regard to the war,—the victories we achieved,—the character of Bonaparte,—and their predictions of the ultimate issue of the war; and their non-fulfilment, while in power, of those promises and plans of reform and retrenchment, which they had held up to the nation as long as they were in opposition.

But beside those causes, there were others which are to be sought for in the death of some of the members of opposition most distinguished for zeal, talent, and popularity. Let us contrast their ranks a few years ago with the appearance they make at present; then they could boast of Sheridan, Whitbread, Horner, and Ponsonby: now they are almost literally without a leader, and certainly destitute of such men as are necessary to keep together and strengthen their ranks. For some time before his death Sheridan indeed did not occupy a seat in the house of commons; and during the latter years that he did occupy it, his talents and his character for respectability and usefulness, either to the nation or his party, had almost sunk into insignificance. But who that ever heard him, in the days of his glory, or that ever read any of his celebrated speeches, must not agree in the opinion, that in him the opposition lost a tower of strength? Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Horner, as well as Mr. Sheridan, were striking instances of the ease with which talents, even when unconnected with and unsupported by birth or fortune, make their way in Britain,—none of them were men of family: Mr. Whitbread alone was a man

of

fortune; and that fortune had been entirely made by his father. The public character of Mr. Whitbread, as well as his talents, were of a very different kind from those of Mr. Sheridan: he could hardly be deemed a regular member of opposition. Nor did he go so far in his opinions respecting reform, and the privileges and rights of the people, as sir Francis Burdett. His talents were rather solid, and those of a man of business and application, than brilliant or profound: and it must be confessed, that they would have commanded more confidence and respect, and been more useful to the nation, had they not been so much warped by prejudice, and that prejudice too, what might without unfairness be deemed anti-british. No man indulged so much as Mr. Whitbread in prophecies of the fatal termination of the war in which we were engaged with Bonaparte, in drawing a high estimate of the military and political talents of our great opponent, and a corresponding low estimate of the military and political talents with which he was met and combated. Like too many other members of the opposition, he had indulged too much in prophesying; and like all sanguine prophets, the joy arising from the nonfulfilment of his forebodings of evil, was, in some degree, at least counterbalanced by the chagrin, that his foresight and judgement had proved erroneous.

As a mere party man,—as a member of a regular and organized opposition, which is bound to follow their leader, and like soldiers to fight the ministry, without examining too minutely or conscientiously the justice or even the policy of the quarrel—Mr. Horner, to his credit, could not be reckoned high. But, as a public man,—useful to the best interests of the nation, not so much by the originality of his talents, or the extent of his information, as by the practical application of those talents and that information—his death was a great loss.

In Mr. Horner indeed was to be found that rare union of sound sense, extensive information, strict principle, command of temper, and practicability (if the term may be admitted), which in all situations of life are so useful and respectable; the source of so much conscious satisfaction to the possessor, and of so much benefit to those in whose behalf he exerts these qualities; but which, in public life, being at once so rare and needful, are almost beyond all price. Perhaps no stronger or less equivocal proof of the merits of Mr. Horner could have been given, than what appeared on the moving in the house of commons for a new member to serve in parliament for the borough of St. Mawes in his room. The tributes to his character which were then paid by all parties are so honourable to him, and to those who paid them, and moreover prove so decidedly, that uprightness of principle must command respect, even in the midst of all the flexibility of political conduct that by too many public men is deemed unavoidable, that we shall make no apology for inserting here, at fuller length than could be given in the parliamentary debates, some of the eulogies on this most honourable man.

The new writ was moved by lord Morpeth; who, after stating the circumstances of Mr. Horner's death, and painting in brief but striking terms "those domestic charities, which embellished while they dignified his private character," thus proceeded:—

"For his qualifications as a public man I can confidently appeal to a wider circle—to that learned profession of which he was a distinguished ornament—to this house, where his exertions will be long remembered with mingled feelings of regret and admiration. It is not necessary for me to enter into the detail of his graver studies and occupations. I may be allowed to say generally, that he raised the edifice of his fair fame upon a good and solid foundation—upon the firm basis of conscientious principle. He was ardent in the pursuit of truth; he was inflexible in his adherence to the great principles of justice and of right. Whenever he delivered in this house the ideas of his clear and intelligent mind, he employed that chaste, simple, but at the same time nervous and impressive style of oratory which seemed admirably adapted to the elucidation and discussion of important business: it seemed to combine the force and precision of legal argument with the acquirements and knowledge of a statesman.

"Of his political opinions it is not necessary for me to enter into any detailed statement: they are sufficiently known, and do not require from me any comment or illustration. I am confident that his political opponents will admit, that he never courted popularity by any unbecoming or unworthy means: they will have the candour to allow, that the expression of his political opinions, however firm, manly, and decided, was untinctured with moroseness, and unembittered with any personal animosity or rancorous reflection. From these feelings he was effectually exempted by the operation of those qualities which formed the grace and the charm of his private life.

"But successful as his exertions were, both in this house and in the courts of law, considering the contracted span of his life, they can only be looked upon as the harbingers of his maturer fame, as the presages and the anticipations of a more exalted reputation. But his career was prematurely closed. That his loss to his family and his friends is irreparable, can be readily conceived; but I may add, that to this house and the country it is a loss of no ordinary magnitude: in these times it will be severely felt. In these times, however, when the structure of the constitution is undergoing close and rigorous investigation, on the part of some with the view of exposing its defects, on the part of others with that of displaying its beauties and perfections; we may derive some consolation from the reflection, that a man not possessed of the advantages of hereditary rank or of very ample fortune, was enabled, by the exertion of his own honourable industry, by the successful cultivation of his native talents, to vindicate to himself a station and eminence in society, which the proudest and wealthiest might envy and admire.

"I ought to apologize to the house, not, I trust, for having introduced the subject to their notice, for of that I hope I shall stand acquitted, but for having paid so imperfect and inadequate a tribute to the memory of my departed friend."

M. Canning rose after lord Morpeth. He stated "that he knew Mr. Horner only as a public man, as a member of the house of commons; and that from the circumstance of his own absence during the two last sessions, he had not the good fortune to witness the later and more matured exhibition of his talents." "But," he added, "I had seen enough

enough of him to share in those expectations, and to be sensible of what this house and the country have lost by his being so prematurely taken from us.

"He had, indeed, qualifications eminently calculated to obtain and to deserve success. His sound principles—his enlarged views—his various and accurate knowledge—the even tenor of his manly and temperate eloquence—the genuineness of his warmth, when into warmth he was betrayed—and, above all, the singular modesty with which he bore his faculties, and which shed a grace and lustre over them all; these qualifications, added to the known blamelessness and purity of his private character, did not more endear him to his friends, than they commanded the respect of those to whom he was opposed in adverse politics; they ensured to every effort of his abilities an attentive and favouring audience; and secured for him, as the result of all, a solid and unenvied reputation."

Mr. Manners Sutton.—"I know not whether I ought, even for a moment, to intrude myself on the house: I am utterly incapable of adding any thing to what has been so well, so feelingly, and so truly stated on this melancholy occasion; and yet I hope, without the appearance of presumption, I may be permitted to say, from the bottom of my heart, I share in every sentiment that has been expressed.

"It was my good fortune, some few years back, to live in habits of great intimacy and friendship with Mr. Horner: change of circumstances, my quitting the profession to which we both belonged, broke in upon those habits of intercourse; but I hope and believe I may flatter myself the feeling was mutual. For myself, at least, I can most honestly say, that no change of circumstances—no difference of politics—no interruption to our habits of intercourse, even in the slightest degree diminished the respect, the regard, and the affection I most sincerely entertained for him.

"This house can well appretiate the heavy loss we have sustained in him, as a public man. In these times, indeed in all times, so perfect a combination of commanding talents, indefatigable industry, and stern integrity, must be a severe public loss: but no man, who has not had the happiness—the *blessing*, I might say—to have known him as a friend; who has not witnessed the many virtues and endearing qualities that characterized him in the circle of his acquaintance, can adequately conceive the irreparable chasm in private life this lamentable event has made.

"In my conscience I believe, there never lived the man, of whom it could more truly be said, that, wherever he was found in public life, he was respected and admired—wherever he was known in private life, he was most affectionately beloved.

"I will no longer try the patience of the house: I was anxious, indeed, that they should bear with me for a few moments, whilst I endeavoured, not to add my tribute to the regard and veneration in which his memory ought, and assuredly will be held; but whilst I endeavoured, however feebly, to discharge a debt of gratitude, and do a justice to my own feelings."

Mr. Wynn said, "that his noble friend (lord Morpeth) and his right hon. friend who had last spoken (Mr. M. Sutton) had expressed themselves concerning their departed friend with that feeling of affection and esteem which did them

so much honour, and which was heightened by their habits of intimacy, and their opportunities of observing his character; but the virtues by which he was distinguished were not confined within the circle of his acquaintance, or concealed from the view of the world. Every one who saw Mr. Horner had the means of judging of his temper, his mildness, and his personal virtues; for they were seen by all. He carried with him to public life, and into the duties and the business of his public station, all that gentleness of disposition, all that amenity of feeling, which adorned his private life, and endeared him to his private friends. Amidst the heats and contests of the house, amidst the vehemence of political discussion, amidst the greatest conflicts of opinion and opposition of judgement, he maintained the same mildness and serenity of disposition and temper. No eagerness of debate, no warmth of feeling, no enthusiasm for his own opinions, or conviction of the errors of others, ever betrayed him into any uncandid construction of motives, or any asperity towards the conduct of his opponents. His loss was great, and would long be regretted."

Sir S. Romilly said, "that the long and most intimate friendship which he had enjoyed with the honourable member whose loss the house had to deplore, might, he hoped, entitle him to the melancholy satisfaction of saying a few words on this distressing occasion. Though no person better knew, or more highly estimated the private virtues of Mr. Horner than himself, yet, as he was not sure that he should be able to utter what he felt on that subject, he would speak of him only as a public man.

"Of all the estimable qualities which distinguished his character, he considered as the most valuable that independence of mind which in him was so remarkable. It was from a consciousness of that independence, and from a just sense of its importance, that, at the same time that he was storing his mind with the most various knowledge on all subjects connected with our internal œconomy and foreign politics, and that he was taking a conspicuous and most successful part in all the great questions which have lately been discussed in parliament, he laboriously devoted himself to all the painful duties of his profession. Though his success at the bar was not at all adequate to his merits, he yet steadfastly persevered in his labours, and seemed to consider it as essential to his independence, that he should look forward to his profession alone for the honours and emoluments to which his extraordinary talents gave him so just a claim.

"In the course of the last twelve years the house had lost some of the most considerable men that ever had enlightened and adorned it: there was this, however, peculiar in their present loss. When those great and eminent men to whom he alluded were taken from them, the house knew the whole extent of the loss it had sustained, for they had arrived at the full maturity of their great powers and endowments. But no person could recollect—how, in every year, since his lamented friend had first taken part in their debates, his talents had been improving, his faculties had been developed, and his commanding eloquence had been rising with the important subjects on which it had been employed—how every session he had spoken with still increasing weight and authority and effect, and had called forth

forth new resources of his enlightened and comprehensive mind—and not be led to conjecture, that, notwithstanding the great excellence which, in the last session, he had attained, yet if he had been longer spared, he would have discovered powers not yet discovered to the house, and of which perhaps he was unconscious himself. He should very ill express what he felt upon this occasion, if he were to consider the extraordinary qualities which Mr. Horner possessed apart from the ends and objects to which they were directed. The greatest eloquence was in itself only an object of vain and transient admiration; it was only when ennobled by the uses to which it was applied, when directed to great and virtuous ends, to the protection of the oppressed, to the enfranchisement of the enslaved, to the extension of knowledge, to dispelling the clouds of ignorance and superstition, to the advancement of the best interests of the country, and to enlarging the sphere of human happiness, that it became a national benefit and a public blessing; and it was because the powerful talents, of which they were now deprived, had been uniformly exerted in the pursuit and promoting of such objects, that he considered the loss which they had to lament as one of the greatest which, in the present state of this country, it could possibly have sustained."

Mr. W. Elliot.—"Amongst his other friends, sir, I cannot refuse to myself the melancholy consolation of paying my humble tribute of esteem and affection to the memory of a person, of whose rich, cultivated, and enlightened mind I have so often profited, and whose exquisite talents—whose ardent zeal for truth—whose just, sedate, and discriminating judgement—whose forcible but chastened eloquence—and, above all, whose inflexible virtue and integrity rendered him one of the most distinguished members of this house, one of the brightest ornaments of the profession to which he belonged, and held him forth as a finished model for the imitation of the rising generation.

"The full amount of such a loss, at such a conjuncture, and under all the various circumstances and considerations of the case, I dare not attempt to estimate. My learned friend (sir S. Romilly) has well observed, that, if the present loss be great, the future is greater: for, by dispensations far above the reach of human scrutiny, he has been taken from us at a period when he was only in his progress towards those high stations in the state, in which, so far as human foresight could discern, his merits must have placed him, and which would have given to his country the full and ripened benefits of his rare and admirable qualities."

Mr. C. Grant "had known his lamented friend before he had distinguished himself so much as he had subsequently done, and could not be silent when such an opportunity occurred of paying a tribute to his memory. Whatever difference of opinion they might have on public questions, he could suspend that difference to admire his talents, his worth, and his virtues. It was not his talents alone that were developed in his eloquence. His eloquence displayed his heart: through it were seen his high-minded probity, his philanthropy, his benevolence, and all those qualities which not only exacted applause, but excited love. It was the mind that appeared in speeches that gave them character. He would not enter into the account of his private life, although

though his private virtues were at least on a level with his public merits. Amid all the cares and interests of public life, he never lost his relish for domestic society, or his attachment to his family. The last time that he (Mr. G.) conversed with him, he was anticipating with pleasure the arrival of a season of leisure, when he could spend a short time in the bosom of his family, and amid the endearments of his friends. When he looked at his public or private conduct, his virtues, or his talents, he would be allowed to have earned applause to which few other men ever entitled themselves."

Lord Lascelles "hoped to be excused for adding a few words to what had been said, though he had not the honour of a private acquaintance with Mr. Horner, whom he knew only in this house, where they had almost uniformly voted on opposite sides on every great question. Notwithstanding these differences, he had often said in private, that Mr. Horner was one of the greatest ornaments of his country; and he would now say in public, that the country could not have suffered a greater loss. The forms of parliament allowed no means of expressing the collective opinion of the house on the honour due to his memory; but it must be consolatory to his friends to see that if it had been possible to have come to such a vote, it would certainly have been unanimous."

The following character, admirable alike for its elegance and its truth, paints some of the features of Mr. Horner's mind not noticed in the eulogiums passed on him in the house of commons. "With an inflexible integrity and ardent attachment to liberty, Mr. Horner conjoined a temperance and discretion not always found to accompany these virtues. The respect in which he was held, and the deference with which he was listened to in the house of commons, is a striking proof of the effect of moral qualities in a popular assembly. Without the adventitious aids of station or fortune, he had acquired a weight and influence in parliament, which few men, whose lives were passed in opposition, have been able to obtain; and for this consideration he was infinitely less indebted to his eloquence and talents, eminent as they were, than to the opinion universally entertained of his public and private rectitude. His understanding was strong and comprehensive, his knowledge extensive and accurate, his judgement sound and clear, his conduct plain and direct. His eloquence, like his character, was grave and forcible, without a particle of vanity or presumption, free from rancour and personality, but full of deep and generous indignation against fraud, hypocrisy, or injustice.—He was a warm, zealous, and affectionate friend—high-minded and disinterested in his conduct—firm and decided in his opinions—modest and unassuming in his manners. To his private friends his death is a calamity they can never cease to deplore. To the public it is a loss not easily to be repaired, and, in times like these, most severely to be felt."

The subject of this well-merited praise, and of all these sincere but ineffectual regrets, was born at Edinburgh, on the 12th of August 1778. In the month of October 1786, he entered the high school of that city; and having remained at this seminary for six years, during the four first of which he was the pupil of Mr. Nicol, and the two last of the celebrated Dr. Adam, he passed on to the university in October 1792.

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In November 1795, he was placed under the care of the rev. Mr. Hewlett in London, with whom he lived, and who superintended his education for a period of two years. He then returned to Edinburgh, and applied himself to the study of the law, and passed advocate in the year 1800. Soon after, he took up his residence in London, with the view of preparing himself for the English bar. In 1806, he was appointed by the East India company one of the commissioners for the liquidation of the debts of the nabob of Arcot; but resigned this laborious situation in little more than two years, finding that the duties which it imposed on him were incompatible with the application due to his professional pursuits. In October 1806, he was returned member of parliament for St. Ives. The following year he was elected member for Wendover, and was called to the English bar. In 1813, he was chosen to represent the borough of St. Mawes in the present parliament.

The disease which proved fatal to Mr. Horner was an induration and contraction of the lungs; a malady, the existence of which is not marked by any decided symptom; and which is wholly beyond the reach of medical aid. He died at Pisa on the 8th of February 1817, aged thirty-eight years and six months, and was interred in the protestant burying-ground at Leghorn.

The death of Mr. Ponsonby, which took place during the session of 1817, was a loss to the opposition, rather because they were thus deprived of a leader, than on account of any superior or very useful talents which he possessed as a public man.

Between the regular opposition, who on almost all questions act together, and the ardent and extreme reformists, Mr. Brougham and a few members of inferior talents take their stand. Mr. Brougham was the youthful friend and fellow-student of Mr. Horner: they left Edinburgh for London nearly at the same time; they were first brought into the notice and attracted the respect of the literary world, by their articles on politics and political œconomy in the Edinburgh Review. Great expectations were formed of Mr. Brougham when he first entered public life; but these have in some measure been disappointed: that his talents are of a very superior order,—that his information is very extensive,—that his eloquence is uncommonly ready, clear, exuberant and tasteful, no one will deny; in most of these respects he is superior to his friend Mr. Horner; but he falls far below him in those qualifications, without which the most splendid talents and eloquence must be of little avail, in commanding respect or producing benefit. Mr. Horner never spoke except on subjects, that not only fell within the general sphere of his reading and reflection, but had been purposely and particularly studied by him for the occasion:—hence all he said was fraught with good sense;—it showed him master of his subject. Besides, he carefully abstained from introducing irrelevant matter; especially such as would irritate rather than persuade. Mr. Brougham, on the contrary, speaks on many subjects of which he is not master; hazards assertions not sufficiently proved, and arguments not sufficiently weighed: tries to irritate, and too often loses his own temper; mixes up irrelevant matter; and, in short, has more than once, by his violence and want of judgement, materially injured the cause he was desirous

desirous to support. On other occasions, however, when he has well studied his subject, and brought to bear upon it his luminous and powerful mind, under the guidance and control of good sense, moderation and temper, he has spoken with wonderful effect.

Of his political opinions regarding the great subject of parliamentary reform, it is impossible from his speeches to obtain a clear idea: sometimes he seems disposed to join sir Francis Burdett; on other occasions he has bent the full force of his intellect and superior information to overwhelm the crude and erroneous opinions that have been broached in the house of commons by lord Cochrane and some other of the ultra reformists.

From the sketch we have given of the political parties as they existed in 1817, it will be evident that there is a regular gradation from one extreme to another. Placing ministers at one end of the line, we have next lord Grenville and his friends: perhaps, however, nearer to ministers may be placed what is called the religious party in the house of commons, namely, Mr. Wilberforce and his friends, who, though they generally support ministers, on some important questions oppose them. Next to the parties of lord Grenville and Mr. Wilberforce, there is a branch that has very lately broken off from the opposition; or rather, a few members who on some questions (but not so many or such important ones as receive the support of lord Grenville and Mr. Wilberforce, and their respective friends,) vote with ministers. Next to these is the old and regular opposition; at the head of which, during the session of 1817, were Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Tierney. The members composing this old and regular opposition may be considered as occupying the middle of the line. Beyond them a few members take their place (such as Mr. Brougham), who on many points are disposed to go further than the opposition, but who stop short of the principles and projects of the ultra-reformers.

The great distinction between the regular opposition and the reformers seems to be this:—the former think that the machinery of government, as at present constituted, is good, and quite efficient for all beneficial purposes, provided it was superintended and watched by able people: the reformers, on the other hand, contend, that the machinery is so ill constructed in its parts, and also in its principles, that no talents, skill, or attention, could make it perform its work well. The opposition wish for retrenchment to a certain degree, and for a change in some parts of our domestic and foreign policy; but they would not touch, or only slightly and superficially touch, the house of commons as at present constituted. The reformers, on the contrary, would change the representation at once, and most materially; contending, that the house of commons, as now constituted, is the cause of all the distress under which the country labours, and of all the infringement on liberty by which the nation is oppressed; and that it is a mockery and insult to the people, to promise them any amelioration of their condition, so long as they are not fairly and fully represented.

In our volume for the year 1816, we stated that reformers, more violent and disposed to proceed to greater lengths than even sir Francis Burdett, had sprung up. With these sir Francis was not inclined

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to coalesce or co-operate with much zeal or cordiality. They contended for annual parliaments and universal suffrage: on these points sir Francis Burdett never expressed any very clear or definite ideas. In parliament the only person who advocated this extreme reform was lord Cochrane; and a cause advocated by a man, certainly of more talents and knowledge as a seaman than a politician, was not likely to be supported either with much judgement or much acuteness or learning.

Out of parliament the most strenuous advocates for universal suffrage and annual parliaments were major Cartwright, Mr. Cobbett, and Mr. Hunt. The name of major Cartwright has stood conspicuous in the list of the advocates for these doctrines for nearly half a century: his zeal and perseverance have supported him, notwithstanding the defection of his earliest co-operators on these points, and the hitherto total failure of all his plans to bring about what he so ardently and sincerely desires. But his zeal and perseverance are much more conspicuous than his judgement, common sense, or knowledge of the world.—In Mr. Cobbett these doctrines found a much more able supporter and advocate: not that his arguments in their support will stand the examination of a calm judgement, extensive views, and sound sense, but they are admirably adapted to work their way with the majority of the nation; being addressed, like all his other arguments, to the feelings and the supposed interests of those who are little inclined, and as little able, to think for themselves.—Mr. Hunt brings to the support of the cause neither the calmness of major Cartwright, nor the point and force of Mr. Cobbett, but only violence and positive assertion.

The measures adopted by major Cartwright to establish and bring to perfection his favourite object, displayed his wonderful zeal and perseverance: he actually made a pilgrimage, or missionary tour, throughout England and Scotland, for the purpose of instructing the people in their rights, and forming associations, that might co-operate towards the same great object. In this scheme he was assisted by the writings of Mr. Cobbett, and the harangues of Mr. Hunt. The latter was to be seen and heard at every public meeting at which he had a right to attend.

The suspension of the habeas corpus act, however, struck an unexpected and almost fatal blow into the hopes and plans of these apostles of reform. Major Cartwright, having been always mild and peaceable, though ardent and zealous in the cause, had nothing to fear. But as the writings of Mr. Cobbett had, in most unequivocal terms, and in that language which he knows so admirably how to adapt to the taste and the comprehension of the great mass of the people, told the labouring classes, that the remedy for the oppression and taxes under which they laboured lay in their own hands, he was justly afraid, that during the suspension of the habeas corpus act he would be deprived of his liberty; he therefore deemed it prudent to retire to America—promising, however, to return as soon as England was again under the protection of her constitution; and in the mean time to transmit from America his Weekly Register. Scarcely was he gone when several weekly publications started up, some of them as violent in their language,

language, and outrageous in their doctrines, as his Register had been; but very far behind it in talent, and the power of exciting the people to schemes of mischief, and feelings of disaffection.

It is foreign to the purpose of this work to state or examine minutely the object which the ultra-reformers had in view, or the facts and arguments by which they endeavoured to establish their cause: but the history of Britain at this period cannot be well understood, without a brief and general outline on this subject, and therefore we shall give it.

The ultra-reformers contended, that all the evils under which the people of Britain laboured,—excessive taxation, and its consequent poverty and misery,—extravagance in the expenditure of the public money,—and, in short, mal-administration in every respect, arose entirely from the nation not being fully and fairly represented in the house of commons. This full and fair representation, which was to be the panacea for all public evils, according to some of the advocates for reform, would be obtained, provided every householder was entitled to vote for a member of the house of commons. According to others, the right of franchise must be extended to every male person paying taxes, except those who were insane, criminals, or under age; but with respect to the duration of parliament, all were agreed that they ought to be annual. On the mode of collecting and giving the votes, and other inferior points, there was some difference of opinion.

Such was the object which major Cartwright, Mr. Cobbett, sir Francis Burdett, lord Cochrane, and the other reformers had in view; and they supported their cause by facts drawn from the history of England, as well as by arguments.

Originally they contended every male person (with the exceptions above stated) voted for a member of the house of commons, and parliaments were annual.—Before examining into the accuracy of these statements, it may be proper to remark, that if the mere antiquity of any political institution proves its wisdom, or its beneficial character and tendency, there are an almost infinite number of laws and usages, now repealed or gone into disuse, which the reformers ought to advocate as strongly and zealously as parliamentary reform; but which, if any attempts were made to revive them, we are confident they would oppose, as destructive of the rights and liberties of the people. Besides, it is absurd to go back to ages of comparative ignorance, barbarism, and slavery, for usages and institutions conducive to the personal or political happiness of a nation. But, setting aside these considerations, there is no clear and direct evidence that in the former periods of our history parliaments were annual; and all could not vote at a time when nearly all the lower classes were in the eye of the law villains, or the slaves of the great land-holders.

The argument from history, therefore, in support of this extreme parliamentary reform, in no point of view deserves much notice or respect: let us therefore attend to the other argument by which this plan is supported. It was often contended by Mr. Cobbett and the other advocates for parliamentary reform, that the people had a right to this reform; that every person paying taxes had a right to vote for representatives; but it is obvious this

this doctrine must be modified in some degree; and is in part modified by those who advocate it in the most determined manner; for not even Mr. Cobbett contends that women, insane persons, criminals, or persons under age, though they pay taxes, ought to vote for representatives. If asked why the privilege should not extend to them, he would probably reply, Because it would not be for the good of the whole that it should be so. Hence it appears, that right must be limited, and in fact created, by what is for the public good; and that, unless annual parliaments and universal suffrage can be proved to be for the public good, the arguments drawn from former periods of our history, and from the alleged right of all who pay taxes to be represented in parliament, are not worth a rush.

We must therefore close with the strong hold of the reformers: they maintain, that if the members of the house of commons were chosen annually, and by all the people (with the exceptions above stated), they would be more intelligent, more pure, and consequently better able and more disposed to legislate solely for the good of the nation.

Let us see, what this takes for granted. It takes for granted, in the first place, that the great mass of the people are so enlightened and pure, that they would select much more pure and enlightened members than at present sit in the house of commons; and in the second place, that of all the great questions that come before parliament, the people are adequate judges; for, according to the plan of reform, the constituents are to instruct their members, and the latter on all points are to follow these instructions.

But even granting that the people were sincerely and anxiously desirous to select only such members as were pure and enlightened,—can it be believed, that the people in this country are in such a state of information, as to enable them to make such an election? Let us, however, suppose a house of commons chosen in this manner: what would be the consequence if, instead of deliberating, and acting on their own cool, comprehensive deliberation, their votes and proceedings were in all important cases to be directed by the orders of their constituents. They would, indeed, be then the real representatives of the people; and we imagine that this word *representation* has had the effect of blinding the over-zealous advocates for reform to all the evils and disadvantages that would result from it.

The mode in which the members of the house of commons are chosen is comparatively of little importance, provided they perform their duty. In fact, the mode of election is of importance only so far as it may secure an enlightened and patriotic assembly. That the mode proposed by the reformers would render the members entirely dependent upon their constituents, and would in fact reduce the nation to the state of being governed, in many cases, by the people, there can be no doubt. But it may well be doubted, whether under this government the people themselves would prosper and be happy. A house of commons composed of men of talents, information, zeal, and patriotism, actuated, as little as human nature would allow us to expect, by any other motives than a desire to study and promote the public good,—is the kind of assembly that would most benefit the nation; and can it be believed that

that such an assembly could exist if its members were chosen annually by the people at large, and if their votes and conduct were to be under the control of their constituents? At the same time, we are decidedly of opinion, that the house of commons, as at present elected and constituted, is not such an assembly as we have described; but if the choice must be made, we should undoubtedly prefer its present mode of election and frame, to an assembly chosen annually by universal suffrage.

The ultra-reformers regard the question of parliamentary reform as of such vital importance, that they never exert their zeal or efforts in support of the reform of any abuse not connected with that which they maintain exists in the representation of the people; and yet there are many abuses and imperfections which have crept into the administration of the British government, in almost all its branches, the reform of which ought to be an object of interest and importance with all parties.

The first subject we shall mention relates to our laws in general, and our criminal code in particular. During the last session that lord Stanhope sat in the house of lords, he moved for and obtained a committee to inquire into and report upon the Statute-book. When it is considered, that the statutes of the realm are so voluminous and complicated, and many of them so contradictory, that the most indefatigable and experienced lawyers, on many points, cannot tell what the law actually is; there can be no doubt, that the inquiry proposed by lord Stanhope was imperiously called for, and must have done good; and yet since his death the subject has been dropped. The mode of conducting the inquiry might admit of some difference of opinion, as well as the mode of reforming the Statute-book. It seems to us, with respect to the latter object, that all the obsolete statutes should be expunged: that such as are obscure should be rendered plain; such as are loose and indefinite should be rendered precise; such as are contradictory should be reconciled; and such as are framed in relation to a state of society no longer existing, should be adapted to the present time. This ought to be done certainly:—perhaps more; perhaps the Statutes should all be classed under distinct heads; each division prefaced by an exposition of the general principles on which it rested; and the whole statutes prefixed by a clear, simple, and short exposition of the grand principles and objects of law.

Closely connected with this subject is the reform of our criminal law. Towards this most humane, and not less wise and politic object, sir Samuel Romilly has been directing the powers of his vigorous and enlightened mind, and the zeal of his benevolent heart, for some years; but most unaccountably he has experienced considerable opposition, and yet the facts on which he builds his arguments are notorious. It is notorious that our criminal law, by its very severity, defeats its own object; and that so long as the law affixes a capital punishment to those crimes which in the opinion of the world do not deserve, and for all the purposes of punishment do not require it,—either the persons suffering from them will allow the criminals to go entirely without punishment, or the administrators of the law will acquit them, or pronounce a lighter punishment than the law awards,—notwithstanding they

they thus act contrary to the oaths by which they are bound.

The state of our prisons, also, calls for the interference and reform of government. By the reports to the house of commons, as well as by other inquiries, it is ascertained that our prisons, instead of correcting and amending those who are committed to them, in too many instances convert the young and timid criminal into the hardened profligate, by exposing him to the society of the most abandoned of the human species. Indeed, an uncandid person, when he reflects on the state of our laws and our prisons, —on the encouragement given to gaming and drunkenness by the lottery, and the law relating to public houses and spirituous liquors, and on the plan pursued by the police, of enticing to crime for the sake of the reward,—would be disposed to allege, that the object of our government was not to prevent, but to encourage vice; and that they found a satisfaction in punishing crime. The truth is, that all governments are averse to change; and that the French revolution, among the other evils to which it gave birth, has strengthened this aversion to an incredible degree.

Of inferior consequence are the reforms that might and ought to be effected in the financial department of government. These we shall notice very briefly, and only the most important. In the first place, the taxes might be simplified: the taxes, as at present laid on, give government great influence, by the number of persons employed in their collection, and are collected at a very considerable expense. One tax, on income, if rated fairly and impartially, would be collected with comparatively little expense—would almost annihilate the influence of government in this respect—would be less harassing and oppressive, and would be equally productive. In the second place, the business in the public offices is not conducted with that regularity, and in that efficient and œconomical manner, in which it might be, and in which it would be if the nation were not the paymaster. Lastly, the accounts of the nation are not kept on the most improved plan: tallies are still used in the exchequer! And even in the other offices there is a complication, want of method, and obscurity, which, while they prevail, must render it by no means a difficult matter for those who are disposed to cheat the public to do it without detection, and consequently with impunity.

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings in Scotland respecting Borough Reform, with an introductory Account of the State of Representation in that part of the United Kingdom.

IT is the duty of the annalist and historian not merely to narrate events, but also to afford such explanation and instruction to their readers as will enable them to understand those events thoroughly, and to see them in all their bearings, relations, and consequences,

in all cases where such explanation or instruction can be deemed necessary or requisite. In the notices which we have given in this and former volumes respecting the proceedings and views of those who wished to bring about a reform in parliament, we did not deem it necessary to enter into an explanation of the present state of the representation in England; because, though all the varieties of the rights of franchise and the mode of electing members in the different cities and boroughs may not be generally known, yet we could not suppose that any of our readers were ignorant of the broad facts that some of the most populous and important places, such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield, are unrepresented; and that in places which are represented, the members are chosen by the householders at large, or by freemen or burgesses, varying in number from some hundreds to one or two.

With respect to the state of the representation in Scotland, however, the case is very different. We have often had occasion to notice the ignorance and prejudice which prevail in England on the subject of Ireland, its real state, its capability, and the condition and capability of its inhabitants; and ignorance or prejudice—not indeed so great or general, but certainly to an extraordinary and culpable degree, prevails among most Englishmen with respect to the peculiar laws of Scotland—the mode of administering them, and the civil and political constitution of that country.

It will therefore be proper and useful, before we detail the proceedings in Scotland relative to the borough reform, to give a sketch of the representation in that portion of the united kingdom.

The political state of this kingdom was, in ancient times, like to that of most others in Europe. The lands were considered as the property of the sovereign: his barons or vassals had territories parcelled out among them, under the condition of performing service and fidelity; of supporting him in war, and obeying him and giving him counsel in peace. The lands were held by the barons, (by grants or charters from the king, as original proprietor,) who were obliged to appear in arms, when summoned by him to battle, or to attend him in parliament, if he stood in need of their assistance, in making laws or imposing taxes. Taxes were in those days granted only upon particular occasions, such as the redemption of the sovereign if a prisoner, the payment of the dowry of his eldest daughter, or the expense attending the making his eldest son a knight. To attend parliament was then accounted a duty, and a mark of the subjection of a feudal vassal. It was always accompanied with much expense, and of course, if possible, avoided.

As the king parcelled out his lands among the barons, so did they among their inferiors and dependants, under conditions similar to those which were imposed upon themselves by the sovereign. The barons had also their baron-courts, in imitation of the parliament of the kingdom, at which their vassals were obliged to appear, and where they sat and acted as judges and legislators within the territories of their lord.

A great while after the union, it became a practice in Scotland, for the sake of acquiring political influence, to convey a freehold estate to

to a friend by fair titles *, but either under a back-bond, or obligation in honour, to re-convey and to use it for the grantor's advantage. To put a stop to this, the trust oath, or oath of possession, was framed; which may be put by a freeholder to any one who claims a right to vote, either at an election for a member of parliament, or at making up the roll of the freeholders of the county; and if refused to be taken and subscribed, the name of the person refusing is to be struck off from the roll or list of freeholders. This oath, however, does not put an end to fictitious qualifications. The most usual ways of framing them were the following †: A proprietor first feued out the lands, upon which he meant to make the qualification, to some friend; he then alienated the superiorities in fee, life-rent or wadset, to the persons whom he wished to entitle to vote; after which the friends, to whom he had feued out the lands, re-disposed them to him; and thus he gave away the bare superiority only. This act was legal in appearance, because the law of Scotland allows a man to alienate the superiority, provided he retains the property in his lands ‡; and it entitles the person holding the superiority to a right to vote. But in this respect it was illegal; because the persons receiving such superiorities were understood, in honour, to restore the qualifications when required; which transaction is done in a way so as not to make it possible for the voter to disturb the titles of the real proprietor, and to vote under his influence.

The court of session, in the course of the questions which arose in consequence of the general election in 1768, besides putting the trust-oath, allowed several interrogatories to be put to those who claimed a right to vote, for the purpose of discovering the nature of the transaction. Whether the claimant had been solicited to accept of the qualification, and if it was not given merely to create a vote? Whether any thing had been truly paid for it, or was truly and *bona fide* to be paid? Who defrayed the expense of making the conveyances, &c.

To such questions several persons who had taken the trust oath refused to reply, and their names were for that reason struck off the rolls of free-holders. But the decisions of the house of sessions were reversed, upon the same questions being brought by appeal before the house of lords. It would seem that the house of lords, having then considered the trust oath as the only test of possession allowed by law, and that it exceeded their powers

* It never was a practice to convey the property of a freehold estate, only the superiority, as after mentioned. The law, as to the trust-oath, made no difference in the mode, but only obliged the parties to rely upon the understood point of honour, instead of a promise, or back bond, as to the use to be made of the vote, and as to the restoration of the superiority when required.

† A more usual way was, for a proprietor to convey the whole lands, both property and superiority, to a friend; which friend first reconveyed the property back to the owner, and then parcelled out the superiorities and conveyed them to the persons who were meant to have votes: this way was preferred, as avoiding any direct transaction betwixt the known owner and the new voter.

‡ On the contrary, a man cannot alienate the superiority alone, except it appears that he is not then possessed of the property; and hence arose the various devices to alienate, in appearance, the property, previous to splitting the superiorities.

as a court of justice to adopt any other mode of proof, this was understood to be law: till at last, on the review of two questions by the house of lords, of a like nature, different principles were adopted. In the cases of the honourable William Elphinstone against John Campbell, esq. and others, 30th of April 1787, and of sir William Forbes and others against sir John Macpherson, 19th of April 1791, it was decided, "That special interrogatories might be put to those who claimed a right to vote; and if, besides taking the trust oath, they refused to reply, or if from their replies the transaction appeared to be simulate and the vote fictitious, the claimant ought to be rejected."

It was then laid down by the court to be the law of Scotland, which it certainly is, "That the proprietor of a mere right of superiority, which entitles him only to a penny Scots yearly, is a freeholder, if he be fairly holder and possessor of that interest in the lands, such as it be*; but if, for the sake of making a vote, one person shall only in appearance give to another a right of superiority, —while the receiver is bound in honour to vote either for him or his friend, and not to disturb the titles of the grantor,—in such a case, then, is a fraud committed against the law, which may be investigated in the same way with any other question of the same kind."

The number of voters in several counties in Scotland is not greater than in many of the rotten boroughs in England.

According to the laws of election in Scotland, when the number of votes is equal, the preses or chairman gives the casting vote.

With respect to the Scotch boroughs,—"by an act of the Scotch parliament passed in 1706, and which was afterwards engrossed in the treaty of union, the city of Edinburgh is allowed to elect one commissioner or representative to serve in parliament; while the rest of the boroughs, which are divided into fourteen districts, are empowered to send one to each district.

Formerly the counsellors and magistrates of the royal boroughs in Scotland were elected annually, by a poll of the burgesses, as they were in England, agreeable to the principles of our constitution; but, by an act of 1469, this mode was altered, and the old council ordered annually to choose the new one; both of which united to elect the office-bearers and magistrates: but the directions of the statute have never been exactly attended to; there is now no precise rule for the election of the council and magistrates of the royal boroughs generally; each borough claiming its own political institution.

The form of proceeding at the election of the representatives of the fourteen districts of these boroughs is this:—the sheriff, on receiving the writ, indorses on it the date on

* That is, provided the lands, of which he appeared to be superior, are of a certain value. The law meant to give a right to vote to every man who had lands which had been valued at 400*l.* Scots in the tax-rolls. Now any man is allowed to vote who is superior of such an estate, though he draws but a penny or any nominal feu: but if a case can be imagined of a person's drawing a feu duty of 1000*l.* a year from lands valued at only 300*l.* Scots, that would not give him a vote. The right to vote is fixed by the value of the lands themselves over which a man has a superiority, and not by the value of the feu duty which the superior draws from the lands.

which

which it came to hand; he then makes out a precept to every borough within his jurisdiction, requiring them to elect a commissioner to meet at the presiding borough of the district, there to assist in electing a burgess to serve in parliament. These precepts must be delivered by the sheriff to the chief magistrate residing in the borough within four days after receiving the writ, under the penalty of 100*l.* sterling for each offence.

Under a like penalty the chief magistrates must indorse upon the precept the date of its delivery; and, within two days, must call a meeting of the council of the borough, to fix a day, at the distance of at least two free days, for the election of a commissioner or delegate, to go to the head borough to vote at the election of a member for the district. The council meeting for this election then take the oath of allegiance, and sign the assurance; the town-clerk then takes an oath against bribery, and swears to make a faithful return. The votes being then put, the clerk is ordered to draw up a commission to the person who has a majority, and to sign and affix to it the common seal of the borough.

The commissioners from the different boroughs, being thus chosen, meet at the presiding or head borough of the district, on the thirtieth day after the *teste* of the writ; or, if that should fall on a Sunday, on the day following, between eleven and twelve o'clock in the forenoon. The commissioner from the presiding borough then administers to the clerk of his own borough, who is also clerk of the meeting, an oath against bribery, and that he shall make a faithful return.

According to the laws of election in Scotland, when the votes are equal, the casting vote rests with the delegate for the returning borough.

Having thus given a brief account of the law of Scotland with respect to the authority which the royal boroughs have of selecting representatives to serve them in parliament, and the manner in which the delegates or commissioners are chosen and sent to the presiding borough, to proceed to such election, we shall now give the names of the boroughs which compose the districts. As, however, Edinburgh is not included in these districts, and the mode of election there differs from that prescribed to the district boroughs, it will be proper, in the first place, to notice it.

The mode of proceeding at the election of the member of parliament for this city is extremely simple; the right of election being in the whole magistrates and council, ordinary and extraordinary, united. The clerk (although perhaps he lies under no strict necessity by statute to do so) usually takes the oath against bribery, and to make a faithful return.

The whole is settled in a general but rather inaccurate way by an act of the 6th of queen Ann, c. 6. 5. "The sheriff of the shire of Edinburgh shall, on the receipt of the writ directed to him, forthwith direct his precept to the lord provost of Edinburgh, to cause a burgess to be elected for that city; and on the receipt of such precept, the city of Edinburgh shall elect their member; and their common clerk shall certify his name to the sheriff of Edinburgh, who shall annex it to his writ, and return it."

The council by whom the

member is elected consists of a provost, four bailies, dean of guild, treasurer, old provost, four old bailies, old dean of guild, old treasurer, three merchant counsellors, two trades counsellors, six ordinary council deacons, and eight extraordinary council deacons."

District 1st comprises Dingwall, Dornoch, Wick, Kirkwall, and Tain.

District 2d comprises Fortrose, Inverness, Nairn, and Forres.

District 3d comprises Elgin, Banff, Cullen, Kintore, and Inverury.

District 4th comprises Aberdeen, Montrose, Brechin, Aberbrothick, and Inverbervie.

District 5th comprises Perth, Dundee, St. Andrews, Cupar, and Forfar.

District 6th comprises Craill, Kilrenney, Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, and Pittenweem.

District 7th comprises Kinghorn, Dysart, Kirkaldy, and Bruntisland.

District 8th comprises Stirling, Inverkeithing, Dumfermline, Culross, and Queensferry.

District 9th comprises Rutherglen, Glasgow, Renfrew, and Dumbarton.

District 10th comprises Jedburgh, Dunbar, North Berwick, Lauder, and Haddington.

District 11th comprises Peebles, Linlithgow, Selkirk, and Lanark.

District 12th comprises Dumfries, Kircudbright, Annan, Lochmaben, and Sanquhar.

District 13th comprises Whitehorn, New Galloway, Stranraer, and Wigton.

District 14th comprises Irvine, Rothsay, and Inverary, Campbelltown and Ayr.

In order to render this account of the royal boroughs of Scotland more complete and satisfactory, and a proper introduction to our narrative of the proceedings which took place in that country relative to borough reform, it will be proper to subjoin the following statements respecting the courts of royal boroughs, and the convention of royal boroughs.

"COURTS OF ROYAL BOROUGHS. —The powers of jurisdiction vested in the magistrates of cities and of royal boroughs are somewhat similar to those of the sheriffs, but are subject to the review of the sheriff court. The dean of guild court has lost considerably of its former importance; being formerly authorized to decide in all causes between merchants, and between merchant and mariner. Its office at present is, to take care that buildings within the city or burgh are carried on according to law; that encroachments be not made in the public streets; to judge in disputes between conterminous proprietors; to consider the state of buildings, whether they be in a safe condition, or whether they threaten damage to those dwelling in them or to the neighbourhood, from their ruinous state; and to grant warrant for repairing, pulling down, or rebuilding them, according to the circumstances of the case. The royal boroughs of Scotland also form, as it were, a commercial parliament, which meets once a year at Edinburgh, consisting of a representative from each borough, to consult upon the good of the whole. Upon the establishment of royal boroughs, which took place about the 8th or 9th century, the judgments of the magistrates of these boroughs were made subject to the review of the chamberlain of Scotland, and the court of the four boroughs, the

curia

curia quatuor burgorum. This court was composed of certain burgesses from the towns of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh,* who were appointed to meet annually at Haddington, to deliberate and determine in all matters respecting the common welfare of the royal boroughs. Upon the suppression of the office of chamberlain, the power which he possessed, and that of the *curia quatuor burgorum*, was transferred to the convention of royal boroughs. This court was constituted in the reign of James III. and was appointed to be held at Inverkeithing; but it does not appear that it met earlier than 1552. Since that period, its constitution has been considerably altered, not only by sundry acts of parliament, but also by its own decrees. At present, the convention meets annually at Edinburgh, and consists of two deputies from each borough. The lord provost of Edinburgh is perpetual preses, and the city clerks of Edinburgh are clerks to the convention. It commonly sits four days. From the institution of the *court of four boroughs*, the powers of the convention may in part be collected. They chiefly respect the establishment of regulations respecting trade and manufactures; and to this effect the convention has established, and from time to time renewed articles of stable contract with the town of Campvere†. As the royal boroughs pay a sixth part of the sum imposed as a land-tax upon the counties of Scotland, the convention is empowered to consider the state of trade and revenues in the individual boroughs, and to assess their respective proportions according to their abilities. This court also has been in use to examine the conduct of magistrates in the administration of the borough revenues, although this property falls under the jurisdiction of the court of exchequer; and to give sanction, upon particular occasions, to the town council of boroughs, to alienate a part of the borough estate. The convention likewise considers and arranges the political *setts* or constitutions of the different boroughs, and regulates matters concerning elections brought before them."

From this explanation of the state of representation in Scotland, it is evident that in no part of it are the members returned to the house of commons by the people at large, or even by those classes of the people which in most of the boroughs of England enjoy the right of election.

It is rather surprising that the efforts of the Scotch to obtain a more extended and pure right of choosing their representatives should not have been more frequent and urgent. About thirty years ago, indeed, this subject attracted considerable attention and created deep and general interest in Scotland; but the efforts at reform were then of no avail.

About the beginning of the French revolution,—when the whole of Britain was agitated and almost convulsed with the violent doctrines respecting the origin and nature of government,—mere borough reform seems to have been regarded in Scotland as an object so limited in its nature, and so to-

* When Berwick and Roxburgh were taken by the English, Lanark and Linlithgow were substituted in their place.

† Maitland's History of Edinburgh.

tally inadequate to answer the expectations of the most active and zealous reformers, as well as so far short of what they deemed their right, and necessary to the welfare of the state, that they did not condescend to pay it any attention. After this period the question seems to have sunk into forgetfulness: nor is it probable it would have ever been revived, had it not been for some accidental circumstances. The town council, as they are called, of the boroughs in Scotland are to be elected according to certain forms, which are expressly determined and pointed out by the particular *sett* or constitution of the borough: if any of these forms are violated or neglected, the borough becomes disfranchised. In consequence of some neglect or violation committed by the borough of Montrose, it lost its franchise and constitution: this circumstance gave great spirits and hopes to those who cherished the idea of a borough reform in Scotland; and the advocates and friends of this cause in Montrose used every effort and endeavour to obtain for that town a new *sett* or constitution, on more enlarged, liberal, and pure principles, than the one which it had lost by forfeiture. The granting of a new *sett* depended upon the privy council, as well as the nature of that *sett*; but the privy council would not act without the advice of the lord advocate of Scotland. It was hardly expected that this law officer would give the privy council advice consonant to the wishes of the friends of borough reform. However, he did so: and in consequence a new *sett* was granted to the borough of Montrose, which extended the right of election considerably, and also gave to those who paid towards the town taxes, the right of investigating the necessity of raising them, and the mode in which they were applied.

This circumstance naturally elevated the hopes and roused the exertions of the friends of borough reform in all parts of Scotland; and, before the end of the year 1817, most of the royal boroughs themselves had passed resolutions expressive of their wish to participate in this reform. In all the proceedings upon this subject, there was a spirit of prudence, moderation, and calmness, which formed a strong and pleasing contrast to the violence that distinguished the reformers in Scotland at the beginning of the French revolution. The advocates for borough reform contented themselves with pointing out, in a clear and forcible manner, the injustice as well as the impolicy of the borough representation in Scotland, and with stating explicitly that they merely wished to alter that which allowed, admitted, and required alteration.

But, from the account which has been given of the mode of electing the town council in the royal boroughs of Scotland, and of the powers which the town council possess, it will be evident that the internal state of the boroughs, and especially their financial concerns, must be exposed to great mal-administration; and that therefore a reform must be requisite, as well as on this account as with respect to representation in parliament. Those who paid taxes in the boroughs had long complained that they were not permitted either to controul the expenditure of the money so raised, or to examine the accounts of those who did expend it. Great abuses were strongly suspected to exist in several of the boroughs on this subject, and also with regard to the management of landed

landed property, where the boroughs happened to possess any. It was justly argued, that it was against all principle of right, and totally at variance not merely with the spirit but also with the practice of the British constitution, to withhold from those who paid the taxes all information respecting the necessity of levying them, and the manner in which they were laid out; and that strong suspicions of mismanagement must attach to those who refused to submit their accounts to a fair, open, and equitable examination. Indeed,—when it is considered that the ministers of the country, before laying on any tax, submit to parliament, and through it to the nation at large, the grounds on which they think them to be requisite; and that every year the mode in which the taxes are expended is given in very full and minute detail,—it seems very presuming and unjust that those who had the management and disposal of the revenues of the royal boroughs should, in the smallest degree or in the most indirect manner, raise objections to the auditing of their accounts.

About the time when the proceedings relative to the borough of Montrose agitated the public mind in Scotland, the affairs of the borough of Aberdeen became involved in great difficulties. It had long been suspected, if not actually known, by the inhabitants of this town, that its revenue was laid out in a most imprudent and uncalled for manner, and that it was not equal to its expenditure:—at last, Aberdeen actually became a bankrupt; and thus there was a practical exposure of the evils resulting from the constitution of this and the other boroughs in Scotland, and a practical proof given that reform was needed, at least so far as the management and controul of the revenue was concerned. As, while the affairs of Aberdeen were in this embarrassed state, the magistrates for the time being were undoubtedly liable for its debts, no one was willing to become a magistrate; and thus, the election not taking place on the day fixed by the constitution of the borough, the charter is supposed to be rendered null and void. On the question, whether the burgesses in general were liable to make good any deficiency, if the property of the borough should be found not to be adequate to the full discharge of its debts, the opinion of Scotch counsel was taken; and they gave it as their opinion that the burgesses were liable.

Whatever may be the issue of the efforts of the boroughs in Scotland to obtain for themselves a more extended and pure system of representation, there seems little doubt that the result of all the events and proceedings which we have just detailed, will be a better management of their revenue, and the participation by the burgesses at large of the right to select their magistrates, and to superintend the concerns of the boroughs.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER X.

Agitated and disaffected State of the Country—Causes which produced or exasperated this State—Distress—the Writings of Cobbett—and the Violence of the Reformers—the Employment of Spies—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

AT the close of the year 1816, the metropolis was thrown into great alarm and apprehension by the Spa-field riots; the particulars of which were given in our last volume. At the same time it was known that many parts of the country, especially the manufacturing districts,—Lancashire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire—were in a very disturbed state: in the two last named counties, the system of Luddism (for a system it may well be called, when its wonderful organization and the secrecy, perfection, and effects with which that organization worked towards its most wicked and mischievous ends are considered) had assumed much more of a political aspect and tendency than it ever had before. The associations which had been formed at first for the sole purpose of destroying machinery, and injuring those who employed it, turned their thoughts and plans, at least as far as a reform in the government of the country; and as no one but the members of these associations knew the ties by which they were bound, the numbers of which they were composed, the secret spring by which they could all be brought into action at once, or the real object which they had in view, they could not but be regarded as of a very alarming and formidable nature.

There can be no doubt that many enrolled themselves under this system of Luddism, when it had thus assumed a political character and aimed at a political object, who felt no interest in it, so long as it was confined to its original plan and purpose. In short, early in the year 1817, a sullen and gloomy discontent and disaffection spread over a large portion of the labouring classes in the central and northern manufacturing districts; secret meetings were held, and at last a large body openly assembled between Derby and Nottingham, with the desperate purpose in view of redressing their real or supposed grievances by force of arms. At and near Manchester, too, a large body of most miserable and deluded people collected, provided each with a blanket, with the intention of walking up to London, and there seeking or demanding relief for their wants.

Various causes have been assigned for the agitation and disaffection which thus prevailed in this part of England; but, in our opinion, no single cause will adequately and satisfactorily account for it. As on all other points of political dispute, the disputants have gone into extremes; each party has overlooked every thing in the least unfavourable to his own views, and fixed exclusively on what would support them. Thus the ministers and their adherents traced the disaffection of the populace, and their violent and unlawful proceedings,

ceedings, entirely to the bad spirit which was instilled into them by the writings of Cobbett, and by the harangues and machinations of the more zealous and violent reformers. Even the ardent and indefatigable zeal of major Cartwright (for no person can accuse him of violence, or suspect him of being a friend to anarchy) was pointed out as one cause of the extension of the disaffection, and of the formidable shape which it assumed; because this gentleman in his missionary tour, in the cause of a reform in parliament, had established associations nearly over all the kingdom, mutually connected and corresponding with one another. Ministers did not, indeed, accuse major Cartwright of forming these societies for any other purpose than his own favourite one; but they maintained that he had thus rendered the populace aware of their own numbers and strength, and given an individuality of spirit and a bond of union to what previously had been a weak and disjointed mass. The charges which they brought against Cobbett and the other violent reformers were more direct and serious: they accused them of having taken advantage of the distresses of the people to goad them on to treason and rebellion, by not only preaching up the most iniquitous doctrines, but also inflaming their passions by false and unjust charges against the government, as the cause of their distress; and against all men of property and respectability, as cold and unfeeling witnesses of that distress, and as having also contributed to it by the support which they gave to the measures of government.

The picture drawn by the opponents of ministers was quite of an opposite nature. According to them, the populace in the disturbed districts, and generally throughout the kingdom, were indeed suffering under such extreme poverty and wretchedness, as gave to their feelings and views an exasperated and gloomy cast. They even admitted that in the disturbed districts the populace were dissatisfied and disaffected; but not with the constitution and laws of the country in which they lived,—their disaffection was turned entirely against the corruptions which had crept into that constitution, and the manner in which those laws had been administered:—they wished for, they aimed at no radical change of the constitution:—they did not desire to set aside the operation of the laws;—they only were anxious to restore the constitution to its pristine purity, and to give to the laws that salutary character, and that impartial administration, which might secure them equal rights and subsistence with the higher classes of the community.

While the populace were in this gloomy and exasperated state of feelings and views, and of course open to the machinations and influence of all who could work upon their passions and take advantage of their ignorance,—rendered more open to be led astray by these exasperated and gloomy feelings and views,—the opponents of ministers contended that spies were sent amongst them; that these spies, having gained their confidence, taught them to look entirely to themselves for redress; represented government as blind and callous to their misery; and boldly preached up sedition, rebellion, and treason. The organization, which all admitted existed in the disturbed districts, and which by ministers was traced to the associations formed during the period of

of Luddism, or by the advice of major Cartwright and the reformers,—the opponents of ministers ascribed to the spies, who, travelling from one part of the country to another, had it in their power to form it. They also contended, that the deluded populace would not in a single instance have proceeded to open and violent measures, had they not been deceived and stimulated to them by those spies;—who, moreover, represented to each part of the country into which they travelled, that all the other parts were ready to join them, and to all parts, that London was ripe for revolt.

Under these opposite and contradictory statements, it is natural to look for and carefully and impartially to examine the facts and evidence on which each party rested the truth and accuracy of what they asserted; but unfortunately (as will more fully and clearly appear in our next volume, in the debates on the indemnity bill), statements and evidence diametrically opposite and quite contradictory were brought forward with equal confidence by both parties. What might have been the issue of a rigid and judicial sifting of this evidence it is impossible to say, as none was gone into: it is therefore only by examining facts allowed by both parties, and attending to and weighing probabilities, that we can in the least approximate to the truth, on this most interesting and important but difficult subject.

In the first place, then, we must endeavour to estimate the effect which would necessarily be produced on the feelings and views of the populace, by that state of poverty and misery into which, according to both parties, they were plunged. This it is easy to do: a populace, ignorant,—actuated in all cases more by the feelings of the moment than by the dictates of prudence and judgement, and from their ignorance and strong and ungoverned feelings the slaves of prejudice,—would necessarily have their minds still more darkened by poverty and wretchedness, as well as their feelings and prejudices whetted to a more acute and dangerous state. Even though they did not ascribe their sufferings to any particular cause, or trace it to government, yet the mere animal effort to shake them off, to prevent themselves and their families from being starved, would give rise to violent measures: but the populace of all countries, in proportion as they are ignorant, are disposed to blame those above them, and especially those who have the administration of affairs, for all their misery, even in those cases in which it has been most directly and clearly produced by their own misconduct. Even, therefore, though neither the writings of Mr. Cobbett, nor the harangues and machinations of the violent reformists, nor, on the other hand, the machinations of spies, had operated upon the populace, still their own misery, acting upon their ignorance, exasperated feelings, and strong prejudices, must have rendered them dissatisfied and disaffected, and probably guilty of open acts of violence and tumult.

In the second place, all admit that the doctrine of parliamentary reform had been preached with most zealous and ardent enthusiasm and assiduity among the populace, not only of the disturbed districts, but also in every other part of the kingdom. But, by what arguments were the necessity and benefit of parliamentary reform supported? Its most moderate, prudent, and well-meaning advocates will not deny, that they

they ascribed all the encroachments that had been made on the constitution,—the immense national debt and consequent taxation under which we laboured, the unchecked extravagance of ministers, the sinecure places and overpaid salaries and pensions,—to the want of a parliamentary reform; and that they taught the people, that if they were fairly and fully represented, these things would not be so. Now, even granting that the moderate and prudent reformers did not tell the populace, that the evils which they ascribed to the want of a parliamentary reform, were the real and only efficient causes of the poverty and misery under which they laboured, could the populace avoid tracing them to these causes? Was it possible for them not to draw the inferences, that excessive taxation, and extravagance on the part of the government, created the poverty and misery which they so exquisitely felt; and that, if parliamentary reform would remedy this excessive taxation and extravagance, it would also restore them to sufficiency and comfort?

But, in the next place, the populace were taught, even by the moderate and prudent reformers, that they must do all for themselves in the work of reform, consequently in the rooting up of excessive taxation and extravagance, and consequently in the rescuing of themselves and families from poverty and misery. This representation, that government was blindly or selfishly obstinate and callous to their sufferings, accompanied by the doctrines that government was the cause of those sufferings, and could remove them, and that a reform of parliament would be an effectual remedy, but must be brought about entirely by their own exertions, naturally exasperated them against government, and at the same time induced them to look forward and prepare for compelling government to do that which they were not disposed to do.

But many of the advocates of reform were not so moderate or prudent in the doctrines they taught the people. It is candid, and easy to suppose, that the misery of the people might be ascribed to causes which parliamentary reform would remove, and that they might even be taught to regard government as totally indisposed to grant them that reform, by men who were not aware that preaching such doctrines among an ignorant populace, whose feelings, passions, and prejudices were exasperated by the sufferings into which they were plunged, must unavoidably lead to most serious and alarming mischief. But such a candid construction cannot be put upon the motives and views of those who advocated the cause of reform in a more violent manner.

In the writings of Cobbett, in particular, are to be found the most mischievous doctrines and insinuations. In the number which he published immediately after Mr. Percival was assassinated, instead of expressing horror at the crime, instead of pointing out to his readers —who for the most part were of the lower orders, and therefore less sensible and alive, perhaps, to the enormity of the crime—that assassination, so far from advancing, must necessarily retard the attainment of the object which they had in view, and that real liberty must be obtained and protected by far different means than murder, he exultingly dwelt upon the marks of joy and satisfaction with which the intelligence of the assassination was received in some parts of the kingdom:

dom: thus doing all he could safely do to show that he did not violently disapprove of it; and that the doctrine, that the end sanctified the means, in his opinion, was neither an unsound nor dangerous doctrine. In all his accounts, too, of riots, he never in the slightest or most indirect manner expressed disapprobation of those engaged in them, however wanton or unprovoked they might be, but reserved all his wrath and disapprobation for the men by whom the riots were quelled. Some other instances of the mischievous tendency of his publications may be mentioned;—the meetings and associations for the relief of the distressed poor in the year 1816 were the constant objects of his ridicule: he represented them as not only ineffectual to relieve the public distress, but as calculated and intended solely to blind the people to the real cause and origin of their distress. In several of the numbers of his Register, published at the time when the distress and disaffection in the manufacturing districts were at their height, he maintained, in his accustomed popular and impressive manner, the doctrines, that the labour of the poorer classes of the community was the real and only source of all wealth; that without them the other classes would be totally useless and insufficient; that therefore the rich were in fact dependent upon the labouring classes for their wealth; and that the latter, being the real and only source of wealth, had a claim to it, much superior to that which the rich could bring forward. It is unnecessary to point out the natural consequences of such doctrines:—is it likely that the people would be quiet and abstain from riots, when their great apostle attacked, not the rioters, but those who quelled them? Is it likely that the people would be either grateful for the relief offered them in the time of their distress, or disposed to co-operate in those measures which, by rendering them more frugal and provident, would in a great measure secure them from future distress, if their great apostle taught them to ridicule such attempts at relieving them, and to ascribe them to interested motives, and a wish to keep them in political bondage, and in ignorance of the real cause of their misery? Is it likely that the people would be quiet and satisfied, even if they gained all the reformers wanted by a reform in parliament, when they had been taught by their great apostle, that the rich were entirely dependent upon them, and that all wealth was in justice theirs, being solely derived from their labour, though hitherto they had been deprived of their right?

The statements we have made and the charges we have brought cannot be denied: their accuracy is vouched for by the writings of Cobbett, as well as by the acknowledged proceedings and speeches of his co-adjutors in the cause of violent reform.

Let us see, then, how the case stands, so far as we have examined it; or the causes which we have already developed, as connected with and contributing to the disturbances.

In consequence of the great and general stagnation of trade (we do not now inquire into the causes which produced it), a large proportion of the inhabitants of the manufacturing districts in the central counties of England were thrown entirely out of employ: notwithstanding the liberal subscriptions which were entered into, in order to support or relieve them, their distress

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was extreme; themselves, their wives, and children, were suffering dreadfully under the pressure of want; absolute starvation stared them in the face. Not accustomed or disposed to lay by money when employment was brisk and their wages high, they now found themselves destitute of those resources which this providence must have created; and, with minds equally indisposed and unable to support their misery with fortitude, or to trace it to the real causes, they naturally became almost frantic with despair, and with avidity caught at any cause not connected with themselves as the real cause of their misery, and at any measures, however desperate or unlawful, by which they were told or imagined they could free themselves, their wives and children, from this misery.

Thus suffering and feeling, their eyes were directed to the government as the real cause of their distress; and they were also taught that the government which had created this distress were blind and callous to it; that those who administered it were rioting in profusion and extravagance while they were starving; and that this profusion and extravagance were supported by, and entirely drawn from their labours. Thus they were convinced, that government were guilty of a double act of injustice: in the first place, because they did not relieve them when they had it in their power; and in the second place, because the relief thus denied would in fact have been only returning to them a small part of that which had been unjustly wrung from them.

We cannot wonder if on a starved population these representations should have a most powerful influence; and that they should have driven them to the most desperate resolution, to avenge themselves on government, and do themselves what they conceived, because they were taught, was only justice. Even to these measures they would have been driven, had no further and additional stimulus been applied to their desperate feelings; but they were further taught, that they themselves possessed the means, not only to obtain justice and revenge, but also to place the administration of government for the future on such a footing as would entirely secure them from the misery into which they were now plunged; and not only do that, but also assign them their proper rank in society, and enable them to obtain their due share of the fruits of their own labour.

Such was the state of the disturbed and disaffected population in the manufacturing districts, as that state was brought about by their distress, and by the machinations of those who took advantage of this distress to rouse them to extricate themselves from it.

But if the violent reformers have certainly much to blame themselves for, the government is far from blameless. In a former part of this volume we have given both the reports of the secret committees of the house of lords respecting the nature and extent of the disturbances and disaffection. On these reports the suspension of the habeas corpus was passed. There are some circumstances stated in them well deserving of notice: they agree that the great mass of the people, even in the disturbed districts, was sound and loyal; that no men of consequence, and scarcely any above the lowest ranks, were engaged in these disturbances, or were known to be the instigators of them; and that some of the spies of government, instead of confining themselves to simply

ply watching and reporting what was going on, had by their speeches and conduct stimulated the multitude to those acts which their employers wished to repress.

We shall afterwards inquire, whether even this statement of the secret committees justified the suspension of the habeas corpus:—at present we shall inquire into the necessity, the policy, and the moral propriety of employing spies.

All agree, that to employ spies under any circumstances is an evil. Some politicians contend, that no state of the country, however imminent and fertile in danger, can justify their employment. We are almost disposed to adopt this opinion, for several reasons, some of which we shall briefly mention. In the first place, we are of opinion that the moral maxims and principles which ought to guide individuals ought to guide a government, at least with respect to the internal administration of affairs;—whether they ought to guide government in their relations with foreign powers, is quite a distinct question. Now, so far as an individual is concerned, no maxim of the gospel displays so much good sense, or profound knowledge of human nature, as that which forbids us to do evil, that good may come. One infringement upon any principle that we have adopted and long acted upon, as the guide of our moral life, almost necessarily leads to a total relaxation of that principle:—such is the constitution of our nature; and so intimately are the parts (if the expression may be allowed) of all our habits, physical, intellectual, and moral, connected together, that the destruction of one part shakes to the centre the whole structure. On this broad ground, therefore, we are almost disposed to doubt the propriety of employing spies on any occasion; for, see to what extremes this giving up of the principle, that we ought not to do evil that good may come, will lead;—see what practices it will justify and encourage. If the employment of spies is justifiable on the plea that the safety of the state could not otherwise be secured, and that the safety of the state is the supreme law, then how can we avoid the conclusion, that in some cases the use of torture may not be justifiable? If spies were not employed, it is said, the designs of the disaffected could not have been detected, and they might have gone on to the overturning of the state, at least till they arrived at such a height as to endanger the state greatly, and to require the strongest measures to put them down: but if others could not detect their designs,—if these were kept so hidden that torture alone could bring them forth,—might not torture be justified on the same plea?

But it may be said, though one would purchase public safety and tranquillity at the expense of such a dereliction of principle as to employ spies, we should not purchase it by the use of torture; because the latter would occasion much more evil than the former, without the chance of atoning for it by the production of as much good.

This leads us to the consideration of the second reason, why we are doubtful whether under any state of the country spies ought to be employed. We are disposed to think that they always produce more evil than good; even allowing that by the employment of spies the most secret intentions and plans of the disaffected are discovered, and that these plans well organized, supported by large numbers, and ready for instant execution, had for their object

object the subversion of the state. A stronger case cannot be put.—The detection of this mischief, which, on the supposition, would have been fatal to the state, and was on the eve of execution, could not have been made;—but at what purchase is it made! All the confidence and charities of domestic life are cut up by the roots. Suspicion is introduced where it never entered before. A present evil is indeed prevented; but how many future evils are engendered! That government should be stable, unshaken by convulsions, and not be the sport of the mob, is undoubtedly desirable in the highest degree. But what must be the nature or effects of a government, when those whom it rules have lost, in a great measure, that confidence among themselves without which the moral frame of society cannot hold together?

But we may, and we do grant, that in some extreme case the employment of spies may be justifiable, because most clearly and absolutely necessary for the preservation of the state. It must, however, be preserved not from local and temporary tumults,—not from such a tumult as would produce only a local and temporary loosening of the powers of government; but such as was either general and deeply rooted, or likely to produce such disorder. It must be in fact the absolute safety, and not merely the tranquillity, of the state; and that this safety is endangered, there must be the most clear and absolute proof.

Now let us turn to the reports of the committees of the house of lords. They admit that the great mass of the people was sound and untainted; that no person of property or consequence was engaged in the conspiracy; and that the mobs which did actually collect, were almost immediately quelled. Are then the laws of the country so feeble, so inapplicable, or so badly administered, that they are inadequate to bring to justice those who trespass against them under such circumstances? The very mode in which the disaffected managed their rising proved that, however secret their plans might have been kept, they were totally incapable, both from want of force and talent, of carrying them into execution; and that they might have been suffered to go on without the employment of spies, as undoubtedly they would in the end have exposed and ruined their own plans. The employment of spies *may* be justifiable in a country where the great mass of the people are disloyal; where not only the lower classes, but those of a higher rank, who possess more talent and greater means of doing mischief, are organized for rebellion; because in such a state it is not to be supposed, that there will be many who will be at once well-informed enough and daring enough, to discover what is going on, and what is intended, to government. But, when the great mass of the people are loyal and untainted, it is a proof that the plans of the disaffected are secret only because few are concerned in them.

But there is another point of view in which this case may be considered; and this point of view is also suggested by the reports of the secret committee. In these reports it is acknowledged, that some of the spies went beyond the strict line of their duty; and that they encouraged by their speeches and conduct, whereas they ought only to have watched and informed. But is not this an evil inseparable from

the employment of spies? Ought not the apprehension of this evil to make governments pause before they employ spies? Whatever in the heat or policy of debate may be urged in behalf of the purity and patriotism of their motives, few will contend that spies are men of good moral character, or that they have any thing else in view but to put money in their pockets, and to gain the approbation of their employers by any means. They must be paid in proportion to the importance of the discoveries they make—to the magnitude of the evils from which they are supposed to have freed the country: and with men of their character will there be any the slightest or most evanescent scruple to create or encourage disaffection, if it does not otherwise exist, or does not exist in a sufficient degree, in order to secure the promised reward? When spies are let loose, it is utterly impossible for government, with the best intentions and the utmost watchfulness and management, to prevent them from doing mischief, or even to know whether they are doing it or not. From the very nature of their employment, their goings on must be in secret; and they must seem to enter into the plans of those whom it is their intention to betray. Coming as strangers, they must give proofs that they are men of the same principles and plans: they must even go further, if they wish or expect (as they must do) to gain that confidence which will let them into the most secret machinations: they must go beyond the men whom they are to betray, in zeal and violence, and give encouragement to them by holding out the prospect of more extensive and powerful co-operation than they had anticipated.

Such, from the reports of the committee, is allowed to have been the conduct of at least some of the government spies:—and how could it have been otherwise? If government employ such men, they must lay their account that they will do mischief; that they will not only destroy confidence between man and man, beget suspicion, and shake the very foundations of domestic society; but that they will also create disaffection where none existed before, and increase it where it does not exist to such a degree as will serve their interest.

But it is said it is necessary that the plans of the disaffected should be brought to a head as soon as possible, before they are fully organized, and before they have collected all their strength; and spies are absolutely necessary for these purposes. But how can spies accomplish these purposes, except by encouraging the disaffected, and increasing their hopes by misrepresentations? and how can it possibly be known whether, if spies had not interfered, their plans would have been carried to the same extremity.

The employment of spies seems to us to stand on the same footing as the employment of what are called blood-money men. Many instances occurred during 1817, of men employed by the police to detect and bring to justice criminals, who, not finding a sufficient number of criminals, actually enticed persons to the commission of crime, for the purpose of obtaining the reward. What difference is there betwixt these blood-money men and spies? In one respect, indeed, the employment of the latter seems much more dangerous than that of the former; for the blood-money men are employed in the vicinity of their employers, and their goings on

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are not necessarily so secret as those of spies must be.

To sum up our observations on this most important subject:—We are strongly disposed to doubt the justice, policy, or moral fitness of employing spies, under any circumstances, or by any government. We are still more strongly disposed to object to the employment of them in such a country as Britain, where the laws are rendered strong, not so much by the power of the government, as by the intelligence and habits of the people; and where in very few instances have the confidence and sacredness of domestic life been broken into by the conduct of government. And we certainly think, that when the great mass of the people was sound and untainted, when few or no persons of rank or influence were engaged in the conspiracy, and when the open rebellion of the few that did collect was speedily and easily put down, —there was no necessity to employ spies; or, in other words, to do evil that good might come, when the good might have been obtained without the evil. At the same time, we most fully and conscientiously acquit government of any arbitrary plan, or even wish, in the employment of spies: we believe that they acted for the best. So much we cannot say for those who by their writings, and speeches, and conduct, stimulated the distressed people to machinations and acts against the state. Some of them were undoubtedly actuated by good motives, and did not imagine that such would have been the consequences of what they said and did: but they ought to have reflected on the extreme and almost certain danger of teaching a mob that they ought and could redress their own grievances; and that a mob when once let loose must do mischief not in the contemplation of those who let them loose, or even of themselves; —in the same manner as spies must, from their character and the nature of their employment, be the causes of great evil.

We have thus candidly expressed our opinion respecting the nature, extent and origin of the disturbances that existed in the manufacturing districts in the year 1817; though we are aware that we shall expose ourselves to the animadversions of both parties,—those who think the violent reformers were entirely guiltless in creating or fomenting these disturbances, and those who maintain that government acted wisely and justifiably in the employment of spies,—and that these spies did not delude or set on the multitude, but on the contrary only performed their duty, and by thus performing it saved the country. On all political questions which greatly agitate the nation, especially if those questions relate to the internal administration, it is almost impossible to attain the pure and full truth, and equally difficult to steer clear of the two extremes into which men fall. At present the statements, both in parliament and out of it, with respect to the real actions and influence of the government spies, are so contradictory, that an impartial person feels his mind quite in equipoise. As at the very time when these things take place there is so much difficulty in arriving at the truth, it might be supposed that there would be still greater difficulty after the lapse of some time. This, however, is not the case: many instances might be mentioned of the truth breaking forth long after the events took

place, by the mere clearing away of the mists of prejudice and misrepresentation.

In the parliamentary debates our readers will perceive that ministers proposed and carried the suspension of the habeas corpus act, on the ground that such suspension was necessary to the preservation of the peace of the country. All of us, from our earliest years have been taught to regard the habeas corpus act as one of the best securities of our liberties, and one of the most distinguishing and peculiar blessings of the British constitution: and yet how few know what is the actual meaning and extent of that act, or what the subject is deprived of by its suspension! Britons are very much given to boast of their excellent constitution, and to despise foreigners for not being equally favoured: and yet in general, we know little about either its general principles, or its most important laws: our information is extremely vague and indefinite; so much so indeed, as to point out, in the clearest and strongest manner, the necessity of making the study of our constitution, and of at least the spirit of our laws and institutions, an essential and regular part of the education of all classes.

In order that the degree and extent of the infringement on the constitution, which ministers thought it necessary to make, by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, may be thoroughly understood; and that thus we may be enabled to judge whether the state of the country demanded such a measure, or whether a more constitutional and milder remedy might not have been applied,—we shall premise Blackstone's account of the habeas corpus act:—

"But the great and efficacious writ, in all manner of illegal confinement, is that of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*; directed to the person detaining another, and commanding him to produce the body of the prisoner, with the day and cause of his caption and detention, *ad faciendum, subjiciendum, et recipiendum*, to do, submit to, and receive, whatsoever the judge or court awarding such writ shall consider in that behalf. This is a high prerogative writ, and therefore by the common law issuing out of the court of king's bench, not only in term time, but also during the vacation, by a *fiat* from the chief justice or any other of the judges, and running into all parts of the king's dominions: for the king is at all times entitled to have an account, why the liberty of any of his subjects is restrained, wherever that restraint may be inflicted. If it issues in vacation, it is usually returnable before the judge himself who awarded it, and he proceeds by himself thereon; unless the term should intervene, and then it may be returned in court. Indeed, if the party were privileged in the courts of common pleas and exchequer, as being an officer or suitor of the court, an *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* might also have been awarded from thence: and, if the cause of imprisonment were palpably illegal, they might have discharged him; but, if he were committed for any criminal matter, they could only have remanded him, or taken bail for his appearance in the court of king's bench; which occasioned the common pleas to discountenance such applications. It has also been said, and by very respectable authorities, that the like *habeas corpus* may issue out of the court of chancery in vacation: but, upon the famous

mous application to lord Nottingham by Jenks, notwithstanding the most diligent searches, no precedent could be found where the chancellor had issued such a writ in vacation, and therefore his lordship refused it.

"In the court of king's bench it was, and is still, necessary to apply for it by motion to the court, as in the case of all other prerogative writs (*certiorari*, prohibition, *mandamus*, &c.) which do not issue as of mere course, without showing some probable cause why the extraordinary power of the crown is called into the party's assistance. For, as was argued by lord chief justice Vaughan, 'It is granted on motion, because it cannot be had of 'course; and there is therefore no '*necessity* to grant it: for the court 'ought to be satisfied that the 'party hath a probable cause to be 'delivered.' And this seems the more reasonable, because (when once granted) the person to whom it is directed can return no satisfactory excuse for not bringing up the body of the prisoner. So that, if it issued of mere course, without showing to the court or judge some reasonable ground for awarding it, a traitor or felon under sentence of death, a soldier or mariner in the king's service, a wife, a child, a relation, or a domestic, confined for insanity or other prudential reasons, might obtain a temporary enlargement by suing out an *habeas corpus*, though sure to be remanded as soon as brought up to the court. And therefore sir Edward Coke, when chief justice, did not scruple in 13 Jac. I. to deny a *habeas corpus* to one confined by the court of admiralty for piracy; there appearing, upon his own showing, sufficient grounds to confine him. On the other hand, if a probable ground be shown, that the party is imprisoned without just cause, and therefore hath a right to be delivered, the writ of *habeas corpus* is then a writ of right, which 'may not be denied, but 'ought to be granted to every 'man that is committed, or de-'tained in prison, or otherwise re-'strained, though it be by the com-'mand of the king, the privy coun-'cil, or any other.'

"In a former part of these commentaries we expatiated at large on the personal liberty of the subject. It was shown to be a natural inherent right, which could not be surrendered or forfeited, unless by the commission of some great and atrocious crime; nor ought to be abridged in any case without the special permission of law. A doctrine coeval with the first rudiments of the English constitution; and handed down to us from our Saxon ancestors, notwithstanding all their struggles with the Danes, and the violence of the Norman conquest: asserted afterwards and confirmed by the conqueror himself and his descendants: and though sometimes a little impaired by the ferocity of the times, and the occasional despotism of jealous or usurping princes, yet established on the firmest basis by the provisions of *magna charta*, and a long succession of statutes enacted under Edward III. To assert an absolute exemption from imprisonment in all cases, is inconsistent with every idea of law and political society; and in the end would destroy all civil liberty, by rendering its protection impossible: but the glory of the English law consists in clearly defining the times, the causes, and the extent, when, wherefore, and to what degree, the imprisonment of the subject may be lawful. This induces an absolute necessity of expressing upon every

commitment the reason for which it is made: that the court upon an *habeas corpus* may examine into its validity; and according to the circumstances of the case may discharge, admit to bail, or remand the prisoner.

"And yet, early in the reign of Charles I. the court of king's bench, relying on some arbitrary precedents, (and those perhaps misunderstood,) determined that they could not upon an *habeas corpus* either bail or deliver a prisoner, though committed without any cause assigned, in case he was committed by the special command of the king, or by the lords of the privy council. This drew on a parliamentary enquiry, and produced the *petition of rights*, 3 Car. I. which recites this illegal judgment, and enacts, that no freeman hereafter shall be so imprisoned or detained. But when, in the following year, Mr. Selden and others were committed by the lords of the council, in pursuance of his majesty's special command, under a general charge of 'notable 'contempts and stirring up sedition 'against the king and govern-'ment,' the judges delayed for two terms (including also the long vacation) to deliver an opinion how far such a charge was bailable. And, when at length they agreed that it was, they however annexed a condition of finding sureties for the good behaviour, which still protracted their imprisonment; the chief justice, sir Nicholas Hyde, at the same time declaring, that 'if 'they were again remanded for 'that cause, perhaps the court 'would not afterwards grant a 'habeas corpus, being already made 'acquainted with the cause of the 'imprisonment.' But this was heard with indignation and astonishment by every lawyer present; according to Mr Selden's own account of the matter, whose resentment was not cooled at the distance of four-and-twenty years.

"These pitiful evasions gave rise to the statute 16 Car. I. c. 10. § 8, whereby it was enacted, that if any person be committed by the king himself in person, (or by his privy council, or by any of the members thereof,) he shall have granted unto him, without any delay upon any pretence whatsoever, a writ of *habeas corpus*, upon demand or motion made to the court of king's bench *or common pleas*; who shall thereupon, within three court days after the return is made, examine and determine the legality of such commitment, and do what to justice shall appertain, in delivering, bailing, or remanding such prisoner. Yet still in the case of Jenks, before alluded to, who in 1676 was committed by the king in council for a turbulent speech at Guildhall, new shifts and devices were made use of to prevent his enlargement by law; the chief justice (as well as the chancellor) declining to award a writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* in vacation, though at last he thought proper to award the usual writs *ad deliberandum*, &c. whereby the prisoner was discharged at the Old Bailey. Other abuses had also crept into daily practice, which had in some measure defeated the benefits of this great constitutional remedy. The party imprisoning was at liberty to delay his obedience to the first writ, and might wait till a second and a third, called an *alias* and a *pluries*, were issued, before he produced the party: and many other vexatious shifts were practised to detain state-prisoners in custody. But whoever will attentively consider the English

English history may observe, that the flagrant abuse of any power, by the crown or its ministers, has always been productive of a struggle; which either discovers the exercise of that power to be contrary to law, or (if legal) restrains it for the future. This was the case in the present instance. The oppression of an obscure individual gave birth to the famous *habeas corpus* act, 31 Car. II. c. 2. which is frequently considered as another *magna charta* of the kingdom; and by consequence has also in subsequent times reduced the method of proceeding on these writs (though not within the reach of that statute, but issuing merely at the common law,) to the true standard of law and liberty.

"The statute itself enacts, 1. That the writ shall be returned and the prisoner brought up, within a limited time, according to the distance, not exceeding in any case twenty days. 2. That such writs shall be indorsed, as granted in pursuance of this act, and signed by the person awarding them. 3. That on complaint and request in writing by or on behalf of any person committed and charged with any crime (unless committed for treason or felony expressed in the warrant, or for suspicion of the same, or as accessory thereto before the fact, or convicted or charged in execution by legal process) the lord chancellor or any of the twelve judges, in vacation, upon viewing a copy of the warrant, or affidavit that a copy is denied, shall (unless the party has neglected for two terms to apply to any court for his enlargement) award a *habeas corpus* for such prisoner, returnable immediately before himself or any other of the judges; and upon the return made shall discharge the party, if bailable, upon giving security to appear and answer to the accusation in the proper court of judicature. 4. That officers and keepers neglecting to make due returns, or not delivering to the prisoner or his agent within six hours after demand a copy of the warrant of commitment, or shifting the custody of a prisoner from one to another, without sufficient reason or authority (specified in the act), shall for the first offence forfeit 100*l.* and for the second offence 200*l.* to the party grieved, and be disabled to hold his office. 5. That no person, once delivered by *habeas corpus*, shall be recommitted for the same offence, on penalty of 500*l.* 6. That every person committed for treason or felony shall, if he requires it, the first week of the next term, or the first day of the next session of *oyer* and *terminer*, be indicted in that term or session, or else admitted to bail; unless the king's witnesses cannot be produced at the time: and if acquitted, or if not indicted and tried in the second term or session, he shall be dischargrd from his imprisonment for such imputed offence: but that no person, after the assizes shall be opened for the county in which he is detained, shall be removed by *habeas corpus*, till after the assizes are ended; but shall be left to the justice of the judges of assize. 7. That any such prisoner may move for and obtain his *habeas corpus*, as well out of the chancery or exchequer, as out of the king's bench or common pleas; and the lord chancellor or judge denying the same, on sight of the warrant or oath that the same is refused, forfeit severally to the party grieved the sum of 500*l.* 8. That this writ of *habeas corpus* shall run into the counties palatine, cinque ports, and other privileged places,

and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. 9. That no inhabitant of England (except persons contracting, or convicts praying, to be transported; or having committed some capital offence in the place to which they are sent) shall be sent prisoner to Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, or any places beyond the seas, within or without the king's dominions: on pain that the party committing, his advisers, aiders, and assistants, shall forfeit to the party grieved a sum not less than 500*l.* to be recovered with treble costs; shall be disabled to bear any office of trust or profit; shall incur the penalties of *præmunire*; and shall be incapable of the king's pardon.

"This is the substance of that great and important statute: which extends (we may observe) only to the case of commitments for such criminal charge, as can produce no inconvenience to public justice by a temporary enlargement of the prisoner: all other cases of unjust imprisonment being left to the *habeas corpus* at common law. But even upon writs at the common law it is now expected by the court, agreeable to antient precedents and the spirit of the act of parliament, that the writ should be immediately obeyed, without waiting for any *alias* or *pluries*; otherwise an attachment will issue. By which admirable regulations, judicial as well as parliamentary, the remedy is now complete for *removing* the injury of unjust and illegal confinement. A remedy the more necessary, because the oppression does not always arise from the ill-nature, but sometimes from the mere inattention, of government. For it frequently happens in foreign countries, (and has happened in England during temporary suspensions of the statute) that persons apprehended upon suspicion have suffered long imprisonment, merely because they were forgotten."

From this account it will appear that by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, persons may be imprisoned without the necessity of bringing them to trial. Let us now examine in what respect this suspension could be useful to repress the disturbances by which part of the country was agitated, and to secure the safety of the government.

It is easy to conceive such a state of things, that a fair and impartial trial cannot be expected, and that it may be prudent or necessary to imprison those against whom no legal evidence of guilt can be brought forward. On these two grounds, principally, was the suspension of the habeas corpus act justified by ministers. But if the great mass of the people were loyal and untainted, there could be no apprehension that a fair and impartial trial would not be obtained; and in fact, as we shall afterwards have occasion to show, the only part of the kingdom, where those who were accused of high treason were found guilty, was the very centre of the disaffected districts. On this ground, therefore, there seems hardly a sufficient reason to be found for suspending the habeas corpus act. The other ground is more tenable, provided the country were in such a state as to render persons, who were only supposed to be proceeding towards illegal acts, dangerous to its tranquillity; for, by the supposition, they had not actually committed any act on which the law could take hold, otherwise the suspension of the habeas corpus act would not have been necessary with respect to them.

One beneficial consequence this suspension

suspension undoubtedly had: it repressed the violent measures of many; and, as we have already noticed, drove Cobbett out of the country. But it certainly would be much better in every point of view, to preserve or restore tranquillity to the country by additional laws, (if those in existence are not sufficient) than by such an infringement on the constitution as the suspension of the habeas corpus act produces. In all governments, and perhaps in free governments more than in others, precedent very properly is of great weight and influence in the direction and justification of measures. The most scrupulous care, therefore, ought to be taken, that no bad precedents are set; or, at least, that they be set as seldom as possible; and never unless when the special necessity for them is most urgent, and most distinctly and unequivocally pointed out, as their sole justification; so that the precedent of the justification, and of the necessity on which it is formed, may be as distinct and strong as the precedent of the measure itself.

On the whole, therefore, we are disposed to be of opinion, that though there were disturbances in the country, and though these disturbances were fomented by the violent reformers; yet, as the great mass of the people were sound and untainted, they would have worked themselves off with very partial and temporary mischief; and that the laws of the country, though perhaps they were not sufficient to have prevented all this mischief, yet were powerful enough to prevent any very serious evil, without the suspension of the habeas corpus act. Ministers ought to be the last people to weaken the attachment and veneration of the nation for the constitution; yet it must be weakened, when they acknowledge by their measures, that unless it is violated, it is not adequate to the putting down partial disturbances. Ministers also should be the last people to show distrust in the nation: but this they certainly did, when, notwithstanding their declaration that the great mass was loyal and untainted, they deemed it necessary to employ spies, and to deprive this great mass, thus loyal and untainted, of one of the great bulwarks of the constitution, on account of the disaffection and disturbances of a few.

CHAPTER XI.

The Spenceans.—State Trials—of Watson, &c.—Brandreth, &c.—In Scotland.—Wooler and Hone—Remarks on the Duties of a Judge.

IN the volume of the New Annual Register for the year 1816 was given a very full and particular account of the tenets and the plans of the Spenceans, as well as of the reasonings and authority on which they were founded. To all who read this account it must appear, we think, that the doctrines broached and maintained by the Spenceans were those of a set of wrongheaded enthusiasts, alike ignorant of human nature

nature and regardless of the state and strength of human society and institutions: and that no possible harm could be apprehended from these reformers, principally because their plan of reform went so far as to defeat itself, and render itself perfectly harmless.

Government, however, seems to have thought otherwise; for in the first report of the secret committee, one of the grounds on which the suspension of the habeas corpus act and the other measures that curtailed the liberty of the subject were recommended, rested on the dangerous and alarming doctrines of the Spenceans. Our readers will recollect that the grand doctrine which they taught was, that the land ought not to be the property of individuals, but of the state; and that all labour ought to be for the common good and advantage: they endeavoured to prove, that all the misery of the great mass of mankind,—all wars, and in short every calamity with which man in society had been inflicted, originated from the existence of individual property: they also contended, that even those who by the present structure and laws of society possessed a large share of property, would be benefited by giving it up to the common stock.

It certainly is not necessary to show that the Spencean doctrines were not the least likely to meet with, or to make converts, among those who possessed any property: a few madmen, or enthusiasts approaching to the state of madness, might indeed have been induced to adopt the Spencean doctrines; as men of this description will always be found ready, by the very morbid structure of their minds, to become the disciples of the most absurd doctrine that ever was broached;—but certainly from the men of property, however small, no converts of any consequence, or in any numbers, were to be looked for.

Let us now inquire what chance there was that the Spencean doctrines would find or make converts among those who had not property, among the poorest and most hard-working class of the community. When it has been asserted that no danger of a serious or permanent nature could possibly have arisen from the disaffected in the manufacturing districts, and especially from the Spenceans, and therefore that it was not necessary to have suspended the habeas corpus act,—it was replied that we ought to look to the French revolution;—that it arose from small beginnings—from the lowest riot—from men who were despised—but who proved themselves capable of overturning the government of France, and eventually of spreading ruin and misery throughout nearly the whole of Europe. But the cases are by no means similar: it certainly will not be contended, that because in one case a government has been overturned by the machinations of men who were few in number, and despicable in means and character, and to all appearance incapable of doing so much mischief; that therefore, in all cases, such calamities ought to be apprehended and guarded against, by infringements on the liberty of the subject. All who recollect, or have read of, the state in which France was just before the revolution, must know, that the moral poison had circulated through the greater part of the mass of the people, that it entered into the vital parts. The English violent reformers, and the mob in the disturbed districts, under their guidance and instruction, certainly

tainly imitated the example of the French revolutionists, in holding forth the doctrines, that the people themselves were justified in endeavouring to obtain by force, what they could not otherwise obtain, and that they were oppressed by people in power and people of property; and that not only a reform of government ought to be brought about, but also such a change in the structure of society, as would secure to the poor who laboured, a larger proportion of the produce of their labours.

These are certainly dangerous and alarming doctrines; but their danger must depend more on the numbers who espouse them, and the general moral and political condition of the country in which they are broached, than on their nature and tendency. In France, the most active men, the men of the most influence preached them; and they preached them to a population, in which, generally speaking, there were but two classes, the very rich and privileged, and the very poor and unprivileged; in which there was no middling class of any considerable numbers or property;—and, what is of great importance to be considered, in which commerce and manufactures had not taken a firm and general footing. The state of England was in every respect the very reverse: the great mass of the people was not only sound and untainted, but from that mass—either consisting of men of some property, or of people deriving their means of comfort and support from trade and manufactures, and strongly tied down by their interest to continue sound and untainted—few or no persons of consequence or property had joined or countenanced the insurgents; and in short, except that both in France and England nearly the same doctrines were taught, there was not a single point of resemblance or parallelism. In a country where there is a numerous, powerful, and intelligent middle class, most conscientiously and warmly attached to domestic happiness; and where, besides, trade has formed the most close and widely ramified connexions and interests, the frame of society or of government can scarcely be broken to pieces, or even put to jeopardy, by the discontent and machinations of the labouring population, even though all were to coalesce.

But if so little was to be apprehended from the violent reformers, still less was to be apprehended from the Spenceans: the wishes and feelings of the great bulk of the nation must be much changed indeed, before they will embrace, even in speculation, much less rouse themselves to bring about a plan which was not to give them individual property, but which was to deprive them even of the little they might possess, and oblige them to work, not for themselves, not for wages which they were to spend as they chose, but entirely and exclusively for the good of the community, for wages which in fact were to go into the common stock. Wherever the great mass of the population of any country have been excited to endeavour to overturn the government, it has been with the hope and design of taking to themselves the property of the rich; of making themselves rich, and the rich poor: but the Spencean philosophy was decidedly averse to this. The poor were to be benefited, not by obtaining property, not by becoming rich; but simply by partaking along with those who were before rich, in the

the produce of land and labour, which were to be made common property.

It can surely, therefore, hardly be supposed that such a doctrine as that which was held forth by the Spenceans could become popular, or create any serious danger to the tranquillity and stability of the state: and the fact was so;—for though in the report of the secret committee a most alarming description was given, not only of the nature and tendency of this doctrine, but also of the wide and strong hold it had taken in various parts of the country; so much so, indeed, that it was asserted numerous associations were formed, all of whom corresponded with the London association; yet in the event all this proved to be unfounded. That there were associations in various and distant parts of the country, was undoubted; that some of these associations strictly and honestly confined themselves to their avowed object, parliamentary reform, is also true; whilst others, under this pretext, looked forward to and aimed at more radical and violent changes;—but the most violent, and those whose plans and intentions were fraught with the most mischief, refused any co-operation with the Spenceans, from a conviction that the plan, the object of which was to do away all individual property, and all individual right even to the fruit of labour, could not be popular, or in the smallest degree advance the plans of radical reform, and of securing to the mass of the people a greater share of the produce of their labour.

Government, itself, seems to have been aware of the mistake into which they had fallen with respect to the Spenceans; for in the second report of the secret committee they are not noticed; and in the debates in parliament, on the suspension of the habeas corpus act, their numbers were represented, even by ministerial members, as by no means formidable, and their plans and objects were held up to ridicule.

But though government on reflection, and it may be presumed on better information, regarded the Spenceans as mad, but in a great measure harmless enthusiasts, yet they deemed it proper to apprehend the two Evanses, father and son, who had been the most active and zealous in forming a Spencean association in London, and had published two pamphlets, illustrating and confirming their peculiar tenets. They were taken up before the suspension of the habeas corpus act; but they were not liberated till the suspension was taken off, nor were they brought to trial. Immediately on the suspension of this act, a considerable number were taken up and imprisoned in London and different parts of the country. In our next volume we shall have to consider the allegations which such of these people as were dismissed without trial, brought against government for taking them up without sufficient cause; or against the keepers of the prisons in which they were confined, for harsh and cruel treatment. At present we shall confine ourselves to those cases which were brought forward in the session of 1817: the most remarkable were those of Evans, and those which related to the prisoners who were confined in Reading gaol.

The petitions which were presented by the two Evanses complained of harsh and unnecessary severity in their imprisonment. Ministers on the other hand contended that

that the charges were unfounded. Never perhaps, was there a better proof or illustration of the almost impossibility of arriving at truth, than this case afforded. Had the charges of the Evanses and the denials of ministers been couched in general terms, it might be supposed that the parties attached different meanings to these general terms; but when specific charges were brought, and denied as firmly and unequivocally as they were brought, surprise must certainly be felt, that on such a case the real and full truth could not be attained. The Evanses were lodged in a gaol in the very heart almost of the metropolis; they were visited by many members of the house of commons; and yet it could not be determined whether the instances of particular hardships were committed or not.

Ministers, however, seem to have admitted, that they were not treated exactly as they ought to have been, for they gave orders that some of the grounds of their complaint should be removed. There can be no doubt that most persons who are taken up under the suspension of the habeas corpus act, ought while imprisoned to be dealt with, with as much leniency as is compatible with their security. All taken up under this act, are taken up either because though suspected as dangerous persons, there is no legal proof of guilt against them; or because a fair and impartial trial cannot be expected till after a longer period than the law would allow, if the habeas corpus act was not suspended. In all cases, where persons are taken up, merely because they were suspicious and dangerous persons, without any legal proof of guilt, and consequently where from the first there was no intention of bringing them to trial,—they ought simply to be confined in such a manner as will prevent their escape; since they are put in confinement, not because they have violated the laws, but only to prevent them from violating them. And as they must unavoidably suffer much by the very act of imprisonment, in feelings, health, and worldly concerns, it seems but just that the greatest care ought to be taken that these sufferings are not in the smallest degree aggravated by any harshness or severity in the plan or mode of confinement, or in the treatment which they receive.

The case is different with regard to those who have been taken up with an intention of bringing them to trial; because it is to be supposed that there are proofs, at least in the opinion of government, of their having become amenable to the laws: but as soon as the intention of bringing them to trial is abandoned,—especially if it be abandoned because the proofs of guilt, on further investigation, are not found to be so strong, numerous and unequivocal as was anticipated,—and still more especially if these proofs fade entirely away before investigation; then in these cases, the treatment of such prisoners should be merely such as is necessary to keep them secure till it is judged proper to release them. The supreme good is the supreme law of this, as well as of other states; but in gaining this supreme good, individual interests ought to be sacrificed as little as possible. That this is a sound principle all will admit, in every instance where the interest of an individual who has not offended against the laws, is sacrificed for the public good: but it appears to us, that the principle ought to extend to all who are made to suffer more than the law authorizes, or than their real crimes deserve by that law,

law, for the purpose of maintaining the public good.

The case of the prisoners in Reading gaol is of a different nature in some respects from that which we have been just considering. The magistrates of Berkshire, thinking they had a right to visit all prisoners, demanded of the gaoler that he should admit them to visit the prisoners who had been taken up, during the suspension of the habeas corpus act, by a warrant from the secretary of state for the home department. This demand the gaoler, acting under the orders of the secretary of state, refused to comply with, and he was therefore suspended from his office by the magistrate. A trial afterwards took place, in which the gaoler was acquitted, the law not granting power to magistrates to visit state prisoners.

Such are the facts of this case. We must confess, that in our opinion the law should not only empower, but command magistrates to visit all prisons, whoever may be confined in them. It is only thus that the keepers of prisons can be prevented from abusing their trust. It may be said, indeed, that if a prisoner is treated with unnecessary harshness, or with cruelty, he can complain against the gaolers: but what means has he of complaint—or rather what means of making such complaints as will be heard, and he can substantiate? If his term of imprisonment is not nearly at an end, he is not likely to bring forward complaints against a man who has so much in his power; nor is it likely he will be able to persuade his fellow-prisoners, even if they witnessed his ill-treatment, to become bold and unequivocal witnesses against their keeper. It may also be said, that in the present state of the laws and of society in England, few if any gaolers will either be disposed or able to behave with illegal severity towards their prisoners: but it is one of the peculiar and greatest characteristics and blessings of the British constitution, that it does not, in any instance, rest the liberty or the rights of the people on the character of those who administer the laws, or are in possession of legal power, but solely and entirely on the laws themselves. As, therefore, it does not appear to us, that any harm can possibly arise from those persons, who are fit to discharge the duties of magistrates, being allowed to visit all persons in confinement; and as this right to visit them is assuredly the most effectual check to misbehaviour on the part of the gaoler towards his prisoners;—we cannot help wishing, that the law had in all cases, not only empowered but enjoined magistrates to visit the prisons of their respective districts.

In our volume for the year 1816 we gave an account of the riots in Spa-fields. Soon after they took place, but before the suspension of the habeas corpus act, those who had been most active in these riots were apprehended under a charge of high treason. It is probable that the attack upon the prince regent, as he was returning from the opening of parliament, in some measure induced government to arrest these persons, as well as to suspend the habeas corpus act. For though the character and apparent consequences of these riots were at one time very seriously alarming, yet the circumstance of such an open and outrageous attack on the sovereign, must have tended to confirm government in the belief that the riots were part of an organized plan of rebellion, and of course,

course, that those who instigated them ought to be brought to trial without loss of time.

The persons who were taken up upon the charge of high treason, for being concerned in the Spafields riots, were men in a very low rank of life; and were formidable rather for the intrepidity and ardour of their zeal, than for their talents. The principal were a Dr. Watson and a Mr. Preston. Young Watson the son, who had wounded the gentleman in a gunsmith's shop on the day of the riots, contrived to escape out of the kingdom.

These trials did not excite much interest; nor were the public in general much surprised, or either elated or disappointed, when all the prisoners were acquitted by the verdict of the jury. A short and general account of the trials will be found in the Chronicle. We shall therefore, in this place, confine ourselves to a statement of the causes which produced the acquittal of the prisoners; and some remarks on the mode in which the trials were conducted.

The principal witness against the prisoners was a man of the name of Castles. He had been an accomplice; hence his evidence was received with great doubt by the jury. But besides this prejudice against his evidence generally, he swore to things either so absurd and improbable in themselves, or so directly and decidedly contradicted by other witnesses of unimpeachable character, that the jury could not place the smallest confidence on what he said. This was one main cause why the prisoners were acquitted: but there were other causes. The law of England is very humanely, and wisely, extremely cautious and particular respecting the crime of high-treason, and the evidence required to prove that crime. There must be no presumption; the act must be direct and unequivocal, and the evidence to prove it must also be most undoubted. Now, on the trial of Watson and their associates there was abundant proof of a breach of the peace, and of rioting; and these acts seemed to have been committed with some further and higher intention than the mere destruction and plunder of property. There was proof that shops containing arms were plundered for the purpose of the mob making use of these arms; and even that the Tower was threatened: but in the opinion of the jury treason was not proved. There was no evidence that the prisoners intended to destroy the government, or to make an alteration in the government by force of arms, except the evidence of Castles; and the evidence of this man the jury would not credit: hence the acquittal of the prisoners.

Had they been tried, however, for any crime short of high treason, —for conspiracy, or for acts of felony, in breaking into and plundering shops—the jury must have found them guilty. Their acquittal, therefore, though not a subject for rejoicing, on account of the individuals themselves, must be a subject of congratulation to all who are jealous of all attempts to force the laws relating to high treason beyond their legitimate and sound interpretation. The result of those trials was also a source of congratulation on another account: before they took place, it had been maintained by government, that London was the very centre and rallying point of all the disaffection in the country. Vague and indistinct, and therefore the more formidable, apprehensions

prehensions of danger were afloat: but from the evidence brought forward on these trials, it was proved that the great mass of the population in the metropolis was sound and untainted; and that mischievous designs were exclusively confined to those who were not in the smallest degree formidable from their talents, their numbers, or their influence.

The trials next in importance to those of Watson and his associates were the state trials at Derby, of several people who had assembled in a most violent and tumultuous manner, and who, it was alleged, designed to force the government into their measures, if not actually to overturn the government, by the measures they pursued. The principal among those who were tried at Derby for those crimes was a man of the name of Brandreth. From every account and description of this man, he seems undoubtedly to have been calculated and qualified to be the leader of a band of desperate conspirators against the tranquillity of the country. By the energy of his mind, the undaunted valour which he displayed, and the constant, cool, and full command of his penetration and judgement, which were always ready to assist and counsel him when they were most needed, as well as by his dark and desperate character, he had gained and exercised unbounded influence over his associates. It was proved on the trial, that an intention to overthrow the government was not only formed, but avowed; not avowed in indistinct terms, but openly;—that it formed, as it were, the badge and rallying word of the conspirators; and that they conceived themselves perfectly justified in having recourse to arms, to endeavour to free themselves from the alleged thraldom, and actual misery, in which they were involved.

It is unnecessary here to repeat the substance of the evidence which was brought forward on these trials; it certainly proved, that treason had been committed, by Brandreth and some others, with a perfect knowledge that they were committing treason, with an undaunted view of the probable consequences, and with what they conceived to be a full justification of their plans and measures. With respect to most of the other prisoners, it was proved that they had acted through ignorance, and under the influence of Brandreth. The public prosecutor, the judge, and the jury, made the proper and equitable distinction: only the most desperately guilty, the most dangerous criminals were executed; the rest were either not tried, or, after having been found guilty, were pardoned, or had the capital part of their sentence commuted for more lenient punishment.

Those who contended that government were perfectly justified in suspending the habeas corpus act, referred to the result of these trials at Derby as a proof of the justice of their opinion. There can be no doubt that it was fully proved on these trials, that a considerable number of people had armed themselves for the avowed purpose of attempting to carry into execution, by means of arms, plans, which, if they could have been carried into execution to the full extent, which they imagined and expected, must have been fatal to the existence of the government;—or, more shortly, by these trials at Derby it was proved, that acts of high treason had been committed. Still the question recurs—Ought the habeas corpus act

act to be suspended, whenever a few desperate men enter on plans which cannot fail to terminate in their own discomfiture and punishment, so long as the great mass of the people are sound and untainted; and so long as those desperate men are not countenanced or joined by any persons of influence or character. In short, ought the habeas corpus act to be suspended while the great mass of the people are sound and untainted?—Ought all to be deprived of one of the greatest bulwarks of our liberties, merely because a very few, and those not formidable on any one account, are mad enough to plot the ruin of the government?

On the other hand, the trials at Derby were alleged to have proved beyond a doubt, that all the mischief was occasioned by the spies of government. There was, indeed, no evidence brought forward on the trials to show that the prisoners had been instigated or encouraged by government spies to the actions for which they were tried and condemned. In explanation of this circumstance it is stated, that the counsel for the prisoners had no opportunity of bringing forward such evidence; that it could have done no good to the prisoners. This, however, we must confess, is not a satisfactory explanation; for though the proof that the prisoners had been encouraged and instigated to the plans and acts for which they were tried, would have been no legal defence of their conduct, yet it would undoubtedly have weighed with the jury in their behalf. If their counsel had examined Oliver, who was alleged to have been the most active of the government spies, and to have been chiefly instrumental in fomenting the disturbances in Derbyshire and the adjacent counties, they might certainly have brought out from his examination proofs (if any there actually were), that, if he had not encouraged the prisoners, the latter would not have proceeded to those extreme acts by which they rendered themselves liable to the punishment of high treason. Some of the prisoners were actually not brought to trial, or, after being found guilty, were sentenced to a more lenient punishment, solely on account of some things in their character, or in the circumstances brought out during their trials, which were favourable to them. And could any circumstance have pleaded more strongly in their favour than the proof (if it could have been obtained) that government spies had entirely, or in a great degree, led these unhappy men to the deeds for which they were tried on a charge of high treason? All things considered, without permitting party clamour to weigh with us, we cannot help believing that, in the case of Brandreth and his associates, no circumstance could have been adduced on their trials, with respect to their having been instigated by government spies, which would have been favourable to the culprits.

On the declaration of one of them, just on the eve of his execution, that Oliver was the author of his death, we must confess we are not disposed to lay much stress. If, on the one hand, some persons of warm religious feelings, at the approach of death are disposed to regard a violation of truth as a more dreadful crime than at any other time, there can be no doubt that others will not be very scrupulous on the subject, from the reflection, that if the falsehood of what they assert is afterwards found out, it cannot possibly injure them

Derby was the only place at which legal proof was given that high treason had been committed. The result of the trials at Westminster-hall, as we have seen, was, that there was no legal proof of high treason having been committed by the Spa-fields rioters. In Scotland, also, government endeavoured to show that their measures had been called for by the state of that part of the kingdom. The Scotch, in their attempts to reform what they conceive to be the abuses of the constitution, generally proceed in a different manner from the English; and indeed the Scotch reformers have at all times been a different description of men from the English reformers.

This proceeds chiefly from the great and striking difference between the national character of the English and the national character of the Scotch. The great mass of the people in Scotland are much better informed than the great mass of the people in England; they are, moreover, distinguished by greater strength and compass of intellect. Generally speaking, the English peasantry and labouring classes are little entitled to that grand characteristic of rational beings,—they look little before and after. Like children, and all persons of minds little cultivated, the present moment almost fills their minds. The Scotch peasantry and labouring classes, on the other hand, are accustomed from their earliest youth to look far and attentively both before and after: hence they are distinguished for their good sense, as well as correct conduct; and for being more under the guidance of their judgement, and less under the influence of their feelings and passions, than the English peasantry and labouring classes.

The Scotch, therefore, seldom give themselves up rashly and precipitately to any measures in which their interests may be involved. They look far forward, and they look long and attentively before they act: but after they have determined to act, there is always more consistency and perseverance in their actions, than there could be if they were stimulated by mere feeling. There is one circumstance, however, in the Scotch national character, or rather in their conduct, which seems not exactly in unison with their accustomed soundness, sobriety, and caution of behaviour. In religion and politics they usually go from one extreme to another. During the agitated state of the country soon after the beginning of the French revolution, when the Scotch convention existed, the most decided advocates for pure republicanism were in Scotland; and whoever is acquainted with that country, even generally and superficially, must know that, with respect to religion, the Scotch are mostly in extremes.

The west of Scotland has long been distinguished as that part of the kingdom in which the greatest enthusiasm with regard both to religion and politics displayed itself. It was in this part of Scotland that the Cameronians and Covenanters chiefly underwent, with such heroic fortitude, the persecutions to which they were exposed in the time of Charles II.; and there still are to be met with there, men as inquisitive and dauntless searchers after truth as their ancestors were at that period.

During the agitation of political questions in the years 1790—1796, Glasgow and its vicinity were distinguished for the number and intelligence of the reformers which they

they contained, as well as for the zeal with which they endeavoured to spread their opinions. It was chiefly among the operative weavers that they were to be met with; and then, as well as lately, not merely extensive information but very considerable eloquence was displayed among these classes.

Major Cartwright visited Scotland during his missionary tour in behalf of reform already alluded to; and his zeal and example acting upon the already excited minds of the Scotch, produced such effects as might be anticipated. There were several meetings, particularly near Glasgow, Paisley, and the other manufacturing towns in the west of Scotland, for the purpose of petitioning parliament, or adopting other measures, in behalf of reform in the representation, and retrenchment of expenditure. Besides these public meetings, it was known that there were associations similar to those in England. Government took the alarm; and the lord advocate of Scotland thought himself justified in ordering some persons to be taken up for administering unlawful oaths. The powers of the lord advocate in Scotland are very great: indeed their limits are hardly defined by the law, or known exactly to the person who exercises them. He is the public officer who prosecutes crimes before the court of justiciary. At the circuit courts he acts by deputy. He possesses powers more extensive than all the grand juries of England; for he not only decides whether the parties suspected shall be prosecuted, but in capital crimes can, by a motion before trial, restrict the sentence to what is called an arbitrary punishment; that is, a punishment at the discretion of the judge, not extending to death.

From this short and imperfect sketch of the powers of the lord advocate of Scotland, it will be sufficiently apparent, that unless the judges and jury before whom the accused are tried give them the full benefit of the laws, and of the evidence that may be adduced in their favour, their chance of escape is very small. The lord advocate brought two persons to their trial before the court of justiciary in Scotland, for the alleged crime of administering unlawful oaths. It is highly to the honour of the Scotch bar, that the most celebrated advocates (or counsel) at it offered their services in behalf of the prisoners; and by their talents, the mismanagement of the lord advocate, and the strict impartiality of the judges, they succeeded in proving that the prisoners were not guilty of the crime laid to their charge. It fortunately happens, that very frequently great power is rendered harmless by not being allied to great talent. This was the case in the present instance. The chief witness against the prisoners was a man to whom an offer had been made, on the part of the law-officers of the crown in Scotland, of a reward if he would give evidence: and this offer was made, though it is the uniform practice of the Scotch courts to ask every witness, as soon as he is placed in the witnesses' box, whether he has received any offer of reward to induce him to give his testimony? As soon as the witness on this trial had answered the question in the affirmative, the cause was abandoned by the lord advocate. Indeed, it is most surprising that it did not occur to him, that in either case his witness was inadmissible:—if he spoke the truth, he was inadmissible, because he then must have declared that he had re-

ceived an offer of reward, and therefore could not be admitted as a witness; and if he did not speak the truth, his perjury would equally have rendered him inadmissible.

Besides these trials for high treason, or for capital crimes, there were other trials which excited a large and general share of interest in the public mind during the year 1817: we allude to the trials of Wooler and Hone. Both these men, a short time before Cobbett left this country for America, had begun to publish weekly political pamphlets, very bold and severe in their strictures, as well as violent and extreme in the plans they recommended, and in the measures they proposed to carry these plans into execution. At last *ex officio* informations were filed against them by the attorney-general. It may be proper to inform our readers, or at least to recall to their recollection, that in all cases where the attorney-general files such information, there is no intervention of a grand jury to determine whether there is ground for trial, and that the attorney-general may, after he has filed the information, either proceed upon it and bring the accused to trial, or suffer the apprehension of trial to hang over his head. These powers, so much at variance not only with the spirit of our constitution but with its practice in other cases, have always rendered trials by *ex officio* informations extremely unpopular.

There were two circumstances attending the trials of Wooler for libels, that deserve notice:—in the first place he pleaded his own cause. This he did with great intrepidity as well as considerable presence and powers of mind. There can be no doubt, that in almost every case, it is the height of folly for a man to plead his own cause; but if ever it is likely not to prejudice, but rather to benefit him, it is where the accusation is that which involves politics. Judges are but men: and though they may be anxious to do strict justice between the crown and individuals, yet partialities, prepossessions and party feelings will intervene; and these will probably be roused very much, if the defence of the prisoner involves a bold defence in that line of politics which is most obnoxious to government, and especially if it involves a defence of those doctrines that are generally regarded and represented by the advocates for the measures of ministry, as striking at the root of public tranquillity. Counsel, therefore, who, however great their talents and skill may be, must depend for their successful defence of their clients, and consequently their practice, in a considerable degree on the judge's hearing them with attention, or setting his face against them (to make use of a homely but expressive phrase), will not be very ready to offer in defence of a person brought to trial for a political crime, all that might be said. Wooler, therefore, resolved to defend himself, and he succeeded in persuading the jury, in one of the cases, that he was not guilty. On his other trial occurred the circumstance to which we alluded above. Whenever the jury deem it fit or necessary to retire from the court to consider of the verdict, the law requires that they should all come again into the court, before the foreman pronounces the verdict: on one of Wooler's trials, the foreman pronounced the verdict before all the jury had again come into court:—and upon this circumstances occurring, great doubts arose, whether a new trial should take place, and if a new trial, whether

ther before the same jury or a new one.—The case is not yet decided.

Hone was tried thrice on charges of blasphemy, for having parodied the creed of Athanasius, and parts of the liturgy of the church of England: he also conducted his own defence on all these three trials. The main ground of his defence was, that the crime for which he was brought to trial was a political one, not a crime against religion: and that if his parodies had not been against the prince regent and his ministers, but against their political opponents, he would not have been brought to trial for them. He also endeavoured to prove that parodies of the liturgy, and even of the scriptures, might be written, and had actually been written, by men who had not the most remote idea of bringing religion into contempt. In his speeches he entered into a long historical detail of religious parodies, in order to prove these two points; and we must confess he did prove them: but, as was observed, repeatedly, by the judge, on the trials, proof that blasphemous parodies had been suffered to pass unnoticed and unpunished, even though it had been also proved, or at least rendered probable, that they escaped because their politics were ministerial,—did not justify Mr. Hone, or afford a legal ground for his acquittal. His other plea was more to the purpose: his object was to show, that a writer of parodies of the description of those for which he was tried, might be actuated by motives very opposite to those imputed to him; and that unless it could be shown that his intention was to bring religion into contempt, the charge of blasphemy must fall to the ground, and he must be acquitted. In his detail, he certainly proved that men had written religious parodies, whom nobody could suspect of feeling the slightest wish to injure religion; and he thus proved that the mere act of writing religious parodies could not be blasphemy,—that the intention and object must constitute the crime. But though he thus made it clear that very staunch and sincere friends of the church of England had parodied parts of her service, it is impossible not to perceive that this conduct, though it may proceed from no bad intentions, must be productive of the most serious consequences to the cause of religion; and we are rather disposed to be of opinion, that in this case, as well as several others, the law ought to prevent that carelessness and inattention to consequences from which public evil flows; in the same manner as, in many cases, an injury done to an individual is punished, although the proof that there was no evil intention is most distinct and unimpeachable.

There were several circumstances attending these trials of Hone, which deserve notice and remark, as illustrative either of the British manners and character, or of some parts of the British jurisprudence, which in our opinion require reformation.

In the first place, the firm, undaunted, but by no means forward or impudent behaviour of Hone during his trials is worthy of notice. The judges frequently endeavoured to interrupt him, as going into matter not relevant to his defence; but he carried his point, and was always at last permitted to state and urge what he intended. Certainly no counsel could have gone so completely in teh teeth of the judge as he did; and as certainly in no country, at least in Europe, could such a scene have been witnessed. An obscure man,

of no literary acquirements, quite unaccustomed to speak in public, conducting his own defence, before the judges of the land, against the attorney-general and other counsel of experience and high talents; and this defence against an accusation which the judge was evidently disposed to regard as well founded: moreover, Hone's object was not to prove that he had not sold these parodies; but that these parodies, which had all the outward signs of being blasphemous parodies on the church of England service, were in reality not such.

The second circumstance which we wish to notice respects the approbation which the people in court expressed when the verdicts of Not Guilty were given in by the jury. This we think not only indecorous, but a practice which, if suffered to go on, must strike at the root of fair and impartial trial: the jury, having the feelings and wishes of men, cannot prevent the approbation or disapprobation that may be expressed in court, from acting on their minds: on this account all symptoms of either ought to be most rigorously suppressed. And certainly those are no real friends to the great object of British veneration, the great bulwark of British liberty, the trial by jury, who permit themselves to break in upon the decorum and solemnity of the proceedings of a court of justice.

The next circumstance to which we alluded, regards the duties of a judge on a trial. The practice of some judges is merely, before the jury deliberate on the case, to sum up the evidence, and lay down the law: the practice of other judges is not only to do these things, but also to give their own opinion respecting the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, or, in fact, to advise and instruct the jury what verdict to pronounce. The latter mode we cannot help regarding as contrary to the spirit of the British constitution, as well as beyond the duty of a judge, and infringing on the peculiar province and privilege of a jury. In fact, if the jury are in the smallest degree influenced by the opinion of the judge, in the verdict they pronounce, that verdict is not their verdict; it is not a verdict according to their oath: and though they sit there as jurymen, and the prisoner may be said to have had the benefit of a trial by jury, he has in fact had his guilt or innocence declared by the judge. In cases where the crown is a party more particularly, that is in all cases of sedition, libel, high treason, &c. the judge ought most carefully to abstain from going beyond his proper province of merely stating the law and summing up the evidence. Even during the first part of the trial, it will be very difficult for a judge totally to free himself from all prejudice against the prisoner; but on such an opportunity of letting his own opinion be known, as must be given if he does not strictly confine himself to lay down the law, and sum up the evidence, it will not be possible for him not to discover a leaning for or against the prisoner. In our opinion, therefore, the province of the jury ought not to be invaded by the judge: the law meant, and the spirit of the British constitution requires, that the guilt or innocence of every man who is accused of a crime, should be determined by his peers; by men who, when they know the law of the case, and hear all the evidence for and against the prisoner, will be fully equal to decide upon that guilt or innocence: and we therefore think, that for a judge to do more than merely

merely qualify a jury to give a verdict, by telling them clearly what is the law, and by giving a short and perspicuous summary of the evidence, is for him to render the trial by jury, a nominal, rather than a real blessing.

The practice is for the judge to lay down the law, after all the evidence is gone through;—would it not be better if he were to lay down the law at the very beginning of the trial? If this were done, the jury would know the value of the evidence, as well as of the speeches of the counsel on both sides, much better than they do at present. The jury ought to know from the very beginning of the trial, the exact crime for which the prisoner is about to be tried, and to be informed most accurately of the meaning and purport of the law which applied to his case. Thus being acquainted with the law, and having it constantly in their recollection during the whole of the trial, they would be better enabled to ascertain the full bearing and weight of the evidence upon the case before them.

The trial by jury is such an invaluable blessing, that every circumstance, which in the slightest degree defeats its object, ought to be immediately, utterly, and for ever removed; and every mode of rendering it more effectual ought to be adopted.

CHAPTER XII.

Feelings of the People towards the different Branches of the Royal Family—the King—the Queen—the Prince Regent—the Dukes of York, &c.—the Princess Charlotte—the Prince of Coburg—Death of the Princess Charlotte.

WE are well aware that we are about to enter on delicate ground, in this chapter; but it is the duty of an historian and annalist to give a full and impartial picture of the age of which he treats: and if he represents things as they are, he ought neither to be praised for giving a pleasing picture, nor be censured if his picture should happen to be displeasing. Our object is, not merely to relate events, which usually are supposed to fill up entirely the province of an historian or annalist; but also to give a sketch of the state of the people of Britain,—as that state is exhibited in the means which they possess of existence, comfort, and wealth, and in their feelings towards the constitution under which they live, and towards those by whom that constitution is administered. In our preceding chapters, by pointing out the state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and finance; the state of political parties both in and out of parliament, and the feelings of the people towards the government, as they were displayed either by the loyalty of the great mass, or by the disaffection of a few, we have left for our consideration, only the topics which are placed at the head of the present chapter.

It would be interesting and instructive to contrast the feelings, impressions and ideas entertained respecting the nature, character, and

privileges of sovereigns in Asiatic monarchies, and in the different monarchies of Europe, from those which approach nearest the Asiatic, to the most limited, as it exists in Great Britain;—and also to contrast the ideas entertained in Britain respecting the sovereign, three or four centuries ago, with those which are entertained at present. An Asiatic sovereign is seldom visible or approachable; a sanctity is thrown round his conduct and character, almost as great as that with which the Deity is invested. He is either supposed to be free from all failings and imperfections; or these are not to be censured, or even exposed by his subjects. European sovereigns never were regarded in the same light as those of Asia: but formerly they were beheld with more awe, both as sovereigns and men, than they are at present. In this country, the other extreme has at least been approached; and the private as well as public conduct of sovereigns is canvassed with a freedom, and a want of candour and due allowance for the circumstances in which they are placed, and which must have influenced their conduct, that would not be exercised towards any other individuals.

In another respect also the feelings of the people in this country to a great degree, and probably in every other European country to some degree, towards royalty, are altered: formerly, if royalty were surrounded with much splendour, the eyes of the multitude were so dazzled, that they were neither disposed nor able to penetrate beneath the surface;—what glittered on sovereigns was gold to them. Now it is very different: the pomp and splendour of royalty are no longer necessary to strike awe and respect into the people, they will no longer do it. The circumstances which we shall have to relate in this chapter, will sufficiently prove that the most unambitious and domestic manners, the greatest plainness and simplicity of life, are much more effectual in gaining and retaining those feelings of respect, love, and attachment, which it is always desirable that a people living under a monarchy should possess for their royal family, than the most gorgeous and splendid establishment.

The feelings of the British people towards their present sovereign have undergone many changes. When he first came to the throne, he was very popular: his youth, his having been born and bred a Briton, rendered him so, as a man; and the successful war which he terminated, as a sovereign. During the influence of Wilkes, and for a great part of the American and French wars, he became very unpopular; nor did he again become popular in a high degree, till he was afflicted with the malady under which he still labours. Now he is remembered only for his truly British qualities: for the plainness of his mode of life;—even little circumstances which would hardly render any other man popular, contribute to render him so; his having been an early riser, and accustomed to dine nearly at the old English hour, and on the plainest dishes; his fondness for hunting and farming; the plainness of his dress; the frankness of his manners; and even his very loquacity, as it led him to converse freely with all classes;—these, united to his fondness for domestic life, fill the hearts of all who contemplate him now in extreme old age deprived of his mental faculties, with feelings towards him of the utmost veneration and attachment.

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The queen has never been a popular character. As the wife of the sovereign, and participating with him in a mode of life much more domestic than sovereigns generally pursue, she undoubtedly has always been regarded with respect. But from the period of her marriage till the present time, she does not seem to have taken sufficient pains to identify herself with the British nation; and in more than one instance she is supposed to have interfered too directly in politics. The discountenance which she shows for female profligacy, is one feature in her character on which even those who otherwise deny her praise, bestow the tribute of their respect.

The prince regent has at times been rather popular; at times the people have manifested much indifference about him; and at times he has been unpopular. When he first entered on public life, the circumstances of his joining the party in opposition to his father's ministers, rendered him a favourite with all who adhered to that party; but of course not acceptable to those who supported the measures of government. His youth too, and the openness of his manners bent the public feeling strongly in his favour; and as it was confidently expected, on his father's illness, that he would act on those principles, and adopt those plans of reform and retrenchment, which during his whole previous life he had both avowedly and virtually recommended and supported; this expectation being disappointed had a tendency to injure his popularity; for though with many he was praised for having shaken off his old friends, and sacrificed what might be supposed his private or unadvised sentiments, for those which the safety of the nation, in their opinion, required he should adopt; yet an immediate and striking change of conduct in public men, is always viewed by the generality of the nation with distrust and dislike.

But there was another circumstance that rendered him more generally unpopular than this change in his political principles and conduct: we allude to his difference with the princess of Wales. The people of this country, and probably of all countries, though of this in a more particular manner, are disposed to view with sympathy the sufferings, real or represented, of a stranger and a female. Hence the princess of Wales had the prejudices, or rather the natural feelings of the nation on her side, in her difference with the prince her husband; and as her character was impugned, the nation were disposed to scrutinize more closely and rigorously the private character of him who brought, or countenanced, the charges against her. Party, also, lent its aid to misrepresent and exaggerate the difference between them, or rather the real state, ground, and evidence of this difference. Hence, while the prince came out of the investigation with diminished popularity, the princess emerged from it, the favourite of the people. At present, we believe, public opinion is more in unison with the dictates of cool and impartial judgement, and looks more closely into the facts of the case, than it did, when the question between the prince and princess was first agitated. The princess, unfortunately and unadvisedly for her own popularity, was persuaded to go abroad, forgetting that absence weakens all kinds of feeling, whether hostile or favourable,

able, especially with the great mass of the people.

We have already, in some of our former volumes, adverted to the circumstance, that the splendid, unexpected, and unparalleled successes by which the prince regent's reign has been distinguished, have not tended to render him popular. We state a fact, which we believe none will be disposed to deny, however they may lament it; that the prince regent, during the very height of our successes against Bonaparte, was viewed with indifference by the people. There seem to us to have been several causes that co-operated to produce this indifference, even with those who were not disposed to believe any of the calumnies that were propagated against him: he was, in fact, not sufficiently British in his manners, habits and mode of life. We have already pointed out the circumstances in the king's character and mode of life, which rendered him popular, and the recollection of which still cherishes in the public mind a respectful and warm attachment towards him. The prince's character and mode of life have none of these British features: hence he has little hold, as a man, on the prejudices or the feelings of the nation; and as a sovereign, not being supposed to have contributed to the successes of his reign, the merit of those successes is not ascribed to him. Indeed, even his ministers are not generally regarded to have brought about, by their wisdom and foresight, the wonderful issue of the long and arduous contest in which Britain was engaged. By a strange and almost inexplicable anomaly of judgement, the opposition have lost their hold on the public confidence, because they predicted an unfavourable termination to the war; whereas, the ministers rose very little in the scale of popularity, though they urged perseverance in the contest, and guided the counsels of the nation when that perseverance was crowned with success. If ministers, therefore, did not obtain much popularity by the issue of the war, it is not surprising that the prince regent did not, through it, become popular.

No circumstance affords a more direct or stronger proof of the consequences that may be produced by a charge against a public individual, founded on some truth, and much falsehood and exaggeration; and supported on the one side by a full knowledge of popular prejudice and feeling, while it is met and rebutted on the other, by an ignorance of, or disregard to, that prejudice and feeling,—than the proceedings with respect to the duke of York and Mrs. Clarke. So strong and general was the expression of the public opinion, that the duke was guilty, that ministers were obliged to yield to the threatening storm; and the duke retired from the office of commander-in-chief. Some new public events occurred, that filled the thoughts of the nation; the case of the duke was in some measure forgotten; or it was seen that his accusers were by no means honourable persons; and as they lost their hold on the popularity of the nation, the duke's misconduct was disbelieved or palliated. The ministers, taking advantage of these circumstances, replaced him in the situation of commander-in-chief. Scarcely any notice was taken of this step; the impression seemed to be, that the duke had not been so guilty as had been supposed, and that his guilt had been

been sufficiently punished. All acknowledged that he was uncommonly attentive and punctual in the discharge of his official duties; he was a great favourite with the army,—not merely with the soldiers, but with all their relations, on account of the extreme attention that he paid to their interests, representations and requests. Hence he may now be regarded as rather a popular member of the royal family.

With respect to the other royal dukes, the feelings of the nation are various. The name of the duke of Clarence is seldom heard. The dukes of Kent and Sussex have rendered themselves extremely popular, by giving their countenance and support to most public institutions, the object of which is to instruct or relieve the poorer classes. Thus being seen among the people, and acting with them, this very circumstance tends strongly to create an impression in their favour. The duke of Cumberland is not popular: the dislike to him, except among those who permit their feelings towards public men to be warped and exasperated by every unfavourable report, without examining into its accuracy and evidence,—is very vague and general. But we apprehend that his general appearance, and in particular his manner of dressing, are not such as can ever do away dislike in those who have once entertained it against him, or command attachment and respect with the great mass of the nation; which always looks for a compliance, even with British prejudices, in their princes. Of the duke of Cambridge little is known, he having lived chiefly abroad; but the correctness of his general conduct, especially his not being extravagant, and not having incurred debt, raise up pleasing impressions whenever his name is mentioned or recalled. The king's nephew, the duke of Gloucester, especially since his marriage, has become extremely popular: the domestic life, from which he and his duchess seem to derive their greatest pleasure; the attachment that subsists between them; and their frequent appearance in public without parade or ostentation, have contributed principally to their popularity.

The attention and interest of the nation were deeply fixed on the princess Charlotte of Wales from her earliest infancy. The unfortunate difference between her father and mother, and their consequent separation, rendered it probable that she would be the future sovereign of these realms; while this circumstance, thus depriving her in a great measure of a mother's fond and watchful attention, by rendering her an object of commiseration, increased the warmth of the sympathy which the nation felt in her. As she grew up, her hold on the public feeling and attachment increased. She was known to possess a lofty and independent mind; and though in some instances she might be led to do those things which were not deemed strictly and entirely compatible with the rigid duties which a child owes to its parents; yet ready excuse was found in her youth, in the natural character of her mind, and in the trying circumstances in which she was placed. Her attachment to her mother,—her defence of that mother, in the days of her greatest trials,—proved that she was by no means destitute of filial affection, or a proper sense of filial duty. She was known to possess considerable talents, and to have cultivated those talents, with more attention to the acquisition of solid and

and useful knowledge, than females in general, and particularly females in high rank, usually bestow. Her political principles were truly sound and constitutional; leaning—as it is always desirable that the principles of a British sovereign should do—to those principles which placed the house of Brunswick on the throne.

When she became of a marriageable age, the nation were naturally desirous that she should marry: but as the marriage of princes is seldom the result of personal affection, or mutual personal knowledge, it was merely hoped that after her marriage she and her husband would inspire each other with that degree of attachment, that would render them as happy as princes usually are in their married state. The prince of Orange was intended for her husband by her father; but she did not feel for him that affection which she knew to be indispensably necessary to happiness in the married state, and without which she had most wisely resolved she would not unite herself to any man. She knew that her marriage was looked forward to, by the nation, with great interest; but she was resolved that no public or political consideration should induce her to sacrifice that happiness, which as a human being, endowed with a warm and affectionate heart, she was conscious that she was susceptible of enjoying; and she met her reward—though that reward did not abide long with her. When the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia were in this country, they were attended, among other German princes, by the prince of Saxe-Cobourg. The princess Charlotte and he met frequently,—they were mutually pleased with each other: and after she had persuaded her father not to press her marriage with the prince of Orange, she mentioned to him the prince of Coburg as the man with whom she could be happy. Her father, much to his credit, acceded to her wishes, and she was married to the man of her heart.

It was soon seen that the princess and her husband were admirably suited to each other; and that they both were of those habits, that were certain not only of rendering them happy, but justly popular with the whole nation. Instead of living in London, in the midst of the bustle, parade, and dissipation of high life, they spent their whole time at Claremont: the pleasures of domestic and rural life, enjoyed in the company of each other, filled their souls: they felt no other want. By their conduct to each other, they brought into exercise all the finest and highest feelings of the human heart: their time was spent in visiting, instructing, or relieving their poor neighbours; for they did regard the poor as their neighbours. Not treating them with that marked condescension, which in the one party springs from a consciousness of superiority, and in the other party impresses a disagreeable feeling of inferiority; but treating them as their fellow-creatures, whom it was in their power to benefit or relieve, and whom to benefit or relieve constituted one of their purest and most abundant sources of happiness. They also formed each other's minds, as well as purified each other's hearts, by communicating that instruction which each mutually needed or could bestow.

Such was the life of the royal pair at Claremont:—they enjoyed more domestic happiness,—they were more warmly attached to each other,—they were more rational, as well

well as more benevolent and useful to their fellow-creatures, in their whole conduct, than is generally the case even among that class in middle life which is generally supposed to rank highest in happiness and usefulness.

As she advanced in her pregnancy, the anxious interest of the nation increased; they anticipated a new source and object of the warm and holy feelings, with which both the princess and her husband had shown that they abounded. It was not merely towards an heir to the throne that the nation looked forward; they were filled with hopes that the princess might have a living child, because they firmly believed that the duties of a wise father and mother would be discharged by her and the prince; and the feelings of an affectionate father and mother, while they gave exquisite pleasure to their own breasts, would be poured down on their beloved infant.

When the intelligence of her being in labour arrived in London, it was easy to read in every eye, and in the expression of every countenance, the anxious expectation with which every breast was filled: yet no one anticipated evil. All were prepared to burst forth into congratulations, as soon as the expected event took place; preparations were made for public rejoicing; and never would it have been more general and sincere.

The first circumstance that damped the public joy was the intelligence that the princess was brought to bed of a still-born child. Even in the midst of the disappointment of the hopes of the nation, the thought—the exclamation was,—'What must the poor princess feel!' The nation felt for her much more than for themselves. Soon, however, they felt for themselves: the mother did not long survive her infant!

It is utterly impossible to describe the appearance of the metropolis on this occasion; no words can exaggerate it; it must have been witnessed to be believed.—Whoever witnessed it, must have been convinced that the grief was real and sincere;—that it had fast hold of the heart;—that it was a grief overwhelming, in the suddenness and violence of its shock. Every one looked and felt, as if he had lost a wife, a daughter, or a sister. The circumstances of her death;—a princess in the prime of life and glow of health;—most happy in her husband;—fondly anticipating her own and his increased happiness in the birth of a living child;—disappointed in this hope, and before she could well bring herself to credit the reality of her loss,—herself a corpse.

The day of her funeral was indeed a day of woe; even those whom the sanctity of the sabbath cannot keep from riot and debauchery, were awed or chastened into decorum and solemnity on that day. The whole nation threw itself on its knees before its Maker; and perhaps religious feelings were never so deeply and sincerely experienced. But the nation also sympathized with the bereaved husband; and the inquiries after his health, and how he supported himself, were as eager and anxious as if he had been each man's brother. Though a melancholy, it was a proud day for Britain; for it displayed those feelings in her sons, that cannot exist except in connection with a warm heart, and real worth of character. What a lesson may princes derive from this! Can they doubt, after they have witnessed

witnessed the popularity of the princess Charlotte and her husband, and the grief occasioned by her death, that they also may become popular; not by dazzling the public eye by their splendour, but by a simple and unostentatious manner of life, which shall fix the public attention and interest, only by its being a happy life, and contributing to the happiness of others?

Such reflections will not be deemed out of place by those who have considered the nature of the feelings with which the people of this country are accustomed to regard their kings. With the good and wise, loyalty is a virtue, for it is felt by them with a strength proportioned to the worth of its object. Never in this land was a good prince defrauded of his just glory —never was a bad prince beloved. Here a king has no need to look to the voice of posterity. His own age pronounces judgement upon him; and though that judgement may be modified, it is irrevocable. The soul of the nation looks back to its noblest kings for the support of its own virtues; nor should we now have been rational lovers of monarchical power, had we not had illustrious names to gaze upon, which give a consecration to our loyalty. So feel we now towards her who is dead. Had she died in all the beauty of her youth—in all the glory of her high estate,—aye, even under those awful circumstances, which to think of is agony,—yet had she not been pure and pious, kind, generous, and of a lofty mind,—our tears would indeed even then have flowed, but they would soon have been dried up, and our grief would then only have been the grief that is due to mortality. But we can compare our dead princess with our sisters, or our wives, or with those to whom we may be betrothed. And while we do so, it will be with a deeper love towards the living, breathed from the virtues of the dead. Perhaps the hearts of some were kept at a distance from her, when in happiness she walked through the groves of her greatness. But we are all her friends now. The distinctions of society are forgotten; and we are privileged by nature to embrace her in the grave. We image her now not on the throne of England, where we hoped she was to sit,—not with the diadem round her forehead, which it would have so well become,—not with the robes of royalty, which she would have worn with such queen-like stateliness,—but we call on her from the damp and dripping vault—from the cold coffin and the motionless pall; and in the silence that comes back upon our hearts, we feel how profound was our love for her, the good, the beautiful, and the pious.

When we think on her as she was, without exaggeration, we feel what we have lost. There is no conceivable limit to the power over the mind, character, happiness, virtue, and exaltation of a people, which may be in the reign of a monarch high of soul, and whom the hearts of that people love. In war and in peace—in his own court, and in every home—in the proud spirit of the illustrious of the land—in the joy of genius—in the gladness of soul of common men—in the sublime confiding consciousness of good—in ways unknown and unimaginable,—will the influence of that one spirit spread itself over the earth. There was something, indeed much, of this promise to the people of our land,—and in their grief there was the feeling and understanding of such good lost. The attachment we bear to her father,

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and our reverential love for her grandsire, were carried on to herself; and, meeting there with every thing excellent, became as profound a feeling as ever people cherished for a monarch.

We feel that the hearts of all who may chance to read these pages, will go along with us into the thoughts now suggested by one name, almost too awful to pass from our lips. There was one whose dim eyes would have been delighted by the sight of her whom all the world loved. She grew in her beauty, and every eye blessed her. But there was one to whose soul that beauty would have been like the renovation of youth, the rising of a new star on the darkness of old age. But the arm of God let down a black veil between his soul and that delightful vision. He knew not in his solitude of the smiles so near him; he knew not of the tears she so often shed for his sake. Not because he had become insensible to his regal power,—not because he knew not of the triumphs of his people, have our hearts bled for our aged king,—but because a cold hand had frozen the living fountain of his spirit, and he was shut out from that world of light and love, which a new existence had come to beautify with its enchantment. But now we behold mercy even in such visitation, and tremble to think how insanity itself may be the shield of sorrow. The gray hair has been spared, and the bright hair laid in the dust;—one royal personage is in the grave, and another in darkness, worse than the grave. To us, who have immortal souls, that place is as nothing; or, haply from the contrast of its untroubled calm with the agitation of life, it may seem a place of rest allied to happiness. But into the darkness where he sits, the eye only of God can penetrate; and we are told, that though reason had deserted him, he is conscious of the presence of that Being whom our reason cannot comprehend. Is it inconsistent with the holiest dictates of our nature, or with the spirit of our christian faith, humbly to hope, that she who has gone to heaven, may be allowed by a merciful God to visit her father's darkness—to be spiritually present there,—and, by some unknown sacred influence, at times to calm those painful glimmerings into quiet light, and to lessen the load that is laid on his hoary temples? Could we but know, that he thought himself visited in his darkness (and such thought would be to him like blessed ghosts) by her so lately taken away, and that other pure spirit whose death was the last of his known afflictions, we could then bear to turn with calmness from a solitude no longer terrible.

But let us escape from such dreams into a less awful sadness,—let us return to those thoughts which were beginning to collect themselves round the image of our princess, and which we indulged with a pride which even death itself cannot subdue. The love and loyalty of this nation would have been stronger, from tenderness, passion, and imagination, towards a queen, than perhaps it ever could be to a king; and whatever power of the kind above described might be possessed by a prince, it would be greater in a female sovereign. This doubtless was felt under Elizabeth, in spite of her many unfeminine qualities, which could not impair the love which the English bore to her as their queen. And the impression which remained generations after among the lowest of the people of what her reign had been,—

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of her golden days is evidence irrefragable that such power had been mighty.

From the operation of such feelings we had come to look on our princess as our own, as the sole daughter of the nation. When she was going forth upon the race of life, in the brightness of her morning, we looked on her with a feeling of guardian tenderness and love. We looked towards her in her simplicity, as a strong man looks upon the darling of his hopes—tenderly, but in consciousness of his power, that watches over her, and would break forth on the first threatening of injury or insult, to defend and overthrow. We felt, that when she should become our queen, a young and delicate and gracious lady might ascend a throne built among the roarings of the sea. The greatness of that country will be durable, but it must often be troubled,

"Whose march is o'er the mountain wave,
Whose home is on the deep."

The winds of heaven might have visited the face of our princess: she would herself, with the gallant spirit of a gallant race, have woo'd them to her even in their wrath. But woe to any of the sons of men that had dared to offer violence to the lady of our isle! Her character was just that which would have delighted in the courage, generosity, pride of power, and magnanimity of her people. She would have exulted in the virtues which she inspired, and which would have been her safeguard. We know that she was kind, gentle, and pious: so speaks a voice from her death-bed and her grave. But we can also remember, when she, the daughter of England, was seen gliding among the brave spirits who subjected to her father's throne the empire of the ocean, and who, to save that beautiful young being from death or trouble, would, with a shout of exultation, have all died in victorious battle.

Forsaken as we now are, it is not useless to cherish such recollections; for we had every assurance that our hopes were well founded, and could have been blasted only by death. It was not into quiet, and peaceful, and meditative souls alone that the voice of that calamity struck with the penetration of lightning. The death of so much gentleness, and innocence, and simplicity, and beauty, shook the souls of those to whom death is a daily companion. Sighs were not heard only in our peaceful cities, and in the silence of our inland glens; but they stirred throughout all the floating bulwarks of the land, and our victorious army was saddened in the country it had conquered. The standard of England was on that day lowered in fatal defeat; and there was sincerity in the tears which wet the faces of the brave, when they heard the young queen was no more, who would have known how graciously to reward their valour, and under whose smiles that valour would have acquired a more chivalrous character.

But let us ere we part follow her image into that sanctuary where its best earthly happiness was placed, and from which would have shone its most salutary influence,—the home of her wedded life. From the time of her marriage it was that we had the clearest insight into her nature, though, long before, we knew that it was noble. As that holy man blessed her, when yet a child, she fell on her knees and wept. She showed to all who might need the lesson, that, when all the world

world have abandoned her, yet ought a daughter to cling to a mother's love. Well might her father rejoice over her, the fair, the dutiful, and the heroic. But on becoming a wife, there was in all her conduct a good beyond our very highest hopes, and rather like the discovery of a new promise. To the moral people of this island there was something irresistibly touching in that simplicity of quiet, happy, wedded life; as if they had nothing to do with royalty, in whom the whole sovereignty of the kingdom resided. Every thing we heard of their domestic details, no matter how trifling,—all their little acts of intercourse with the people, from which she had formerly been confined, but in which she now seemed to delight,—gave to us a kind of right and possession in her which was held most sacred. All that we had ever seen in her was the beauty of power: all that is in it ungracious, unloved, and painful, had in this instance no being. We beheld her shining on the very summit of power, yet we felt towards her the most unawed and fearless affection: the same tenderness with which we contemplate virtue and happiness in humble life. In the slightness and unimportance of the acts and circumstances in which she was known to us, we beheld the simple and graceful goodness of her character; we saw the free natural play of her life; and the delight which she, who was to have ruled over us, felt in such pure thoughts and innocent occupations, was like an augury of happiness to her people.

Sanctified, as she now is to us by suffering and death, it would ill become us, who are all so frail, to speak, almost to think, of her frailties. Weeping over her grave, we know, that as we are all dust and ashes, she too must have sometimes erred in the weakness of humanity. She is now with her God; and we trust that all that required forgiveness in her soul has been forgiven at the throne of infinite mercy. Judging of a human being by what we know of human life, we are justified in thinking her to have been one of the most innocent. She was rewarded on earth by that gladness which ever breathes round a pure spirit; and we humbly believe that she is now rewarded in heaven by that higher bliss, of which all terrestrial happiness seems but a faint and fleeting shadow. Her passage into heaven was beset with fear and with agony. The curse denounced of old against the mother of mankind fell on the most beautiful of her daughters; and there was a cry of woe over theland, as from an affliction that tore and rent asunder at once all the holiest hopes and joys that can agitate the heart of our fallen nature. Any other death but this, and the soul may bear to look upon it; but here there is the confusion, the darkness, and the wailing, of all unimaginable misery, and it seems as if they could give way only to everlasting sadness and despair. To him who sat by that dying bed—who grasped that clay-cold hand—who looked and saw, in one ghastly moment, that dire trouble had given way to a calm not of this earth—who may offer comfort to one so miserably wretched? In the multitude of the thoughts within him, let Thy comforts calm his soul! If ever that calm is given, and he can again be seen among us, every eye will glisten with the tenderest pity at his approach. As her image dwells in his soul for ever, so, when we see him shall we feel in the presence of

the departed. He will for ever be dear to us for her sake,—for the sake of that pure affection and devoted tenderness, by which we know he made her life so happy,—for the sake of his own many mild and manly virtues: For these things a blessing is upon him, and will remain with him for ever.

Let us now close our strain of pity over a death in which all the purest, all the highest sorrows of poetry would seem to have been realized, and from which a moral sinks into the silence of every soul. She has been laid with passionate tears in the ancestral mausoleum of England's kings,—and let the potentates of the earth seek to deserve such a funeral. The purest of England's matrons, thinking of her short wedded life, will more deeply feel the glory of conjugal virtue. The maiden, weeping for her fate, will hope to feel and inspire no purer love. The daughter will read in her life a beautiful lesson of filial piety. And the lover and husband, when they think on her life, and on her death, will embrace within their innermost souls, and with a more gushing tenderness, those cherished objects of their affection whom a kind God has suffered them to possess in this precarious world. Every heart will write an epitaph for her on the tablet of its memory. No human being will ever have been lamented by so many pure tears. When the funeral pomp is forgotten; when the sound of the muffled bells haunts us no more; when we faintly remember the holy hymns; and the black hue of mourning has left the land,—her image will not then perish. The appearances of grief must die away. Our souls must be strung anew, to meet the cares, and discharge the duties of life. If all the sorrows of the world were seen, this earth would be blackened as with a ceaseless funeral. Life is once more rushing on as before, and the coffin of our beloved is left in its mortal solitude. But they who die young, in all their beauty, piety, innocence, and virtue,—and whom Providence had placed on an eminence whence the glory of their lives could be beheld at a distance,—shine with a light undimmed through endless generations. There is nothing to abstract from, or to bedim the ideal beauty of their character. They are like creations of the fancy; and, without any taint of superstition, we look back to them as to enshrined saints for the light of a lofty comfort, when saddened by the painful consciousness of our own frailties, or agitated by the wickedness of our fellow-men.

As the circumstances of the princess's death were rather uncommon, and considerable blame was attached (in opinion most unfairly) to sir Richard Croft, who attended her, we have deemed it proper to conclude this chapter with the following medical statement of her case, which we know to be derived from the best authority.

The princess Charlotte, previous to her confinement, was in good health, and immediately under the eye of her accoucheur, sir Richard Croft, who resided at Claremont for three weeks, up to the moment in which she was taken ill. Her spirits were excellent, and she anticipated only the most favourable issue of the event which was hourly expected. Dr. Baillie was also in waiting, chiefly, as we have been informed, on account of a promise exacted from him by the princess, that he would be near her on this occasion; but we believe he was not

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at Claremont until she was actually taken ill.

She was first made sensible of her approaching delivery at seven o'clock on Monday evening, the third of November; but the labour pains were so inefficient, although acute, as scarcely to evacuate the water, which had ruptured the membranes at the commencement of the labour; a circumstance, however, which every accoucheur knows prognosticates nothing either uncommon or untoward. In this manner the labour proceeded, slowly, for twenty-six hours; the princess being frequently up and walking about, from finding that the pains almost left her when she was in the recumbent posture. About this time, also, judging from the inefficiency of the pains, and the little progress made in the labour, we understand sir Richard Croft suspected that there were either twins, or there existed some irregular action of the womb: and considering that a consultation might ultimately be required, he wrote to Dr. John Sims, requesting his immediate attendance. He had, in the mean time, provided whatever could be wanted, should it be found expedient to have recourse to artificial delivery.

Dr. Sims arrived at Claremont at two o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, but did not then see the princess; and, as the cause of this has been grossly mis-stated, we think it proper, in justification of an honourable man, and so highly respected a member of the profession as sir Richard Croft is well known to be, to state, that we have been informed, from a quarter which we must credit, that it was proposed by sir Richard to Dr. Sims, that he should then be introduced to the princess; but both Dr. Sims himself and Dr. Baillie thought his presence, at that time, could not be productive of any benefit, but might agitate the patient. Dr. Sims, therefore, declined entering the lying-in room. No consultation was at this period necessary, as the labour was evidently advancing, although slowly: but, on hearing the statement of the situation of the princess from sir Richard Croft, Dr. Sims concurred in the opinion that every thing should be left to nature.

About noon, on Wednesday, it was first suspected that the child might be dead, or that it might be born in a state of suspended animation; and every known means of recovery were immediately prepared. Still the labour continued to be scarcely progressive, the pains being such as tend to forward birth rather by moulding the head so as to admit of its easy passage, than by forcible expulsion. When this was completed, the pains became more efficient; and, at the termination of fifty hours from the commencement of the labour, the princess was delivered by natural efforts, of a still-born male child. No great discharge followed the birth; but it was soon discovered that the womb was acting irregularly, and taking on the hour-glass contraction; and an unfavourable separation of the after-birth was anticipated. This, likewise, in some degree, accounted for the protracted character of the labour.

At half-past nine o'clock, a discharge of blood occurred. Dr. Sims, who was then employed in an adjoining room, in endeavours to reanimate the infant, was instantly informed of this occurrence; and, in consultation with sir Richard Croft, agreed that the immediate separation and removal of

the after-birth was necessary. It was effected with little difficulty, and was followed by a very trifling discharge of either fluid or coagulated blood.

The princess now was as well and composed as ladies usually are immediately after delivery; and continued so until a quarter before twelve o'clock, taking frequently small supplies of nourishment; but at this time she became restless and rather talkative, and complained of being sick. She vomited, but nothing was ejected, except a little camphor julep, which she had taken; and at this moment her pulse was firm, steady, and under a hundred. She again was composed. About half-past twelve, however, the breathing became impeded; the respiratory organs were evidently under the influence of spasm, and continued in that state until she breathed her last, at half-half-past two o'clock; exactly five hours and a half after her delivery.

In this afflicting state of the case, Dr. Baillie and Dr. Sims, who had been called into the room when the breathing first became affected, united their judgement and their skill with that of sir Richard Croft, but in vain, to avert the impending calamity. Art proved unavailing; although every thing which it could devise, and which experience could suggest, was attempted.

On the 7th of November, the body was opened by sir Everard Home, assisted by sir David Dundas, Mr. Brande, and the apothecary of prince Leopold's household; and, we believe, the following is a pretty accurate statement of the appearances these gentlemen observed:

The membranes of the brain presented their natural aspect. The vessels of one of its envelopes, called the pia mater, were less distended with blood than was to be expected after so severe a labour. The ventricles or cavities of the brain contained very little fluid. The plexus choroides, a very vascular part within the ventricles, was of a pale colour; and the substance of the brain had its natural texture.

The pericardium, or envelope of the heart, contained two ounces of red coloured fluid. The heart itself and the lungs were in a natural state. The stomach contained nearly three pints of liquid. The colon (the largest of the intestines) was distended with air. The kidneys and other abdominal viscera were in a natural state.

The womb itself contained a considerable quantity of blood, and extended as high up in the abdomen as the navel; and the hour-glass contraction was still very apparent.

The foregoing narrative throws very little light upon the immediate cause of the death of the princess. The fluid found in the pericardium might have obstructed the due action of the heart; but it is not easy to account for its presence there, nor to conceive that so large a quantity could have been effused during the short space of time that supervened to delivery, before the breathing became impeded. The quantity of blood which was found in the womb might have induced exhaustion; but this opinion can only be conjectural, as it is impossible to draw any certain inference from the rather indefinite expression "considerable," contained in the report of the surgeons. Conjecture, indeed, has been busy, and a phalanx of casual circumstances have been arranged to account for the dissolution; some of which are ungenerously and unguardedly, not

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to say maliciously, calculated to attach blame to the medical attendants; but we must consider such expositions as unjust to the individuals concerned, and in no degree honourable to the profession. We have been informed that the whole of the royal family are liable to the spasms of a violent description; and to this hereditary predisposition, and the increased excitability of the amiable sufferer, owing to the tedious nature of the labour, are we left to ascribe an event which has destroyed the flattering hopes of the nation, and lopped off the fairest branch from the stem of its monarchal succession.

CHAPTER XIII.

State and Affairs of Foreign Kingdoms during the Year 1817.—*France—Spain—Portugal—The Netherlands—Austria—Prussia—Wirtemberg, and the rest of Germany—Sweden—Russia—United States of America—South America—West Indies—East Indies.*

NO country, besides Great Britain, presents us with any thing very interesting, or that will detain us long. Considerable anxiety and doubt, indeed, must still, and for a considerable future period, exist with regard to the probability of France's settling into a regular and peaceably disposed government; and the friends of freedom and the real happiness of mankind must be equally anxious respecting the probability of her being rendered qualified for it, by the discipline she has undergone; and, if qualified, being able to obtain and secure national liberty, and those political and civil rights without which the people of no country can long be, at the same time, powerful and happy. But it is extremely difficult to foresee what will be the result; because it is impossible to learn, either from the accounts of the French papers, or from the reports of travellers, what are the actual feelings of the French people towards the Bourbons,—whether they have abandoned that love of glory, which in them is always fatal both to principle and repose, and whether their notions of government have become more sound and practical than they were.

There are, however, some circumstances connected with the state of France during the year 1817, which may serve to guide us in our inquiries in these most interesting and important points. In the first place, the feelings and wishes of the military part of the nation seem adverse to repose,—as eager after war, and as unprincipled as ever. This is manifest, whenever and wherever they have an opportunity of expressing their feelings and wishes. It is surprising, therefore, that the French government, which cannot possibly be ignorant of these things, should have passed a conscription law,—altered and modified, indeed, in some respects, from the conscription law of Bonaparte, but still of such a nature as must raise a much larger army than is necessary for the defence of France, and of course, in the present state of that army, dangerous to her repose, and to the repose of the rest of Europe. It is worthy of remark too, that this army, which will amount to about 250,000 men, is to be raised at

time when France declares herself incapable of paying those sums to the allies, which by the treaty she bound herself to do. This feature in the picture of France, therefore, is by no means favourable to her tranquillity, or to her preservation of peace with the rest of Europe. And if she does engage in war again, Britain will be the nation against whom, if possible, she will direct her vengeance; for though the British troops have all along behaved towards France with much more moderation, and indeed forbearance, than any of the other foreign troops; yet against Britain, the hostile and rancorous feelings of nearly all classes of Frenchmen, and especially of her military, are openly and avowedly directed.

In the second place, the conduct of the French king, and even of the royal family, as well as the measures and character of the French ministry, are favourable to the repose and happiness of that country. It is not our intention to state all the changes that have taken place in the French ministry; but only to point out the character of those changes, and their probable influence on the state of the country. When Louis first returned to France, he seems to have thrown himself completely into the arms of some of the most distinguished, and at the same time most profligate actors in the revolution. After he shook himself loose from these, he gave himself too much to the ultra-royalists; to those men, whom twenty-five years of calamity had not taught wisdom. At present, he has in a great measure avoided both extremes; and though some of his ministers do not seem wisely chosen, and some of their measures are not so liberal or judicious as could be wished, yet, on the whole, so far as the character and conduct of the French king and his ministers can act on the future fate of France, the prospect is rather cheering. The French princes, too, are not such open and imprudent advocates for ultra-royalism as they were; and it is said that the duc d'Angoulême, during a tour which he made in the western provinces of France,—those provinces that are devoted to ultra-royalism,—recommended forgetfulness, moderation, and acquiescence.

The proceedings of the two chambers in the year 1817 have presented nothing very interesting; nor do we perceive that the speeches of the members abound, more than they did, in sound and practical views of the real interests of the nation, or in clear and able expositions of those sober and genuine principles of government and liberty, which alone can guide the counsels of a nation to the attainment and preservation of liberty and happiness.

The point in the political thermometer (if the expression may be allowed) at which national freedom stands, may be ascertained pretty accurately, by attending to two circumstances:—in the first place the trial by jury, and secondly the state of the liberty of the press.

The French are certainly becoming more and more impressed with the conviction that the trial by jury is a most important blessing; and as they understand its nature and benefits better, and manage it more in accordance with that nature, and in such a manner as to secure those blessings in their most pure and extended state, they will prize it still higher, and derive still greater advantages from it. It is not merely that a trial by jury secures the due and impartial administration of justice,

tice, that it ought to be prized. It is also highly valuable, by acustoming and disposing the minds of men to think for themselves on questions of law and politics, and to feel sensible of their own weight and value in the state. The French revolution, in the midst of all the horrors it gave birth to, produced one blessing: with it there sprang up in France a middle class of men, chiefly by the overgrown estates of the noblesse having been broken into small portions, and bought by men, who thus secured mental and bodily independence. If these men can be taught to know their own importance, they must have it greatly in their power to counteract on the one hand, any approaches to despotism on the part of the government, and any attempt to break out into the military mania, on the part of the soldiers.

When it is recollected that the deranged state of the French finances gave birth, or rather occasion, to the revolution, considerable anxiety must be felt respecting the present state of their finances. They certainly are not flourishing, though not less so than might be expected from the exhausted condition of the country, and the large sums which they are bound to pay to the allies, directly or indirectly, by the support of their troops. Capital being scarce, and credit very low in France; while capital abounds even to an overflow, and credit is very high in England; the French government have raised a large sum of money by way of loan, in the latter country. As the principal contractor for the loan must have taken every mode of ascertaining the state of France, and the probability of her remaining quiet in herself, and at peace with the rest of the world; the circumstance of their having agreed to risque so very large a sum, must appear a presumption that France will remain quiet and at peace.

On the whole, we are disposed to be of opinion, that the great mass of the French nation are desirous of tranquillity and repose. We do not think they regard any of the allies with friendly feelings; but we hardly imagine, that at present they contemplate the period, when they would wish to indulge their hostile feelings, at the risque of plunging their country into war, and probably again rendering her the footstool of the conquerors. So far, therefore, as the great mass of the people are concerned, the probability of peace seems considerable. But when we turn to the military on the one hand, and the ultra-royalists on the other hand, we must confess that our fears preponderate. There can be no doubt that the military are eager for revenge, and to wipe off the stigma cast on themselves: for we believe them so selfish and egotistical, that if the stigma on their country had not touched themselves, or rather been inflicted through them, and by their discomfiture, they would not have disturbed themselves greatly about it: but now it boils in their hearts,—it almost exclusively occupies their thoughts, their hopes, and their plans. And when we consider how inflammable the French nation are on the subject of military glory, we are afraid that if the soldiers once applied the match, the flame would spread far and wide: and the probability of this flame extending would be increased by the conduct of the ultra-royalists; who on the one hand exasperate the military, and on the other rouse the jealous apprehension of all who have benefited by the revolution, either in

respect to property, or civil and political privileges, by their constant endeavours, as far as they are able, to restore the government and institutions that existed previously to the revolution.

In consequence of the repeated and strong representations that were made to the allies regarding the inadequate condition of the French finances to defray the expenses of the government, and at the same time pay the contributions and support the foreign troops, the allies consented to withdraw part of their forces: and it is generally supposed, that at the expiration of the three years (which will take place in 1818) the whole of them will be withdrawn from France, though, probably, they may be kept in the neighbouring states.

With respect to the liberty of the press in France, it is certainly not placed on that footing which indicates at the same time, a people fit to enjoy such liberty, and a government disposed to grant it. It must be observed, however, in justice to the government, that a people who have been so long unsettled in their political opinions and conduct, are much more likely to injure their own real interests, by the abuse of as large a portion of the liberty of the press, as in England might safely be granted, than by the proper use of it, to secure and extend those interests.

The affairs of Spain still exhibit a melancholy picture. The excitement on the part of the people, caused by their hatred of the French, rather than by any understanding or relish for real liberty, seems to have given place to the most benumbing and listless torpor; and the imbecility and tyranny of Ferdinand's government is patiently endured, if not really liked, by those who freed their country from the tyranny of Bonaparte. The finances of Spain are in a most deplorable state; and there do not existin the people industry, talent, capital, or credit, the only sources from which a country can draw revenue. No symptoms of regeneration, or of a disposition to free themselves from the abject and melancholy condition in which they vegetate, has broken out. There was, indeed, a conspiracy in Valencia; but whatever was its real character and object, it was ill planned and conducted, and was soon crushed, and the heads of it suffered the vengeance of the Spanish government.

In Portugal nothing occurred, during the year 1817, of the smallest importance, except a conspiracy, the object of which seems to have been to render that country an independent kingdom. The absence of the king of Portugal,—his having raised Brazil to the rank of a separate kingdom, and having seemingly fixed his permanent residence there,—together with some dislike to the constant interference of the English, and especially of marshal Beresford, who still retains his command of the Portuguese troops, were the causes of this conspiracy;—but it terminated, like that in Spain, fatally to those engaged in it.

Some alarm was spread over Europe, that its repose might be broken by a dispute between Spain and Portugal. The Brazilian government, rather unexpectedly, marched troops into the territories of Buenos Ayres, and took possession of Monte Video. This step they justified on the ground that Spain had not fulfilled the treaty of 1815, by giving up all the places on the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, which

which by that treaty she was bound to do. The allied sovereigns were appealed to by both powers, and it is probable that their determination will settle the dispute.

The government of the Netherlands seem to be going on in a satisfactory manner; gradually reconciling their catholic and protestant subjects to each other. The finances of this country are in a better state than those of most other European kingdoms; and the people have less reason to accuse their government of having forgotten or broken their promises, than the people of many of the German states.

The attention of the Austrian government is almost exclusively directed to the amendment of their finances. In no other respect have its proceedings been of any interest or importance. Indeed, the finances of Austria have for a long time been so dilapidated, that the utmost attention and care as well as œconomy of the government, will be indispensably necessary to recruit them.

In the arduous contest which terminated in the overthrow of Bonaparte, no people displayed greater zeal and enthusiasm, or contributed more essentially to that event, than the inhabitants of Prussia: they were animated by one feeling of revenge against the French, and a most firmly made up determination to restore the independence of their country, or to perish in the attempt. Their sovereign had yielded to the tyrant, but they had not: he had given himself up to his own enemies and the enemies of his country; but they rescued him and it. He was sensible of their merits, and he promised them a free constitution. But hitherto, notwithstanding he has been repeatedly reminded of his promise,—notwithstanding the Prussians have shown that their breasts still burn with that love of liberty which rendered them invincible in defence of their country,—a free constitution has not been granted them: their sovereign has not redeemed the pledge he gave them in the hour of his distress.

The disputes between the late king of Wirtemberg and his subjects have been detailed in a former volume. As his son, the present king, during the life of his father, took an open and decided part with the people, it was naturally supposed, that when he came to the throne he would grant them their requests, or at least that he would do away with all real ground for discontent. This, however, has not been the case, and the people of Wirtemberg and their sovereign are still at variance.

Indeed, with the exception of the duke of Saxe Weimar, no German sovereign seems to have recollected that he is indebted for the safety and independence of his kingdom to his people; or to be sensible, that it is the duty of a sovereign to grant to his subjects the fullest portion of liberty which they are capable of enjoying. The agitation given to men's minds by the French revolution, and their own importance and services, of which the Germans became fully aware during the last years of the war, must work out for them the object of their desire, even in spite of the impolitic and ungrateful backwardness of their princes.

The crown prince of Sweden, the only one of Bonaparte's generals who was permitted to retain his rank and power, has manifested most

most lamentable and ridiculous ignorance of the science of government, during 1817, in his absurd and ineffectual attempts to prevent the use of foreign commodities, under the idea that the import of them impoverished Sweden. His administration, in other respects, seems to be popular; though there was, during this year, a mysterious and not well-explained attempt to assassinate him.

The emperor of Russia's conduct is evidently directed to one grand object;—not so much the extension (for the present at least) of his already vast dominions, as the improvement of them. For this purpose, he has not been content with a wise and judicious internal administration of them, with the regulation of the finances and commerce, and with the prepared and gradual introduction of rights and privileges to which the great mass of his subjects were before strangers: but he has also introduced from foreign countries their most useful and important discoveries and improvements. For this purpose he has had in Britain a great number of acute, observant, and well-informed men, who have visited the principal seats of our various manufactures; and who have also made themselves perfectly and familiarly acquainted with the mode in which the education of the poor is conducted, as well as with the plans that have been adopted here for their relief and support. He thus is taking the wisest and most efficient measures to civilize and improve his country, as well as to bring into view and action all its sources of wealth and strength.

In another part of our volume we have inserted the speech of the president of the United States, on the opening of congress. It is a most interesting document, as it displays the rapid advances of a country which is yet in its infancy, towards the highest possible state of improvement;—that it is flourishing, needs no other proof, than that so soon after the termination of the war with this country, the American government are able to take off all the oppressive taxes, and can exhibit a revenue considerably exceeding the expenditure, and the extreme probability that it will every year be more and more productive.

There are many striking circumstances in the condition of America which cannot be beheld with indifference; and we feel ourselves interested in all such details of her policy and domestic history as tend to throw light on those great and powerful principles by which she is borne forward in her irresistible pace to greatness and dominion. America no longer presents a band of feeble colonists planted on a hostile shore, alternately sinking under the casualties of war or famine; nor yet of a dependent colony, regulated in her trade and policy according to the views and interests of a remote state. By her own natural vigour she has shaken off every inconvenient obstruction to the development of her strength, and she now marches forward with gigantic steps, fulfilling her destinies, and grasping in her own steady hand the sceptre of imperial power. The political system of America is founded on the principles of freedom; her government is a democracy, and her domestic œconomy is free from many of those restraints which have prevailed from time immemorial in the old world, and which, indeed, it would now be difficult to abolish. Commerce is controlled

trolled by no burdensome regulations; there are no corporation laws in any of the towns; every man is free throughout the wide precincts of this extensive country to choose whatever mode of directing his industry he may judge most expedient. And with all these advantages the inhabitants of America have before them an untouched and fertile country; in extent, from their most remote settlements to the Pacific Ocean, about 2000 miles, in which, for centuries to come, their expanding population will have full scope for all its energies. It is in this view that the American people present so singular and imposing a spectacle—year after year they are narrowing the boundaries of the desert—crowds of adventurous emigrants, from notions of independence, which are no doubt visionary, are continually resorting to the verge of civilization, there to breathe the free air of that wild region, exempted from the restraints of social life. Here they act in the double capacity of cultivator and huntsman, partly civilized and partly savage, until, by the progress of improvement, they are gradually surrounded with settlers, and are at length again brought within the pale of order and law. Wearied of the uniformity of social pursuits, they dispose of their lands to emigrants of more settled habits, and again take their station on the verge of the desert, there to bear the brunt of savage hostility—to hunt and to cultivate; and by their wild and ferocious habits, to act the part of successful pioneers in clearing the way for the great mass of the American population. It is in this manner that the country gradually assumes an aspect of civilization. The woods are cleared away—the fields are cultivated—and the dwellings of men usurp the place of the haunts of wild beasts.

The peopling of the American continent was considerably interrupted by the American war; but since the United States have become independent, this great work has never halted for a moment; and the only circumstance which might have proved an obstacle to the national increase and prosperity was foreseen in time, and prevented by the prudence of the government. As our readers may not be aware of this circumstance, the following explanation of it may be necessary, in order that they may fully comprehend the views and plans of the American government.

The Allegany mountains, it is well known, extend through North America in a direction W. of S. from the 42d to the 34th degree of N. lat. and for a long period they formed the western boundary of the American population. These mountains preserve, throughout their whole range, nearly an equal distance of 250 miles from the Atlantic ocean, into which all the waters which have their rise in them flow in a variety of insulated streams; and as the progress of population began from the Atlantic along the banks of the navigable rivers, the whole stream was necessarily within the territory occupied by the new settlers. But when they began to surmount this mountainous barrier in their progress westward, they found a different configuration of the ground, and the rivers of the country making their way to the ocean upon an entirely new principle. In place of a variety of small and unconnected streams, all the waters which rise in the immense valley which extends between the Allegany and the Rocky mountains,

tains, to the breadth of from 1500 to 2000 miles, are poured by a variety of tributary streams into one common recipient, namely, the channel of the Mississippi, which falls into the Gulf of Mexico, and of which the lower part was consequently wholly without the precincts of American authority. The rivers which descend the western declivity of the Allegany mountains, the great river Ohio, the Illinois, with their numerous tributary waters, to within sixty miles of the Canadian lakes, including a range of territory 1000 miles in extent from north to south, ultimately terminate in the Mississippi; and thus this vast territory, consisting of part of Pennsylvania and Virginia, of the states of Kentucky, Tenessee, Georgia, would have been entirely at the mercy of a foreign power, for a maritime outlet to their vast produce. Such a state of things could not possibly exist. The command of the course of the Mississippi, which was the key to such a large portion of America, must either be obtained by negotiation or the sword. The first method succeeded; Louisiana is now ceded in full sovereignty to the United States, and a resort to force was thus happily rendered unnecessary.

The American government did not fail to prosecute the advantages of this new acquisition with all its characteristic vigour. An expedition of discovery, under lieutenant (since general) Pike, was immediately sent to explore the source of the Mississippi: and the same officer was sent to discover the sources of the Arkansaw and of Red River, which flow from the Rocky mountains, and from a distance of more than 2000 miles join the Mississippi from the west. A more splendid expedition of discovery was also fitted out to trace the Missouri to its source, and afterwards to proceed across the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean. This enterprise was successfully executed by captains Lewis and Clarke, an account of whose interesting journey has been since published. The country of Louisiana has also been accurately examined as to its products, and the nature of its territory; and in the hands of its present possessors, its capacities, whatever they be, will not, we may be assured, be allowed to lie neglected. Along the banks of the Mississippi population already begins to make some progress; and even on the Missouri, settlements have been established. The object of the American government, in the arrangements which they now propose, seems to be to give system and unity to the progress of the American population: in place of the insulated advances of individuals, they recommend one general and combined movement along the whole line. With this view, they have negotiated with the Indian tribes for the possession of the territory which runs along the lakes Erie and Michigan, the northern boundaries of the American states; and further to the south, the Indian title to the lands in the district of Ohio has been extinguished, with a moderate reservation in favour of the savage proprietors. Still further to the south, in the state of Georgia, a corresponding tract of land has been purchased; and another arrangement has been made with the Indian tribes, by which they have agreed to evacuate all the land belonging to them eastward of the Mississippi, in exchange for new territory given them to the westward of that river; so that by these negotiations the whole country to the eastward of the Mississippi is now cleared of

of its original proprietors, and an ample field is thereby opened for the vast plans of colonization which are now projected by the American government.

In one view, the interest of this country is intimately connected with the success of these plans. The more rapidly the inhabitants of America increase, the greater will be the demand for British manufactures. For a long period, and notwithstanding all the encouragements given by the government at home, the increasing population of America must be agricultural, and the demand for manufactures must therefore be supplied from abroad. —All the various produce that is necessary for this purpose can only be found in the markets of this country; and however singular it may appear, it is unquestionably true, that the cultivation of the American deserts is intimately connected with the domestic prosperity of Britain. We observe, indeed, that some politicians are beginning to sound an alarm respecting the growing power and maritime resources of America. But of all alarms this is surely the most wild and chimerical. There appears very little probability that the interests of Great Britain and America can ever come into collision. The policy of both powers is decidedly pacific; and we rejoice to observe that in both countries the governments appear to be thoroughly alive to their true interests. Why, then, should we pry into futurity for causes of jealousy and mischief, and dwell upon imaginary dangers until we fancy them real? Why should we paint in exaggerated colours evils contingent and remote, until we inflame jealousies, and absolutely realize what we only fear? This was precisely the evil of the balancing system, as it is called, that it never would allow the world to rest. Some accident was always happening to its complicated machinery, which, in the opinion of sagacious politicians, might have occasioned mischiefs some twenty years hence, to avoid which, they plunged the world into the calamity of immediate war. But there is surely no danger that the aggrandizement of America will ever disturb the balance of European power; and we hope, therefore, that it will never be considered in this country as any object of alarm, and far less as any sufficient ground of war.

The affairs of South America are still involved in obscurity; the real state of the insurgents and their opponents cannot possibly be known in its details. Not even the general result of their contests in the various quarters where it is carried on, rests on such authority as can be depended upon. Nearly all that is ascertained is, that the insurgents in the north-eastern provinces have suffered considerably. But the victories, neither of the insurgents nor of the Spanish government, lead to any permanent advantage. The contest still goes on, displaying cruelty and ferocity much more conspicuously than talent. A great many military adventurers have gone from Britain to join the insurgents; but by all accounts they have been grievously disappointed. They have been received with coldness, if not with jealousy; and they have found an army of half-clothed and half-civilized soldiers, and rulers only fit to direct the operations of such soldiers, instead of men ardent and enlightened in the cause of liberty, and an army well-equipped and disciplined.

In the West Indies nothing of import-

importance has occurred, except a hurricane exceeding in its violence and destructive effects most of those by which this region of storms is so often visited.

A war has broken out in the East Indies; but, as the events relating to it, which properly belong to the year 1816, were only the forerunners of the great contest, we shall leave the detail of the whole for the subject of our next volume.

Prices

Prices of STOCKS for 1817.—N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each STOCK in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1817.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	B. Long Ann.	Irish 5 p. ct.	Imp. 3 p. ct.	India Stock.	South S. Stock.	India Bonds.	Ex. Bills, 2½d.	Ex. Bills, 3d.	Ex. Bills, 3½d.
Jan.	220	63	62	79	93⅞	16¾	94⅛	62⅛	188¾	67¼	15 pr.		6	
	224½	64	63¼	80⅜	95⅛	16⅞		62⅜	193¾	67⅜	27 pr.		17.	
Feb.	226	64½	63⅞	81⅞	96	17	95⅜	63¼	194¾	71¼	25		12	11
	240	68⅛	67½	85⅜	99⅛	18	97¼	65¾	199⅛		33		18	18
March	246	69	67⅞	86¼	99	18¾	99	67⅞	201⅞	74⅛	32	5	9	10
	247½	69¾	70⅛	87⅞	100	18⅝		69⅞	203	75⅛	42	10	17	18
April	253	71	71⅝	88¼	100¾	18½	99⅜	70⅞	206		43	6	12	12
	257	72⅞	73⅛	91¼	103¼	19⅛	100	72¼	209		76	18	23	24
May	252½	71⅛	72⅛	88¼	103	18⅜	100⅜	70	210⅛	79	73	10	14	14
	256	72¼	73¼	88½	104⅛	18⅞	101	70½	211	79¾	86	13	19	19
June	256	72⅞	73⅛	90	105	18⅛	102¼	71⅛	214		82	9	10	10
	273	75¼		95¾	105¾	19⅝	104¼	72¼	218		94	12	13	15
July	274	75⅛	76⅛	94⅛	103⅛	19⅛	104⅛	74⅛	231		92	11	10	8
	294	82¼	82¼	100¾	107¼	23	105⅛	82¼	248		116	37	34	34
Aug.	281	79½	78¾	96¼	103⅞	20⅛	105	78¾	226	86¼	111	28	25	25
	284	81¼	81¼	98⅜	106	21¼	105⅛	80	234	88⅜	124	36	34	34
Sept.	280	80¼	79⅛	98¼	105¼	20⅞	106½	78⅞	229½	88	40	23	18	19
	280¼	80¾	81¼	99	106⅞	21	107	80⅜	240		107	32	27	26
Oct.	226	64¼	63⅞	81⅛	96	17	95⅛	63¼	194¾	71¼	25		12	13
	240	68⅛	67	85⅛	99⅜	18	97⅛	65⅞	199⅛		33		18	18
Nov.	288	82	82¾	98⅞	108⅛	21	106⅛	81	246⅛		98		19	
	291	83	83¾	99⅛	109⅛	21⅞	107¼	81¼	250		102		21	
Dec.	288¾	80⅞	83¼	98½	108⅞	20¼	107⅛	81¼	247		96	17	15	
	294½	83¼	83⅝	99⅞	109¼	21¼	107¾		248		102	25	20	

PRINCIPAL

PRINCIPAL

OCCURENCES

In the Year 1817.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES, &c.

For the Year 1817.

"*Windsor Castle, Jan.* 4.

HIS majesty continues to enjoy a good state of bodily health, and has been generally tranquil during the last month. His majesty's disorder remains unaltered."

The prince regent has been pleased to grant out of the funds at the disposal of his majesty, 1000*l.* in aid of the subscription for the relief of the labouring classes within the city and suburbs of Edinburgh.

FIRES.

On the 3d day of January a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Martin, grocer and tea-dealer in Bishopsgate-street: it was got under after destroying the whole of the premises, which are insured; happily no lives were lost.

A fire broke out on the 6th at Mrs. Fryars', Dyers-buildings, Gower-street, which destroyed the first and second floors: it was occasioned by a horse of clothes taking fire in the back room; and although Mrs. Fryars was in the front room, and gave immediate alarm, the flames had caught the cieling before assistance was afforded.

The earl of Bridgewater's magnificent castle, Ashridge, has several times lately escaped conflagration. Several of the apartments have at different periods been discovered on fire, but fortunately in time to prevent the diabolical intentions of the incendiary, who is yet unknown, though suspicions are entertained respecting the offender.

A fire broke out at Woodley Farm, near Barnet, on Sunday night, the 5th instant, which did much damage. It was discovered in the kitchen, when the inmates were asleep, by a shepherd, who gave the alarm in time for the family to save themselves. The house, which was an old timber building, was destroyed, with many valuable improvements in machinery: but the southerly wind saved the farm-yard.

At the late sessions at Guildford an order was made for rating the Rev. Rowland Hill's chapel, towards the support and maintenance of the poor of the parish of Christchurch; and, on an inspection of the receipts and profits derived from the chapel, the magistrates fixed 676*l.* as a fair sum upon which the building ought to be rated. Mr. Webber's name, as treasurer of the chapel, was accordingly inserted in the next assessment, and a sum of 16*l.* 18*s.* was charged. When the overseer applied to Mr. Webber, that gentleman refused to pay any thing: upon which refusal Mr. Meymott, solicitor, who is vestry clerk of Christchurch parish, applied to the magistrates at Union-hall for a summons, to be directed to Mr. Webber, calling on him to appear and show cause why he refused pay-

ment. Mr. Webber not having attended, Mr. Meymott proved that the rate had been duly demanded, and payment refused; and applied for a warrant of distress, which the magistrates granted. The defendants have declared their determination not to pay till they have the opinion of the court of King's Bench.

Ely, Jan. 13.

It is with extreme regret we state, that a tremendous breach or gull has taken place in the Burnt Fen bank, near Mr. Speaker's on the river Lark, by which nearly 15,000 acres of land are inundated.

Extract of a letter from Plymouth, dated Jan. 21.—"We experienced yesterday morning one of the most dreadful storms that has been remembered by the oldest inhabitant. On Sunday evening, the wind at S. E. increased to a violent storm, and about twelve o'clock flew round to south, where it continued to blow with increasing violence until nearly eight o'clock in the morning, with a most terrible sea pouring into the Sound. This caused the water to flow many feet beyond the usual height, and all the lower parts of the town were inundated, and the damage done thereby is very considerable. The appearance of the sea over the breakwater was awfully grand, and the damage done to that work is supposed to amount to upwards of 100,000*l.* The effect of this storm on the vessels in this port has been truly distressing; and had not the force of the sea in some measure been broken by the breakwater, it must have been worse. The Jasper brig of war parted from her anchors in the Sound, during the gale, and went on shore near the Batten Point, where she shortly after went to pieces; and, melancholy to relate, only one seaman and a marine were saved; the remainder on board, amounting to about 90 persons, amongst which were several women, were all drowned. The only officers on board (of rank) were the master and purser. The Telegraph schooner, lieutenant Little, drifted from her anchor between the island and main, and went on the rocks under the Hooe, and dashed to atoms. One seaman was killed by the wreck, and the purser and several of the crew were severely hurt. The Princess Mary packet, lately arrived from Jamaica, was lying at anchor in Catwater, from whence she drifted on the rocks in Deadman's Bay, and she soon went to pieces. Mr. Gidley, the master, his wife and son, a brother of Mrs. Gidley, and two seamen, were drowned. The sloop Albion, of this port, captain Coose, was totally lost at the back of the breakwater, during the gale, and all the crew perished. The Lapwing revenue cutter, during the gale, went on the rocks in Mill Bay; the crew fortunately got on shore in the boat: it is hoped that she may be got off. A fine new trawl-boat went on shore in Mill Bay, and is lost. Several ships have been stranded in different parts of the harbour, and great damage done to the small craft and small boats. At Cawsand the damage has been very great, estimated at upwards of 10,000*l.* where eight or ten houses have been washed away, and nearly 50 small boats destroyed, besides other damages. One person was washed away, and several others severely hurt by falling off houses—At Polpero 40 boats out of 45 were lost, and very considerable other damages. Indeed, we may expect to hear of nothing but calamity from all along the coast.

Considerable injury has also been sustained on various parts of the coast

coast by this calamitous and awful visitation.—At Exmouth the tide rose higher than was ever remembered; the Passage-House was totally destroyed by the fury of the waves; as was also that strong stone-built custom-office, commonly called the Watch-House.—At Dawlish the storm was most tremendous, and has left strong marks of its ravages; a garden, in front of Mr. Cox's house, with all its contents, was completely swept off by the tide, and the large stones which formed the embankment wall were carried as far as the Warren, a distance of a mile and a half.—The banks of the Exe were overflowed, and many thousand seams of hay borne off by the waters.

31. The master and wardens of the ironmongers' company presented lord Exmouth and sir David Milne to the chamberlain in his outer office at Guildhall, as freemen of that company, in the presence of the lord mayor, several naval and military officers who served under his lordship at Algiers, and a numerous assemblage; when the chamberlain, having perused the certificates from the company, administered the usual oaths of a freeman, and agreeably to the resolutions of the court of common council admitted them into the freedom of the city of London, in the accustomed manner, with the sign of fraternity and giving joy. He then delivered to them the resolutions of the court written on vellum, and emblazoned with their respective arms and other appropriate decorations. After which he presented to each a superb sword.

THE CONGO EXPEDITION.

The detailed accounts of the expedition to explore the river Congo, or Zaire, have reached the admiralty. Melancholy as the result has been, from the great mortality of the officers and men, owing to excessive fatigue, rather than to the effects of climate, the journals of captain Tuckey and the gentlemen in the scientific departments are, it is said, highly interesting and satisfactory, as far as they go; and we believe they extend considerably beyond the first rapid or cataract. It would seem, indeed, that the mortality was entirely owing to the land-journey beyond these rapids; and that captain Tuckey died of complete exhaustion, after leaving the river, and not from fever. The climate, we understand, was remarkably fine; scarcely a shower of rain, or any humidity in the atmosphere, and the sun seldom shining out but for a few hours in the middle of the day; Fahrenheit's thermometer seldom exceeding 76 degrees by day, and never descending below 60 degrees at night—such a climate, in fact, as one would wish to live in; but an anxious zeal and over-eagerness to accomplish the objects of the expedition, and to acquire all the information that could possibly be obtained, seem to have actuated every one, from the lamented commander to the common seaman and private marine, and led them to attempt more than the human constitution was able to bear. The total number of deaths amount to 18; of which 14 were on the land expedition. They consist of captain Tuckey, commander of the expedition; lieutenant Hawkey, lieutenant of the Congo; Mr. professor Smith, botanist; Mr. Tudor, comparative anatomist; Mr. Cranch, collector of objects of natural history; Mr. Galwey, a friend of captain Tuckey, who volunteered from pure love of science; Mr. Eyre, the purser. The names of the remainder have not been returned. The Dorothy trans-

port, that accompanied the Congo into the river, lost but one man, and he fell overboard and was drowned. —The following extract of a letter from Mr. Mackerrow, the surgeon of the Congo, details some of the melancholy particulars of the symptoms which the sufferers exhibited previous to their death:—"Of the eighteen who died in the river, fourteen had been on shore, marching for some time, and were far advanced before reaching the ship. Professor Smith, who saw many of them when taken ill, gave to some a dose of calomel, but to others nothing had been administered. The fever appeared in some degree contagious, as all the attendants upon the sick were attacked; and before we left the river, it pervaded nearly the whole crew; also some of the transports; but as for myself, although constantly among them, I did not feel the slightest indisposition until we left the coast, when I was attacked: however, I considered mental anxiety, and disturbed rest, as the sole causes. Captain Tuckey had been afflicted many years with a chronic *hepatitis;* and on returning from travelling five weeks on shore, he was so excessively reduced, that all attempts to restore the energy of his system proved ineffectual. Mr. Tudor was in the last stage of fever before I saw him; as were Messrs. Cranch and Galwey. Professor Smith died in two days after he came under my care; during which time he refused every thing, whether as nutriment or medicine. Lieutenant Hawkey was taken ill after leaving the river, and died on the fourth day: his case was rather singular—the symptoms were, irritability of stomach, with extreme languor and debility; but he had neither pain nor fever. Mr. Eyre had a violent fever, and on the third day breathed his last;—before death, a yellow suffusion had taken place, with vomiting of matter resembling coffee-grounds."

It is pleasing to observe the facility with which useful institutions are adopted, under the harmony at present subsisting among mankind. We have intelligence, that the provident or saving banks, which have been established so beneficially here, are about to be resorted to in the United States. At Boston the plan is in progress, and is not left to individual benevolence, but is countenanced by a large body of the members of the state legislature; and the measure is very soon to receive its high sanction.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Marsden to the secretary of the Missionary society, dated June 7, 1816:—"A vessel has just arrived from the Society Islands, but has brought no letters for me, or for your society: they are on board another vessel which is not yet arrived here. I have seen a letter from Mr. Davies to my colleague, the rev. W. Cowper, which contains the most flattering accounts. I have conversed with the master of the vessel, and passengers, on the subject of the mission; and all accounts agree, that a most wonderful change has been produced in all the Society Islands; and the spread of the Gospel seems to be almost universal. Pomare is become a great man, and a pious Christian, as appears from the whole of his conduct. I understand he is now a sovereign once more. His enemies made an attack upon him and his people on the sabbath day, when they imagined they would not defend themselves; but Pomare felt it his duty to fight on the sabbath, in defence of himself and subjects. In this battle he obtained a complete

complete victory, and took many prisoners, whose lives he spared, contrary to their custom; which has had the most happy effect upon the minds of his enemies, as it has convinced them that the new religion is a merciful religion. Many have joined him from the accounts of his clemency."

FEBRUARY.

Windsor, Feb. 1.

His majesty has been uniformly quiet, yet cheerful, during the last month. His majesty's disorder is undiminished, but his bodily health continues very good.

13. The very novel occurrence of the issue of the new silver coinage took place this day in the metropolis, as well as in all parts of the kingdom; and every thing was conducted with great order, and to the satisfaction of the public.

14. This day Watson, Preston, Hooper, and Keen, alias Kearns, were after separate examinations before the privy council committed to close custody in the Tower for high treason.

The Waterloo subscription fund now approaches very near to 500,000*l.* an evidence of national spirit and gratitude worthy of the occasion. Out of this sum, annuities to the amount of more than 18,000*l.* have been voted to widows, children, and to privates who have suffered the loss of limbs; and upwards of 140,000*l.* given in donations, including sums voted to our allies.

J. C. Curwen, esq. M.P. has appropriated forty-two acres of potatoes to the poor of Workington: the produce is nearly 18,000 bushels, which, at the present price, are worth upwards of 2000*l.*

At Stonyhurst, near Preston, the order of the Jesuits has for thirty years past possessed a spacious college, which is exclusively a college of Jesuits—is amply supplied with all the *materiel* and *morale* of Jesuitism, and is carrying on the work of catholic instruction and protestant conversion upon the most large and extensive scale. The studies at this place are conducted upon the same system, and to the same extent as at the catholic universities abroad; and there are regular professors in divinity, mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, &c. The college, which is a very large building, is capable of containing at least 400 or 500 pupils, independent of professors, managers, and domestics.

At a meeting of the commissioners appointed to manage the yearly grant of 10,000*l.* voted by parliament for finishing the college of Edinburgh, the plan of Mr. Wm. Playfair being adopted, the prize of 100 guineas was adjudged to that gentleman. The second prize, of 80 guineas, was awarded to Mr. Burn. According to Mr. Playfair's plan, the exterior of the building, as originally planned by Adams, is to be retained with very little alteration; but there will be a total departure from the internal arrangements. The southern side of the quadrangle is to be occupied almost entirely by the library, which will be 190 feet long, and one of the most elegant rooms in the kingdom. The western side is to be appropriated to the museum; and the other two sides are to be occupied chiefly as class-rooms. The original proposal of accommodating the professors with houses in the college is entirely abandoned. The whole of this magnificent structure, which will be a lasting monument of the national taste, will be completed in six or seven years.

26. A most destructive fire occurred at Darlington, Yorkshire, by

which a worsted mill and other property, valued at 30,000*l.* were destroyed; and 500 people thrown out of employ.

27. At 7 o'clock this morning, one of the most violent storms of wind ever remembered, accompanied by thunder and lightning, was experienced at Beaumanor park, in the county of Leicester. The wind tore up by the roots many of the immense oak trees, which have stood the shock of seven centuries; many large fir trees, ash, elm, and willows, were broke through the middle, and the tops carried to a distance. The oldest people never saw such destruction, trees lying in all directions; many stacks and barns blown down. Near Beaumanor many people left their houses for fear. In Garendon park also many trees were blown down. The storm continued at intervals during the greater part of the day.—About seven o'clock, the wind blowing a complete hurricane, the chimney of the house of Mr. Lawson, a respectable butcher of Coventry, was blown down, and fell with such violence as to force its way through the tiling, attic, and into the sleeping-room of Mr. L. who was in bed, and who, it is supposed, was instantly killed by the pressure of the fall, a considerable quantity of bricks and timber being upon him when his body was discovered.

Between eight and nine o'clock the wind blew a most tremendous hurricane from the west, by which considerable damage was done to the roofs of buildings, &c. in the town of Bury and its neighbourhood. Two of the chimneys of Orbell Oakes, esq. were blown down, beating in the roof, breaking the glass, and otherwise damaging his dwelling house—the garden wall of Mrs. Palmer, at the back of Northgate-street, was blown down, and a child's leg broken by the fall—a chimney at the King's Head inn was blown down, and broke in the roof of the chamber. Numerous other houses in the town sustained similar damage in their roofs. Several beautiful trees on sir Charles Bunbury's lawn at Great Barton were snapped asunder.—A windmill at Wetherden was blown down. The windmill at Cockfield, and several others in the neighbourhood, suffered materially. The great barn at Horning's heath, measuring 112 feet by 40, was nearly all blown down;—a barn at Rushbrooke; two others at Shedburgh and Shimpling-hall; another at Hawstead; another at Lavenham; another at Thorpe Morieux, and one at Hundon, were either partly blown down or materially suffered in the roofs. The injury sustained by so many barns might, in some degree, arise from their generally being empty. Numerous stacks of corn and clover were blown down in most parishes. Indeed so heavy a gale was scarcely ever before remembered by the oldest inhabitants. A large barn belonging to Mr. Rivers, of Cauldwell-hall, was also blown down. The sails of the mill on the Whitton-road, near the king's barracks, were shivered in pieces, and two sails blown off a mill at Westerfield. Two or three chimneys in Ipswich were blown down, much damage done to the roofs of the horse-barracks, and a garden-wall upwards of 140 feet long, belonging to the rev. Wm. Fonnereau, at Christchurch, was thrown down, and considerable injury sustained in the tiling, destruction of pots on chimneys, &c.: also several large trees near were torn up by the roots. At Woodbridge several stone and brick walls were thrown down, and many houses

houses unroofed; two of the sails were blown off Mr. Manby's mill, one of which was carried a considerable distance, and the other went through the round-house, shattered the brick work, and was found erect among the wheat. Mrs. Packard's house at Hasketon received considerable injury by the fall of a large stack of chimneys.

During the gale the Adventure, Unity, Manchester, Friends, Goodwill, and Deborah and Anne, belonging to Ipswich, broke from their moorings; but it being neap tide, the vessels drifted on the hard-way opposite, and sustained very little injury, except in their boats: the two wherries on their passage to Harwich met the squall, one of which had her jib sail split, and was obliged to bring up.

FRANCE.

In the chamber of deputies, the debate on the law respecting public journals has terminated. It was voted by a majority of 128 against 89. All the journals of France are now, therefore, absolutely dependent upon the king's authority; which sanction may be, of course, at any time withdrawn, and any of them be immediately suppressed. The report on the budget has been brought forward in this chamber; the committee appear to have ably performed their duty, in recommending ministers to enforce œconomy in every department, particularly as to pensions; the revenue is stated to be 300 millions deficient.

ITALY.

An immense collection of letters, in number half a million, and seven tons weight, from persons in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the exiled Stuarts, have been lately discovered at Rome: they begin with James II. and go down to the death of cardinal York. The letters, which had got into private hands, have been secured and sealed up, by orders from the pope.

GERMANY.

A German public paper contains the following, as it affirms, accurate account of the Austrian army:—

Infantry - -	349,200 men.
Light infantry -	85,800
Cavalry - - -	75,000
Artillery - -	20,000
Total of the Austrian army - - -	530,000

The king of Wirtemberg has abolished the censorship of the press; and by conciliatory firmness towards his people, is likely to become one of the most popular sovereigns in Europe. He is reducing his civil establishment: the late king of that country had 293 chamberlains!—they are now reduced to ten.

ASIA.

A letter from Port Louis, in the Isle of France, dated Oct. 1, speaking of the great fire of the 25th September, states, that the loss is found to be enormous. The greater part of those who suffered are reduced to the lowest state of poverty. Many who on the preceding evening were very wealthy, were in the course of twelve hours left without a morsel of bread to give their families. The influence of this state of things on trade has been very serious: every one endeavours, as in a shipwreck, to save himself as well as he can. What adds to the general embarrassment is, that a bank, the paper of which had formerly disappeared, now furnishes the only currency, though the security of its paper rests only on notes payable to order. Nineteen streets were entirely consumed, including hospitals, prisons, barracks, magazines, and other public buildings.

MARCH.

MARCH.

Windsor Castle, March 1.

His majesty has enjoyed good bodily health, and has been in a very tranquil state during the last month; but his majesty's disorder is unabated.

12. This day the execution of Cashman the rioter took place opposite the house of Mr. Beckwith in Skinner-street. The lord-mayor had taken the most praise-worthy precautions to prevent disturbance. —At eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, Cashman was brought from his cell up stairs to one adjoining the press-yard, in which he was to pass the night. He seemed perfectly composed, but exhibited a good deal of levity. Occasionally he was serious; but he frequently launched forth into comments on the nature of his past life, and talked of his fears of being dragged like a vagrant through the streets. In this sort of converse he remained till twenty minutes after ten, when the Roman catholic clergyman, Mr. Devereux, took his departure, remarking that the poor fellow was perfectly resigned to his fate, but at the same time evidently looked towards it with a levity which bordered on a confusion of intellect. On the morning of execution he expressed his readiness to die; and the door of his cell opening, he stepped forward with great alacrity. He stood with much unconcern while his fetters were knocked off, looking at and assisting in the operation. The rev. Messrs. Cotton and Devereux again in vain attempted to administer consolation. He evinced the utmost impatience, exclaiming, "Don't bother me—it's of no use; I know nothing at all about the matter." The subjects which seemed nearest his mind were, the mode of his death, and the disposition of his little property. The crowd collected exceeded all calculation, extending to every spot from whence a view could be commanded. The multitude was chiefly of an inferior description, and strong symptoms of discontent evidently prevailed. Lest any attempt should be made at rescue, a signal was concerted to call in the military, who were under arms. About ten minutes before eight the culprit took his seat in the cart. His firmness was unabated, and not a muscle of his countenance betrayed the slightest appearance of fear.—Looking towards the prison door, at which one of the turnkeys stood, he said in a laughing manner, "Good b'ye, Bishop—God bless you, my hearty!" and then addressing himself to the others, exclaimed, "This is not for cowardice—I am not brought to this for robbery—I am going to die, but I shall not shrink. If I was at my quarters I would not be killed in the smoke, I'd be in the fire. I have done nothing against my king and country, but fought for them."—As the sheriffs advanced, the mob expressed their indignation by groans and hisses, and attempts were made to rush forward. The officers, however, stood firm to their posts, and being aided in their efforts by the wooden barriers, succeeded in preventing any encroachment. This conduct was frequently repeated before the cart had reached its destination, and Cashman joined his voice to the shouts, crying out, "Hurra! my boys, I'll die like a man!" On his quitting the cart, and mounting the scaffold, the groans were redoubled; he seemed to enter into the spirit of the spectators, and joined in their exclamations with a terrific shout. The executioner then put the rope round his neck. This operation excited fresh exclamations

mations of disapprobation from the crowd. On the cap being put over his face, he said, "For God's sake let me see to the last; I want no cap." In this he was indulged, and the cap was withdrawn. He now turned towards Mr. Beckwith's house in an angry manner, and shaking his head, said, "I'll be with you —there," meaning he would haunt the house after his death. The executioner having quitted the platform, the unfortunate wretch addressed the crowd nearest him, and exclaimed, "Now, you ——, give me three cheers when I trip."—And then, calling to the executioner, he cried out, "Come, Jack, you ——, let go the jib-boom." He was cheering at the instant the fatal board fell. The cap was then drawn over his face, and he died almost without a struggle.—The body was taken to the debtors' side of Newgate upon the shoulders of four men, and it was afterwards claimed by a nephew of the malefactor in the evening.

18. In the court of chancery, Mr. Hart moved for an injunction to restrain Messrs. Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, from printing and publishing the poem of "Wat Tyler," a juvenile production of Robert Southey, esq. poet laureat.—Sir Samuel Romilly resisted the application, on the ground that it was not such a publication as entitled the author to the protection of the court. He would venture to say that a more dangerous, mischievous, and seditious publication had never issued from the press: clothed in the most seductive language, it was calculated to excite a spirit of disaffection and hatred to the government and constitution of the country, as well as open rebellion against the sovereign. The lord chancellor was of opinion, that if the book deserved the character that had been given of it, he certainly, as a judge of a court of equity, had no right to interpose; it was the province of the attorney-general to look to it. He should take the book home with him and read it, in order to satisfy his mind whether it had the pernicious tendency ascribed to it.—The following day the lord chancellor gave his opinion. His lordship said he had given some attention to prior cases on the same subject, and he found in all of them that the court had acted on the principle of not giving protection to the author of a work which was, or must be represented in a legal sense, as immoral or seditious. He had no opinion to give on the character or merits of the publication in question; but it was a principle on which the court uniformly acted, to refuse an injunction in every case where the author could not maintain an action for the infringement of a copy-right. It was a singular feature in this case, that the manuscript should have so long been neglected. With the merits of the publication he, as a public individual, had nothing to do, as it did not lie within his jurisdiction. It was not, however, a work that he could feel himself justified in granting any protection to. The courts of law had the cognisance of all libellous matters, and of all attacks on principle and character, but his jurisdiction as chancellor was solely confined to property.—The injunction was refused.

18.—The spinning factory of Mr. Brown, at Knott Mill, Manchester, was destroyed by fire in the short space of an hour. The loss is estimated at 20,000*l.* abut 14,000*l.* of which is insured.

20. A meeting of the proprietors of Drury-lane theatre was held in the saloon of the theatre, when, after much

much discussion, it was resolved to let the theatre on lease, if an adequate offer shall be made, with competent security for its fulfilment. Thanks were voted to the earl of Essex and other members of the committtee of management, who are to continue to exercise their functions till the end of the season. The following were stated to be the receipts of the theatre since its rebuilding:—First year, 79,925*l.* 14*s.*; second, 68,389*l.* 3*s.*; third, 61,585*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*; fourth, 49,586*l.* 17*s.*

A beautiful silver vase, modelled from the celebrated specimen from Adrian's villa, brought from Rome by sir W. Hamilton, and now the property of the earl of Warwick, has been executed by Messrs. Rundell and Bridge. This piece of plate is one of the finest specimens of art ever finished. The form is truly elegant. The whole is surrounded by fine antique Bacchanalian masks. The handles are composed of vine stems finely twisted, the upper part running round the top of the vase. On the base is the following inscription:—"As a testimony of the sense entertained of his services by the friends of true liberty and public tranquillity, this vase is presented to the rev. sir Henry Bate Dudley, bart. LL.D. who, by his firm and decisive conduct as a magistrate, contributed essentially to the suppression of a sudden and dangerous insurrection at Littleport in the Isle of Ely, on the 24th day of May, 1816."

The splendid and extensive stained glass window, ordered by the late duke of Norfolk, upon the subject of king John signing Magna Charta in the presence of the barons, in the barons' hall, Arundel Castle, has been completed by the present duke, and is now exhibiting by the artist, Mr. Backler, to his friends and the public.

It is a singular circumstance, that none of the almanacs notice the now returning direction of the magnetic needle towards the north. In the year 1657 it pointed due north, but has been 160 years increasing in declination westward: last year it attained a declension of 25, and then became stationary, and is now receding back again to the north.

18. This day, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, when the pump-room, Bath, was full of fashionables, a Mr. Fox, attended by several other Quakers, addressed the company for some time; after which Mrs. Priscilla Gurney, of the same persuasion, commenced an oration, but was prevailed on by some gentlemen to desist.

Scarcely any description of property has been more seriously affected by the general distress than the public theatres: even in the capital they have been severely visited; but in the provincial circuits they have been, almost without exception, entirely shut up, or their rents reduced one third; some to half their former produce, and others allowed to be used for the payment of taxes and repairs.

29. Last week a dreadful explosion of the fire-damp occurred in the colliery belonging to Mr. Parsons, near Neath Abbey, by which one man was killed and three terribly burnt. The name of the former was Thomas James, a very industrious and respectable old collier, remarkable for sobriety and seriousness of character. His body was not discovered until after a search of two days. He has left a wife and family. Mr. John Parsons, benevolently anxious to render every assistance in his power, descended into the pit immediately after the explosion

explosion had taken place, and was accompanied by captain Wall, of the Britannia steam-packet, who, with the humane promptitude characteristic of a British sailor, ventured without hesitation into the abyss, equally solicitous to assist in restoring to the agonized and shrieking women assembled round its mouth, the relations, of whose fate they were in such horrible uncertainty. Both these gentlemen, particularly Mr. Parsons, had nearly forfeited their lives by their humanity.

IRELAND.

The site for building the magnificent testimonial in honour of the splendid military achievements of the duke of Wellington, in Ireland, is at length fixed near the old battery in the Phœnix park, Dublin, and is to be completed in three years. This obelisk is to exceed in magnitude, grandeur, and elevation (205 feet from the surface of the ground), any similar structure in Europe. Upwards of 16,000*l.* have been already subscribed.

FRANCE.

The price of provisions at Boulogne is thus given in a letter from an officer to his friend at Christchurch, dated the 5th instant:—A leg of mutton from 7½*d.* to 8*d.* per lb.; beef and pork 7*d.*; inferior sorts, 5*d.*; poultry very dear; wild fowl cheap; a good widgeon or wild duck, from 6*d.* to 9*d.*; a pair of very good soles, 10*d.* which is considered dear; a turbot from 8lbs. to 10lbs. for 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.*; 26 eggs for 10*d.*; vegetables very cheap. All articles living are one-third dearer than in June 1816.

NETHERLANDS.

The princess of Orange has been delivered of a son, at Brussels. The joyful event was announced by a salute of 101 cannon. He is to take the title of duke of Brabant.

TURKEY.

Accounts from Constantinople mention, that the German physician M. Von Rosenfield, who, in the course of trying on himself the experiment of inoculation for the plague, had been in the lazaretto thirty-eight days, was attacked by the disorder on the thirty-ninth, and fell a victim to it.

APRIL.

4. The Norwich Mercury contains the following particulars of a most shocking accident arising from the bursting of a steam-boiler in the packet which sails from the Foundry-bridge. "Just after the boat had started, it had not gone twenty yards when the tremendous explosion took place. The vessel was rent to atoms, so that little remains entire, from the stern to the engine-room, except the keel and flooring. Twenty-two passengers appear to have been on board. The bodies of eight are found—five men and three women. One child is yet missing; and six have been sent to the hospital in a wounded state. Six escaped unhurt. Of these last, one man was standing over the boiler when the explosion happened. It is said major Mason was another, whose clothes were torn by the shock, but who was otherwise uninjured. The third was an infant, two months old: the little innocent was discovered at the bottom of the vessel in a profound sleep, after the removal of the dreadful wreck. The six who were sent to the hospital, as above stated, are females, and their cases are of the worst description. One woman, aged 58, has had both legs amputated; another has had one leg amputated: in both cases they were very bad compound fractures. Two are dreadfully wounded in the head; and one has had her arm broken

broken and her face disfigured. The bruises of the sixth are slighter than those of the rest; but she has been scalded in a shocking manner.

12. This evening, about eight o'clock, a most alarming fire broke out at a farm at Weston, near Baldock, in the occupation of Mr. Farr, which raged with unabated fury until the whole of the buildings (with the exception of the dwelling-house) were completely destroyed. Five horses, three cows, and as many calves were burnt. The direction of the wind was such as to carry the scattered pieces of flaming timber towards another farm, occupied by Mr. Winney, the buildings of which caught fire, and although every assistance was given that was practicable, this farm was doomed to share the same fate as the former, the whole of the buildings being burnt to the ground except the dwelling house. At this dreadful fire a quantity of corn, both in the barns and in stacks, &c. was destroyed. No less than eleven barns stood upon those farms; and the premises altogether are said to have covered four acres of ground. It is painful to add, there is little doubt but that this catastrophe was the work of some villain or villains yet undiscovered.—On the same evening, about twelve o'clock, a tremendous fire broke out on the premises in the occupation of Messrs. Lungley and Brewer, at Abbot's Hall farm, Great Wigborough, Essex, which in a short time entirely consumed the whole of the farmery, standing upon nearly two acres of ground: also in the barns, wheat, the produce of twenty-five acres; a large quantity of oats and beans, three stacks of beans and two of hay, with all the farming implements. Such a lamentable scene of destruction has not been witnessed since the fire at Norton Hall, in Purleigh. The estate is the property of Mr. Cline the surgeon. The tenants are fortunately insured, although much under the extent of their loss. Damage estimated at 4000*l.*

At the Bedfordshire assizes the rev. Dr. Free, rector of Sutton, brought a *qui tam* action, under an obsolete statute of Elizabeth, against sir Montague Burgoyne, bart. lord of the manor, for neglecting to attend divine worship for 19 months, whereby he became liable to a fine of 20*l.* a month, amounting in the whole to 380*l.* The informer was, however, non-suited.

The earl of Romney has given the sum of 476*l.* the produce of the sale of sand dug on Penenden Heath, for the new gaol, to the poor of Maidstone parish.

The committee for the relief of the poor at Manchester have distributed in eleven weeks 400,693¼ quarts of soup, at a loss of 2,596*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* and supplied upwards of 7,000 families with good coals at reduced prices, at a loss, in five weeks, of 424*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*

15.—The marquis of Bath laid the first stone of the new Free Church at Frome; when an appropriate sermon was preached at the parish church; after which a collection was made at the doors, which amounted to nearly 150*l.* towards the building: 20,000 persons were present.

23. The queen's drawing-room, intended to be held this day, was suddenly postponed, in consequence of the indisposition of her majesty. She was taken ill in the night; and between five and six in the morning got rather worse. At 12 o'clock a consultation between sir Francis Milman and sir Henry Halford took

took place, who issued the following bulletin:

"The queen has had a cold, attended by some fever and pain in the side. Her majesty found the pain severe in the night, but it is much abated this morning."

26. "The queen has had no return of pain in the side, and is now free from fever. Her majesty is convalescent."

FRANCE.

A new tragedy, called *Germanicus*, produced for the first time at the Theatre Français on the 22d ult., excited distractions and tumults which evince more forcibly the internal situation of France than even the fiercest discussions that have taken place during the present session in the chamber of deputies. The author of the piece was M. Arnault, brother of M. Regnault de St. Jean Angely, who is now in exile at Brussels. M. Arnault had been received into favour by Louis XVIII.; but deserting him on the return of Buonaparte, he was, on the king's return, placed on the proscribed list, and exiled. The revolutionary party had long been apprized of the coming out of the piece, and that it contained a number of passages alluding to the situation of Buonaparte; and accordingly they mustered in great numbers on the first night of the performance. Every expression that reminded them of their favourite was received with rapture; and as they were by far the strongest party, the Bourbonists did not attempt to stem the tide. When, however, at the end of the play the Buonapartists called for the name of the author, which was a secret to no one, a sort of O. P. contest ensued, and the pit was the grand scene of action. There was a mutual flourishing of canes, and manual menaces. A battle took place, during which the timid scrambled over the orchestra, and got upon the stage. At last a number of gendarmes entered the pit, and soon restored quiet: joining the strongest party, they treated as criminal all those who dared to hiss. Talma came forward, and said that the author wished to conceal his name. The immense number of gendarmes who appeared prove clearly that the dispute was expected; and the side they took gave rise to many conjectures. Some duels, and imprisonment of officers, have taken place. The play has been since withdrawn by order of the ministers, whose conduct in permitting such a piece to be acted at all, seems to excite no little surprise and astonishment.—It is said that 500 half-pay officers afterwards proceeded to the garden of the Thuilleries in an ill-humour, but were persuaded to disperse.

Stage-coaches, built on the English model, began to run from Paris to St. Denis and Versailles on the 3d instant.

The French papers, speaking of the religious rites observed at Easter, stated, that the holy supper was to be represented in the Thuilleries; and a dozen children were to perform the parts of the apostles.

The Paris papers state, that M. Rioust, for writing a pamphlet entitled "Carnot," has received sentence of two years imprisonment, a fine of 10,000 francs, to be deprived, during ten years, of the exercise of civil and family rights, to be placed for five years under the surveillance of the police, and to give bail to the amount of 10,000 francs.

NETHERLANDS.

By the Brussels papers we learn, that the king of the Netherlands has

has put an end to the *droit de tol*, the levying of which had excited so great a sensation at Antwerp.

In Holland and the Netherlands the French designations of weights and measures have been abolished; and the names in use before the revolution have been again introduced.

The Belgian journals exhibit a melancholy instance of human ignorance and superstition—a Belgian peasant assassinated and burnt to ashes a girl ten years of age, because he fancied her to be a sorceress!

SPAIN.

The French journals have lately contained numerous accounts of earthquakes, which seem to have been felt nearly at the same instant through most parts of the continent, and even in some of the islands of the Mediterranean. One was felt at Barcelona on the 18th ultimo, at eleven o'clock in the morning; at Lerida and Saragossa about the same time; at Madrid half an hour earlier. The shock proceeded from the west. The town of Arnedillo, in Old Castile, is said to have been actually buried under the ruins of a neighbouring mountain, which was thrown down upon it, and all the inhabitants to have perished. There is only the steeple of the parish church now visible.

ITALY.

The works at Pompeii are proceeding every day with more success, and the discoveries in statues are very precious. They have discovered a colossal statue of Parthenope of the greatest beauty.

GERMANY.

In the electorate of Hesse a decree has just been promulgated, by which every father of a family is declared liable to a fine for each of his children who shall have attained the age of one year without being vaccinated. The fine is to be from one to eight crowns for the first year; and to augment progressively with the age of the child not vaccinated.

RUSSIA.

An ukase of the emperor Alexander was issued on the 11th of March, the object of which is, to facilitate the entry of strangers into Russia.—The emperor has induced the nobility of Courland to liberate their peasants.

MAY.

1.—This day was laid the foundation-stone of a new Episcopal church in the island of Guernsey; an event which cannot fail to give pleasure to every friend of our church establishment.

2.—A most alarming fire broke out at Thame, in Oxfordshire, which, from its nature and appearance, threatened destruction to one of the principal quarters of the town; fifteen tenements, two barns, a stable, and the dwelling-house of Mr. D. Moore, were in less than an hour completely destroyed; the thatch of the whole being on fire in nine minutes from the time the alarm was given. The fire commenced at a small heap of straw near the calves' pen of Joseph Style, which communicated with the cottages. Six other buildings were on fire in different places, by the large flakes that were flying about in every direction; but the fire of these buildings was fortunately kept under. Thus were 16 families, consisting of 71 persons, driven from their habitations to seek an asylum with their hospitable neighbours.

3.—The furze and heath on Fradley

Fradley common, near Litchfield (the game preserve of viscount Anson), were mischievously set fire to by some youths who were fishing in the canal adjoining, in order to warm themselves. From the intense dryness of the heath, &c. and a brisk wind, the fire rapidly communicated to the other parts of the heath, until nearly 100 acres were involved in smoke and flame; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the plantations of F. Moresby, esq. which skirted the common, were preserved, by ploughing up a portion of the heath near them. The destruction of game is very considerable: some hundreds of hares were burnt, with their young, the mangled remains of which may be found throughout the whole covers. Numbers of wild ducks, which breed here, experienced a similar destruction, their eggs being roasted in their nests: the other game suffered in proportion. The youths implicated in the cause of this mischief were taken up; but, it appearing to the noble and humane proprietor of the preserve, that there were no malicious motives connected with the circumstance, he has generously restrained any prosecution.

8.—This evening the city of Oxford was visited by a violent storm of thunder and lightning, during which a very considerable quantity of electric matter descended into the garden of Mr. Bull in New-Inn-lane: a few seconds after the house itself was struck in three different places. The electric fluid in one quarter passed with a tremendous explosion down a stack of chimneys, displacing and shivering at the same time the coping-stones of the adjoining wall: in the other it burst open a side of the house, and passing along the bell-wires to the offices, slightly stunned a servant. Providentially no serious injury was sustained, although several of the family were seated close to the fire-places where the fluid descended.

12.—A most destructive fire happened at Aldbourne, Wilts, which destroyed fifteen cottages, three barns, two malt-houses (one built at an expense of 500*l.* in the two last years), a large quantity of barley thrashed and unthrashed, a rick of oats, two waggons, a cart, a large quantity of malt and barley in the malt-house, a smith's shop, a carpenter's shop, and a weaving shop. It began near the smith's shop, about 12 o'clock at noon, and caused dreadful alarm and distress: the unfortunate persons whose houses were destroyed lost almost their all: the damage is estimated at from 3 to 4000*l.*

19.—An inquest was held before Wm. Whateley, esq. coroner, on the body of Thomas Hodgetts, who died in consequence of a wound from a spring gun. The deceased worked for Mr. Joseph Stubbs, of Hamstead, near Birmingham; and it appeared that on the 16th inst. on coming to work between six and seven o'clock, he went into the garden and shrubbery in front of Mr. Stubbs's house to call up the servant girl. In a few moments afterwards the report of a gun was heard, and the poor man was found lying in the garden, the contents of the gun, which was charged with small shot, having lodged in the calf of his left leg, the smaller bone of which was broken, and the muscles much torn. The deceased knew where the spring gun was placed; but he said that he went out of his way to look after some chickens which had been hatched the day before, and that no one

was to blame. He was removed to the General Hospital, where he died on the 9th inst.—Repeated depredations had been committed on Mr. Stubbs's property. The gun was not placed across or near any path, but amongst the shrubs, near to a potatoe bury and pigeon-house, which had been several times robbed, and it was pointed low to prevent material injury; notices were likewise placed on the walls. The jury retired, and returned a verdict of Accidental death; which they accompanied with a recommendation to Mr. Stubbs to take care of the widow.

22.—This morning a most destructive fire broke out in Birmingham, at Water-street mills, situate by the side of the Birmingham canal. In a few hours, so violent were the flames, and so extremely rapid in their extension, that this vast pile of buildings, which occupy a space of ground as large as the Haymarket in London, was entirely consumed. The value of the property is stated to be 200,000*l.*

The lowering of Ball's Hill, near Hertford, is now completed. The hill has been lowered about ten feet, and besides the benefit thence arising, it has been the means of employing during the winter all who were out of work in that neighbourhood.

Some labourers digging in a field at Avisford, near Arundel, on the estate of sir W. Houston, lately discovered some feet below the surface a flat stone, which proved to be the lid of a sarcophagus, in the centre of which was deposited a highly-finished sepulchral urn, containing the ashes of a burnt human body, and round it were placed twenty earthen utensils, in the shape of cups and saucers, together with two pair of Roman sandals regularly covered with brass nails in a decayed state. This relic of antiquity likewise held three jugs and a lachrymatory. Two small vessels, apparently lamps, were placed on a projecting edge at each end of the sarcophagus, and two earthen candlesticks.

Ten of the persons called Luddites have been tried at the assizes for Leicester, upon capital charges.—Eight were found guilty, and sentenced to death. One was so ill that his trial could not be proceeded in; another has received sentence of transportation under the frame-breaking act.

Messrs. Heathcote and Boden, of Loughborough, have obtained a verdict of 10,000*l.* against the hundred of West Goscote, in which their premises, destroyed by the Luddites, stood, subject to reference.

Some ploughmen at work in a farm belonging to Mr. Taylor, of Madely Heath, lately turned up two ancient urns containing a quantity of Roman copper coins, all of which appear to be of the time of Constantine the Great. Nearly 4000 were collected, of various sizes and devices: the head of Constantine, on many of them, is very fine, as also the different emblematic figures on the reverse, and the inscriptions pefectly distinct. The urns, which appear to have been made of a kind of black earth, were so far demolished that the parts could not be connected together.

FRANCE.

By letters from Paris we learn that that city has concluded a loan with Messrs. Rothschild and Co. for 32,000,000 francs, or 1,390,000*l.* sterling. The circumstance which led to such a transaction was the daily expense incurred by keeping down the price of bread to 18 sous for

for 4lb., the cost of which has not been less than 75,000 francs, or 3,150*l. per diem.*

The distress in the French provinces is tremendous. Bread is no where less than seven sols (3½*d.*), in many places nine (4½*d.*), and in some ten and eleven sols a pound. The peasants live on herbs and roots; and France will be fortunate if serious epidemic distempers are not the consequence of the present misery.

The French government has repaid the sum of 20,000*l.* advanced to it by Great Britain last year, for granting relief to such of the suffering clergy and laity of France as had claims upon his most Christian majesty.

The Moniteur lately contained, under the head of Calais, a long and interesting account of the shipwreck of a French vessel, l'Orient, of 72 tons, and seven men, at that place, during a violent storm on the 16th; on which occasion the English officers and crew of the Royal Sovereign yacht, commanded by commodore Owen, distinguished themselves by a degree of generous and daring enterprise which has excited the admiration of our French neighbours. The storm raged with such fury, that none of the seamen of the place would venture out to the rescue of the unfortunate crew:—abandoned by their own countrymen, it was to the noble courage of British tars that any of them owed their preservation. A boat well manned pushed off from the Royal Sovereign, under the command of lieutenant Charles Moore, and, by the most extraordinary exertions, succeeded in saving two of the crew. The gallant commander of the boat narrowly escaped losing his own life in the attempt, having been thrown by an overwhelming wave into the sea, but most fortunately was picked up again by his men.

An affray lately took place at the Lisle theatre, when Talma was performing there. The audience wished to crown him with laurel; but some Vendean officers of the garrison, considering it meant more to honour Talma for his well-known Buonapartean principles than his abilities as an actor, violently opposed the design, and cleared the theatre. The officers have been since reprimanded by the government.

NETHERLANDS.

The Philanthropist, an English journal printed at Brussels, states, that the government had just discovered a correspondence between Napoleon and some of his partisans in Europe. The plan was ingenious and new. Madame Bertrand had received a present of a beautiful muslin dress, magnificently embroidered, which came from a city in the south of France. The flowers and various figures which composed the embroidery were so many hieroglyphics, each having its particular signification. The indiscretion of a young man who had been the bearer of it, and who lately returned to England, caused the key of this species of cipher to fall into the hands of the English minister.

In Holland and the Netherlands the French designations of weights and measures have been abolished, and the names in use before the revolution have been again introduced.

SWITZERLAND.

An article from Lausanne, of the 11th of April, draws a heart-rending picture of the miseries endured by the unfortunate inhabitants of Switzerland, through the pressure of absolute famine. The sufferings appear to be the most in-

tense among the north-eastern cantons, where numbers have already perished; and where, to the great portion of the surviving multitude, death would be considered a release. A little pamphlet has been published by the minister Heer, entitled "A project for bringing succour to the unexampled distresses of the poor in the canton of Glaris." The benevolent author there traces the evil to an excessive population; for which sustenance cannot be found within its scanty territory. The most industrious labourer cannot, by incessant toil, earn the means of supporting nature; and if the whole soil of some districts were divided amongst the people, each family would not be possessed of sufficient to yield them potatoes for more than two months in the year. The consequences of this deplorable visitation are described with dreadful force: skeletons of men devour the most disgusting victuals, for which they contend with the unclean brutes themselves. They have no defence from heat or cold. The old, the infants, the parents, and their offspring, of various families, a prey to thirst, disease, and desperation, occupy in crowds the same chamber, and taste no fluid within their parched lips but a fetid and contagious atmosphere. Nor are these represented to be the only sources of affliction. There is a point in human wretchedness beyond which man too often ceases to feel himself an accountable being. Extraordinary distresses are often in the individual the origin of great transgressions; and when they spread themselves widely through the mass of a people, they never fail to tinge it deeply with depraved and irreligious habits. This decay of the moral principles, in sympathy with the failure of the physical powers, has added another horror to those which surround the once upright and happy Swiss. The reverend author of the little work above mentioned declares, that misery has brought in her train a total and boundless immorality, extinguishing every sentiment of virtue; that the children, for want of necessary clothing, are debarred of all religious instruction; and that Christianity, which we are so desirous to plant in distant regions, is on the point of perishing at home. The sole remedy—visionary, we are afraid—which seems to present itself to this afflicted people, is that of emigration to America. Five hundred and eighty-seven of the peasants of Argovia have taken their passage in a single ship; finding no escape from famine but in the loss of country, health, and liberty.

ITALY.

A contagious malady, analogous to typhus fever, at present afflicts a great part of Italy; it has taken its source in crowded meetings of beggars and wretched persons, whose numbers are very great, and is attributed to famine and bad aliment.

SWEDEN.

The king of Sweden has issued a proclamation, prohibiting the importation of porter, wines, arrack, and white and plain cotton goods and muslins, except cotton goods imported directly from India in Swedish vessels. The cause assigned for this measure, which affects British commerce and manufactures almost exclusively, is the unfavourable course of exchange between Sweden and other countries. It is difficult to enumerate the various ways in which the king of Sweden injures his revenue and

his

his subjects by this prohibition: the most marked are, that he loses the duty upon the imported article; he loses also that upon the article which would be exported in return; and he shuts the foreign markets generally to the native productions of his own country; for, if the Swedes keep our goods away from their markets, they keep theirs also away from ours.

RUSSIA.

The Hamburgh papers have brought the substance of an ukase issued at Petersburgh on Easter Sunday, by which the emperor Alexander grants peculiar privileges to Jews who become converts to Christianity. They are to form a society under the title of "The Society of Jewish Christians;" are to be established, as colonists, upon lands of the crown; to form separate communities, and to enjoy a temporary exemption from taxes.

JUNE.

5.—The anniversary dinner of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge was celebrated at the Freemasons' Tavern: the rev. Dr. Gaskin in the chair, supported by the right honourable and reverend earl Nelson and Mr. justice Parke. The secretary reported the distribution of books, April 18 to April 24, 1817, as follows:

Bibles, including the Society's family bible.....	39,627
New testaments and psalters	56,605
Common prayers	89,498
Other bound books	53,349
Small tracts, &c. half-bound, &c.....	733,917
Books and papers issued gratuitously ..	262,448
Total....	1,235,444.

9.—The lord mayor was this day unanimously elected one of the representatives for the city of London, *vice* Mr. alderman Combe, resigned. He was put in nomination by Mr. Smith, M. P. for Norwich.

This day the trials of the state prisoners confined in the Tower (viz. James Watson the elder, Arthur Thistlewood, Thomas Preston, and John Hooper,) commenced before lord Ellenborough. The prisoners were brought from the Tower to Westminster-hall in four glass coaches. A large and strong railing had been thrown across the hall, from the Treasury steps, to prevent the pressure of the crowd and the interruption of the law officers in their passage to the court; and 300 constables were in attendance. Soon after 9 o'clock Mr. Watson was ushered into court; dressed in a suit of black, and carrying under his right arm a book; he bowed respectfully to the court, and took his seat immediately behind the bar. Preston and Hooper then successively entered, both dressed in black: Thistlewood came in last; he looked ill; was dressed in a sailor's jacket and trowsers, and wore a black silk handkerchief. The impannelling and challenging the jury, and reading the numerous counts of indictment, occupied the whole of the forenoon. The counsel for the prisoners were as follow: for Thistlewood and Watson the elder, Mr. Wetherell and serjeant Copley: for Preston, Mr. Edward Lawes and Mr. Rigby: for Hooper, Mr. Holt and Mr. Starkey. It was very early determined that the prisoners should be tried separately; when James Watson the elder was placed at the bar, and the other accused parties were ranged behind him.—The trial lasted till the Monday following; when a verdict was returned of Not Guilty. The three other prisoners were brought up on

the following day; but the attorney-general having declined to prosecute, they were acquitted. The following is an abstract of the indictment. There are four counts in which the traitorous object is laid in four different ways; but the overt acts from which those objects are inferred, are the same in all, except the third count, in which the riotous assembling and parading of the 2d of December is described as having been with the intention of subverting the government, and dethroning the king—acts technically known under the name of levying war. 1st count, compassing and imagining to put the king to death. 2d, compassing and imagining to depose the king. 3d, levying war. 4th, conspiring to levy war against the king, in order to compel him to change his measures.—There are 14 overt acts charged to prove the treasons alleged in the 1st, 2d, and 4th counts, namely: 1st overt act, consulting to devise plans and means to subvert the constitution. 2d, conspiring to levy war, and subvert the constitution. 3d, conspiring to attack the Bank and Tower. 4th, conspiring to seduce soldiers and others. 5th, ordering pike heads, &c. 6th, providing arms and ammunition. 7th, conspiring to burn barracks. 8th, hiring a house to keep combustibles. 9th, conspiring to procure meetings in Spa-fields. 10th, treating for the hire of waggons and stages. 11th, hiring a waggon, providing arms, ammunition, and banners, making harangues, &c. 12th, parading the streets, attacking gunsmiths' shops, &c. 13th, addressing soldiers in the Tower. 14th, Levying war.—The third count is for levying war as a substantive treason, without any overt act.

22.—This night Mr. Kemble took his leave of the public in the character of Coriolanus. He sustained the part throughout with as much vigour as he had exerted on any former occasion. The applause which he received was enthusiastic in the extreme; and when the curtain dropped, the pit rose up in a body, and continued waving hats and laurels for several minutes. The curtain was soon drawn up again; and Mr. Kemble came forward, evidently under great agitation; and after a considerable pause delivered a short farewell address, in nearly the following terms: "Ladies and gentlemen,—this night I have made my last appearance before you. I fear I cannot express myself with any kind of propriety—indeed I wished to withdraw silently from the stage—I thought I had not composure enough for this situation; but I have suffered myself to be persuaded, in compliance with custom, to utter one parting word.—I entreat you to believe that the kind approbation which you have bestowed upon me since I first became a candidate for public favour, down to this, my last performance, will remain for ever fixed on my heart.—Whatever talents I am master of, whatever exertions I have made as an actor or as a manager, in improving the propriety of costume, and giving increased splendour to the representations, particularly those of Shakspeare, they have been rendered delightful to me on account of the favour with which you witnessed them.—Accept my respectful, warm, gratitude—it is too big for expression. And now suffer me, ladies and gentlemen, to bid you a long and unwilling farewell."—While delivering this address, he was frequently interrupted by the swelling of his feelings. It was heard by the

the audience with breathless attention; and, it may be added, with real regret. As soon as it was concluded, several wreaths of laurel were thrown upon the stage, and Mr Kemble slowly retired.

23.—A tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, burst over Bristol and Clifton, about seven in the evening. Many shops and warehouses were inundated, and goods damaged to a very considerable amount. Several trees facing the house of Gabriel Goldney, esq. at Clifton, were struck by lightning, and the tops and branches broke down, so as to have rendered the road impassable for some time. A poor woman, a lodger in Penn-street, was so terrified, that she remained in fits about an hour, when she expired. During the storm John Quire, a servant to Mr. Plumley, of Brockley, was employed in mowing the weeds in the rev. Mr. Pigott's park; and taking shelter under a large oak, was killed by the lightning. The tree was not injured; but there were slight traces on the bark of the electric fluid having passed where the deceased had reclined; his hair was scorched, and there was a livid appearance in the ear and neck of the body, but no other apparent injury; and the attitude was so composed, that, though near the road, the young man was supposed to be asleep, till in the evening he was discovered to be dead.

24.—The Tavistock Canal, forming a communication between the town of Tavistock and the river Tamar, was opened this day. It was commenced in the year 1803, and has cost about 70,000*l*. The duke of Bedford, who is the proprietor of one-eighth of the concern, has very liberally contributed to its support, by giving to the company the whole of the land through which the canal is cut. Though its level is about 280 feet above that of the Tamar, it runs for a mile and three quarters in a tunnel cut under Morwell Down, 450 feet from the summit of the hill.

27.—This afternoon, the town and neighbourhood of Banbury were visited with a violent storm of thunder and lightning, the rain pouring down in torrents. On the Castle Farm, in the parish of Chacombe, about two miles from Banbury, a little before seven o'clock, seven cows taking shelter from the storm under a fine lofty oak, four of them were struck down by the lightning, and the two nearest to the tree, on opposite sides of it, were killed in a moment. The other two recovered. A man at a short distance, who saw the awful sight, thought the whole tree was on fire; but it sustained no injury, not a leaf of its rich foliage, in all appearance, being torn off or blasted. The tree stands alone, on a gentle declivity, not in a hedge.

A meeting was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, for the purpose of giving to Mr. Kemble every possible testimony of respect and esteem for his extraordinary merits in promoting the interests of the British acting drama; and was attended by an unprecedented assemblage of rank and talents. Lord Holland presided; on his right-hand was Mr. Kemble, and on his left the duke of Bedford. Among the noblemen and gentlemen at the principal table were, the marquises Lansdowne, Tavistock, and Worcester; the earls of Essex, Mulgrave, Aberdeen, Blessington; lords Erskine, Petersham, and Torrington; Messrs. Croker, Campbell, T. Moore, Rogers, with several cha-

racters of acknowledged eminence in literature and the fine arts. M. Talma, the celebrated tragedian of the French drama, was also present on this interesting occasion.—After the usual national toasts, lord Holland called the attention of the meeting to the object which they had in view. He stated, that it was the intention of the committee to present to his excellent friend near him (Mr. Kemble) a piece of plate with suitable embellishments; but that, as it was found impossible to have it completed in time, he had obtained a copy of the inscription, which he should read. The plate was dedicated to "John Philip Kemble, Esq. on his retirement from the stage, of which he had been thirty-four years the ornament and pride;—which to his learning, taste, and genius, was indebted for its present state and refinement;—which by his labours and perseverance in the advancement of the legitimate drama, and more particularly in support of Shakspeare, whose muse his performances had aided and embellished, the plate was given as a testimony of gratitude, respect, and affection."—His lordship proceeded to pass a very just eulogium on the talents of Mr. Kemble; in the course of which he observed, that Mr. Kemble had given to poetry its full effects, and conferred upon the drama of the country all the rational entertainment of which it was susceptible. Among the list of English actors, no one could be named who had conferred upon the stage so many essential advantages, and who had combined so successfully the results of the kindred arts of painting and of sculpture. He united in himself the legitimate claims of the actor, the scholar, and the critic.—An ode, written on the occasion by one of the first poets of the country, was then recited by Mr. Young. Mr. Kemble then, amid the cordial and fervent acclamations of his friends and admirers, most feelingly expressed his gratitude for the honours conferred upon him.—In the course of the evening "the health of M. Talma" was received with warm and universal plaudits. M. Talma, sensibly affected by the attention paid to him, presented himself to the company with mingled emotions of surprise and gratitude. He expressed himself in excellent English, but with an occasional mixture of the French accent.

WATERLOO BRIDGE.

The length of stonework, within the abutments, is, from one river bank to the other, 1240 feet, whose harmonizing straight line, running parallel with the river, or waterline through it, gives it that simple elegance and grandeur which is not equalled by any work of this description in Europe. The length, or gentle incline of plane from St. George's Fields, to obtain the summit of the bridge, is 1250 feet, and carried on partly by a mound of earth and brick arches. The length, from the north shore, from the abutment to the Strand, is 400 feet; the road principally carried over on brick arches, and almost directly level with the former. The total length of the bridge, with its approaches, from the Strand to St. George's Fields, is 2890 feet. The span of the nine stone arches over the river, all of which are of equal dimensions, is 120 feet each. The width of the bridge, within the balustrades, is 42 feet, divided on each side by a footway of 7 feet, leaving the carriage road 28 feet. The number of brick, or dry arches, on the south shore, is 40; and on the

the north, or Strand side, is 16. So that the total number of arches which have been carried over, for the completion of this grand work, is 65. The whole of the exterior of the bridge is executed with durable Cornish moor-stone.

30.—Our duty imposes upon us the painful task to announce another dreadful accident occasioned by the ignition of fire damp. About eleven o'clock this forenoon, an explosion took place at the Row Pitt, in Harraton colliery, near Chester-le-Street, by which melancholy accident, we lament to say, 38 men and boys have unfortunately perished. The force of the explosion was so great, that two of the men were blown from the bottom to the pit mouth, in a state too shocking to describe; several of the utensils also ascended the shaft, and a corf, and two pulleys, from the top of the machine, were thrown a considerable height into the air. Only three men were taken out alive, and faint hopes are entertained of their recovery. Of the sufferers, there are ten of the name of Hill, viz. a father, two sons, and seven grandsons. What adds not a little to the distress occasioned by this accident, is the reflection that it was caused by the obstinacy of one of the pitmen, who, notwithstanding he was cautioned against it, persisted in entering the mine with a candle instead of the safety lamp. The following is the verdict of the coroner's jury, by whom the circumstances were carefully investigated: "The deceased came by their deaths in consequence of an explosion of fire damp, occasioned by the using of candles instead of the safety lamps, contrary to orders given." This dreadful accident shows the necessity of strong regulations to compel the constant use of the safety-lamps, or the mines should be better ventilated.

ITALY.

Eugene Beauharnois has sold his possessions in Italy to the crown of Naples, for 5,000,000 francs, or 210,000*l.*

Sir Thomas Maitland, the British commissioner for settling the constitution of the Ionian Islands, lately convoked the legislative assembly at Corfu, and directed them to commence the work of framing a free constitution, subject to the approbation of the British government. Sir Thomas Maitland then returned to Malta.

GERMANY.

The ceremony of the marriage of the archduchess Leopoldine with the king of Portugal took place by proxy at Vienna, on the 14th of May.

A letter from Leipsic of the 16th of May represents the recent fair as much inferior to that of the preceding Michaelmas. The number of strangers resorting thither was less numerous, it is said, by 14,000 than on the former occasion. The general grievance seems to be, that Germany is overstocked with goods; or, in other words, that its inhabitants are destitute of means to buy them. The desires of people on the continent are limited to mere subsistence.

The brave Tyrolese have opened a subscription to raise a national monument to Andrew Hoffer, the hero of the Tyrol, whom Buonaparte ordered to be shot at Mantua. The house of Sand-Wirth-Hoffer, which was burned by command of the tyrant, will be re-constructed of stone. A church will be erected near the house. The sepulchral monument will display the statues of Andrew Hoffer, of the duke D'Enghien, of Kleber, of Palm, of Pichegru, and of Stofflet.

Jerome,

Jerome Buonaparte has purchased for 250,000 florins an estate at Erla, about two leagues from Vienna.

Great distress prevails in Prussia. No less than 40,000 weavers are said to be starving for want of employment.

JULY.

2.—This afternoon, some pitmen descended into the new pit, at Harraton, in order to ascertain the injury it had sustained from the explosion of the old pit above described, when, shocking to relate, eight men were suffocated, in consequence of the impure state of the air in the mine.

The Gazette of July 5 contains a proclamation, dated the 1st instant, by the prince regent, ordering that the new gold coin called sovereigns shall pass current at the value of twenty shillings. Each sovereign contains 5 dwts. 3 grs. and the 2740-10,000dth part of a grain of standard gold. The impression on the obverse is—the head of his majesty, with the inscription "GEORGIUS III. D. G. BRITANNIAR. REX. F. D." and the date of the year; and on the reverse the image of St. George armed, sitting on horseback, encountering the dragon with a spear, the said device being placed within the ennobled garter, bearing the motto "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*" with a newly-invented graining on the edge of the piece.

Another proclamation, of the same date, orders, that, as much of the present gold coin in circulation is deficient in weight, none shall be taken in payment of less weight than as follows:—Guineas, 5 dwts. 8 grs.; half guineas, 2 dwts. 16 grs.; quarter guineas, 1 dwt. 8 grs.; and that seven-shilling pieces, and the gold pieces called sovereigns, or twenty-shilling pieces, if of less weight than the rates hereafter specified, viz. Seven-shilling pieces, 1 dwt. 18 grs.; sovereigns, or twenty-shilling pieces, 5 dwts. 2 grs. and three quarters; be not allowed to be current or pass in any payment whatsoever.

The Margate Regent steam-packet took fire on her passage from London to Margate, with a crew of ten men, and about forty passengers, men, women, and children. The voyage was extremely quick and favourable till about four in the afternoon, when, having cleared the point of the isle of Sheppy, and with a view of the destined port in the distance, a smoke was observed to issue from the wooden casing on the deck surrounding the lower part of the chimney of the steam-engine. The attempt to stifle the fire was fruitless; and the smoke and heat increasing in the engine-house, the captain shortly after ordered all hands upon deck, and directed all the apertures communicating with the interior of the vessel to be closed. The danger now became dreadfully apparent, and it was determined as the most probable chance of preserving the lives of the passengers and crew, to hoist a signal of distress, and to direct the course of the vessel towards Whitstable, from which place, at the time the accident was first discovered, the vessel was about eight miles distant, and the steam-engine still acting from the external heat surrounding the boiler, was a circumstance which fortunately favoured the object. For the space of upwards of an hour did the passengers remain in a horrible state of suspense, the fire raging in the interior of the vessel beneath, and being only kept from penetrating through the deck by the constant application

application of water, till the vessel grounded on the sand at Whitstable, when three boats from that place which had overshot them, arrived to their assistance, and safely took on board all the passengers and crew; and here, as if the hand of Providence was further manifested in their preservation, in less than three minutes afterwards the deck over the engine and fore cabin fell in.

8.—Uffington-house, Lincolnshire, the seat of the earl of Lindsey, was discovered to be on fire at two o'clock in the morning, supposed by incendiaries, as it broke out in two separate apartments.—It was most providentially subdued, after doing about 500*l.* damages

19.—This day, as three men employed on the new works carrying on at Sheerness dock-yard were descending in the diving-bell, some accident occurred; and the signal to be drawn up not being understood by the men above, two out of the three were unfortunately drowned; the one who was saved made his escape from under the bell, which the others were unable to effect: as soon as recovered, the bodies were taken to the surgery, and means used to restore animation, but without effect.

FRANCE.

The duchess de Berri was delivered on the 13th inst. of a daughter: the young princess, by order of the king, was named Louise-Isabelle d'Artois, Mademoiselle. Sponsors were named, and a magnificent christening was to have taken place; but the preparations were very soon interrupted by the death of the royal infant, which took place the next evening. The duchess de Berri is, in the mean time, in a fair way to do well. The body of the infant princess was interred at St. Denis on the 16th instant.

Twenty-one persons implicated in the late disturbances in the neighbourhood of Lyons were tried before the prevôtal court there on the 30th ult. Three were condemned to death, and executed; seven to deportation, two to hard labour for five years, and nine were acquitted. The disturbances prove to have been of a far more serious character than has hitherto been represented. The tri-coloured flag, it is said, was hoisted in no less than thirty communes; and the object is distinctly stated to have been the overthrow of the reigning dynasty.

SPAIN.

The Spanish general Lacy, with four officers of rank, his associates, were condemned to death on the 27th ult. by a court-martial at Barcelona. The same sentence was passed upon Milans, and many of his accomplices, *par contumace!* The proceedings and sentence were transmitted for the king's approbation; and Lacy has since been sent off to Majorca.

RUSSIA.

The emperor of Russia has issued an ukase for establishing a commercial bank at Petersburgh, on principles somewhat resembling those on which the charter of the bank of England is founded.

It appears that the emperor, since his return from England, is introducing into his capital foot-pavement of flag-stones as in all our large towns; but the emperor has improved upon us, by separating the foot pavement from the carriage way by an iron railing.

AMERICA.

A society has been formed in the United States, for the encouragement of American manufactures, which

which already reckons amongst its members the leading individuals in the nation. Messrs. Jefferson, Adams, Madison, and, recently, Mr. Munroe himself, the president, have entered their names on the list of this society; the object of which is, to make the United States independent of foreign countries for the comforts and enjoyments that arise out of manufacturing industry.

The number of French emigrants who have reached the United States amount to 30,000.

A very fine American ship, the Canton packet, has been destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder at Boston. The ship and cargo, with the exception of the dollars on board, were totally destroyed. The explosion was supposed to be the diabolical act of a black man, who was refused permission to go on shore; he muttered something about revenge, went below, and blew up the powder-magazine by means of a pistol, as was supposed. He was blown to atoms himself.

"*Philadelphia, June 4.*

On Saturday morning last, about seven o'clock, two miles above Point Coussee, the boiler of the steam-boat Constitution burst, and destroyed all the most respectable passengers, amounting to eleven: although on the morning of the same day, at four o'clock, but five of those unfortunate gentlemen had actually expired, there could not exist a hope that any one of the eleven could survive; being completely scalded and skinned from head to foot, the nerves contracted, and the extremities destroyed.

Newfoundland papers to the 11th ult. announce the arrival of large supplies of provison from Halifax and from Ireland; so that the distress of the inhabitants, so feelingly described lately in parliament, has, we trust, been greatly mitigated, or wholly relieved.

ASIA.

Admiral Malcolm, at St. Helena, has transmitted the following information, which was received from an American in the Straits of Sunda, and from the master attendant at Anjier:—

"His majesty's ship Alceste was lost on a rock off the north end of Middle Island, in the Straits of Gaspar, on or about the 17th of February. She was last from Manilla; struck about seven o'clock in the morning. They landed on Middle Island: no lives lost. Lord Amherst went to Batavia with three of the ship's boats and about forty men. The Ternate, one of the honourable company's cruisers, immediately sailed for the wreck, and found them (captain Maxwell, and about 225 people, who were on Middle Island) surrounded by about seven or eight hundred Malays, expecting an attack from them every moment. They all left the wreck, and went to Batavia in the Ternate. The Cæsar, of London, captain Taylor, was taken up at 13*l.* per ton, to take home the embassy and the ship's company, and were to sail from Batavia about the 9th of April; she was to take in 200 tons cargo. The Princess Charlotte transport had also sailed for the wreck, but was driven to leeward, and did not get there until they had all left in the Ternate. They could find no water on the island for a long time, though constantly digging; when they did succeed, they had but one butt left.

(Signed) "EDWARD BALSTON."

AUGUST.

In the course of the last five years there has been paid into the Chamber

Chamber of London, by forty-six persons, who have been excused serving the office of sheriff of London and Middlesex, no less than 20,413*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

4. The trial of Roger O'Connor, esq. a gentleman of some political notoriety, on a charge of having been concerned in the robbery of a mail coach in 1802, excited an extraordinary degree of public interest. The trial took place at Trim, in the county of Meath. Sir Francis Burdett attended as a witness. After some of the evidence had been gone through, the prosecution, which was instituted by the Post-office, was abandoned, as the witnesses were manifestly quite unworthy of belief.

The new Custom-house, just finished from the designs of David Laing, esq. is 489 feet in length and 107 in breadth. The grand front faces the river, and is of Portland stone; its centre is perfectly plain, except above the windows, where runs an entablature which is ornamented with basso and alto relievo figures placed in two compartments; the one containing allegorical representations of the commerce and industry of the country; the other delineating the costume and character of the various nations with whom we traffick. These different groups are upwards of five feet high, seem well executed, and are surmounted by the recumbent figures of Industry and Plenty sustaining an hour-dial. The ground floor of the centre part of the front offers a noble projection, characterizing the entrance to the king's warehouse, and forming at the same time an appropriate base to the royal arms, which are supported by the attributes of Old Ocean and Commerce. Six columns of the Ionic order embellish each wing, and effectually prevent that total simplicity of style which in so extended an edifice would otherwise destroy its own effect. Under the pillars in the centre is a passage leading to the opposite street, and which, we believe, is intended for a carriage way. The east and west ends of the building are faced with stone; the north side is of brick, with stone dressings. The long room is 190 feet in length by 66 in width, and is divided by eight massive piers into three compartments, the centre dome being the loftiest: it is ventilated through each dome, and both ceiling and wall are tinted and drawn to represent stone. Excepting, however, a little decoration on the former, nothing like ornament is attempted in this spacious apartment. All the passages, lobbies, &c. are paved with stone, and groined in brickwork. On the ground, as on the one and two pair floors, the communication between the wings and the body of the house is divided by iron doors, which run on wheels in the middle of the walls, and are moved by a windlass; these doors are closed at night; and would effectually prevent the communication of fire beyond their boundaries. In addition to these salutary precautions, several fire-proof rooms have been constructed, where books and papers are deposited every evening, and removed every morning to their respective offices. The entrances are numerous, but the two principal are facing Thames-street: they lead to halls not remarkably spacious, and these again to the principal staircases, which, with a double flight of steps, conduct to lobbies placed at each end of the Long Room, where desks are fixed for the convenience of persons having occasion to frequent the establishment. These

These lobbies are lighted by vertical lantern lights, of which the cielings are perforated in octangular compartments, and glazed with stained glass. On viewing the whole of this edifice we feel but one regret, which is, that it could not have had the advantage of a greater space of ground facing the river, for, like its sister building in Dublin, it stands on the very edge of the water, whence only indeed it can be seen to advantage. A wharf about 40 feet in width is now constructing, which, in addition to what already exists, will make on the whole a frontage of nearly 60 feet.

It is a very curious result of some experiments which have been made upon the river Thames, that the water of the river, properly speaking, does not actually flow into the sea, or mix with the sea-water, on the approach of the tide, but is absolutely carried up and down with the turn of alternate tides, for an indefinite period. This is conjectured to be the real efficient cause of what is termed the extreme softness of the Thames water.

A very fine piece of Mosaic pavement, about 12 feet square, has been discovered on digging in a field near Farnham.

An extraordinary experiment has lately been made with complete success at Plymouth dock-yard—that of hauling up a line of battle ship on one of the building slips. The apparatus being fixed, on a given signal the immense fabric began to advance on the plane, about eight or ten inches at a time, as the purchases acted; and in the short period of forty-one minutes from the time of first heaving, a body, weighing upwards of one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four tons, was conveyed to its destined situation. In this operation we may clearly perceive what is possible to be done by the inclined plane, the wheel and axis, and the pulley, in unison with 1400 men and 14 capstans.

The public curiosity has been much excited by the starting of a Bath and Bristol coach, on an entirely new construction, invented by captain Wyke, and built, under his instructions, by Messrs. Fuller, of Bristol and of Bath. The great object in view was complete safety, which is effected in an eminent degree. It consists of two apartments —the fore part is a close octagon body; the hinder part, which is for outside passengers, is open at the sides, but has a covering supported by four iron pillars at the corners— the luggage is carried in the seats of each compartment; and the springs on which the bodies are supported are composed of a single piece of steel, thereby considerably reducing the weight of the carriage. It is on the whole a most elegant vehicle, and it is to be hoped will meet with that support, which the ingenuity of the plan, and the humane object of preventing accidents, amply entitle the proprietor to expect.

The forest of Dean is now being re-planted, in order to the production of future oak trees for the service of the state; the last time of its plantation was in the reign of Charles II.

A chain bridge is just finished at Dryburgh, for the convenience of foot passengers, across the river Tweed. The appearance of this bridge is uncommonly light and elegant, and, connected with the fine scenery of Dryburgh, is beautiful and interesting. It consists of a platform of wood, supported by chains suspended from pillars on each side of the river, at the height of 18 feet above low water, and has

has no support under it. The passage is easy and level, and has very little vibration. The span between the points of suspension is 261 feet, being the greatest span of any bridge in the kingdom.

FRANCE.

Tremendous storms have ravaged several parts of France; particularly in the neighbourhood of Soissons, at Busancy, Rosieres, Septmont, and Embrief. An appeal to public charity has been made for the ruined inhabitants of all these places.

The body of Madame de Stael has been opened, and this operation has falsified the opinions given by her physicians. In her anatomy they have remarked the extraordinary dimension of the brain. A cast has been taken of her head. Madame de Stael, in her will, authorizes her son and daughter to make public her marriage with M. de Rocca, which took place long since, and to introduce to their families the son who was the issue of that marriage.

GERMANY.

The grand national theatre at Berlin has been destroyed by fire. The cause is believed to have been wilful. Twelve suspected persons have been arrested. The fire broke out during a rehearsal, and one of the performers lost his life. The building was 244 feet long, 155 broad, and 155 high within the walls.

SWEDEN.

According to a table describing the civil state of Sweden, 344 children at the breast were, during the year 1814, smothered by their mothers or nurses while asleep; and in the following year, 369 died through this kind of imprudence.

RUSSIA.

The emperor of Russia has issued a decree to regulate the creation of nobility in Poland, and prevent that honour from being conferred except as a reward for public services; and requiring that a certain fortune shall belong to those who lay claim to it.

TURKEY.

An article from Vienna, dated the 10th of August, contains the following particulars of the death of the celebrated Czerny-Georges, ancient chief of the Servian insurrection. He had repaired to Semendria under a fictitious name, and was concealed by one of his friends. His intention was, to recover a treasure of 50,000 ducats which he had buried before he quitted Servia, and with which he wished to remove to Russia. But his host was cowardly or wicked enough to betray him to the pacha of Belgrade, who went to Semendria with an escort of janissaries, arrested Czerny-Georges, and a Greek who accompanied him, cut off their heads, and sent them on the 27th of July, by a Tartar, to the Porte. This event will increase the fermentation which was before prevalent in Servia. It is not thought that tranquillity can be maintained there; but we have yet no account of any actual disturbances.

ASIA.

The Madras gazette of the 15th March announces a melancholy accident which occurred in Columbo harbour on the 27th of January. By the upsetting of a boat belonging to the Iphigenia frigate, in which were a party of officers who had dined with the officers of the ship, seven lives were lost—ensigns Campbell, Coane, and Hanwell, of the 73d regt. lieutenant Sanders, of the Iphigenia, two seamen, and one boy.

AFRICA.

AFRICA.

The dey of Tripoly has presented the prince regent of Great Britain with such remains of antiquity as are moveable at Lebyda, which is famous for being the site of Carthage. The Weymouth storeship, Mr. Turner commanding, is now on her voyage thither, for the purpose of receiving and carrying to England those ancient monuments, which are represented as highly curious, and illustrative of that once splendid capital. It is stated that the dey has offered protection, as far as his authority extends, to any European who is willing to attempt the journey from Tripoly to Tombuctoo.

SEPTEMBER.

The prince regent has presented to the duke of Wellington the colossal statue of Buonaparte which was lately sent from France to his royal highness. This statue was executed by the celebrated sculptor Canova, and was intended to adorn some of the great public works in progress in Paris. The Roman sculptor had been munificently patronized by the Napoleon family; and, it is said, used the greatest exertions to make the work worthy his own and his patron's fame. The statue, after the pure taste of the antique, is but slightly draperied, and is intended to convey an expression of great dignity and majesty. The attempt is said to have been too daring for the sculptor, who excels beyond any other living artist in the expression and delicate touches of poetical beauty, but who is thought to have been unsuccessful in this hazardous attempt to rival the most exalted glories of Grecian art. The work was not liked in Paris, and was hardly unpacked; it was even the subject of sharp criticisms in Rome at the time of its execution. It has been just removed to Apsley-house, Hyde Park corner, the residence of the duke of Wellington.

Some very rich and beautiful specimens of copper ore have been obtained from the new mine lately opened in the marquis of Buckingham's estate in the parish of Stowey, about nine miles N. W. of Bridgewater. The lode is visible in a lime quarry, and about twenty feet below the surface. Some Cornish miners have arrived to work it; and an engine from that county is about to be erected on the very low land that contains it.

A cavern of considerable extent has been discovered at Spaxton, near Bridgewater. It was visited lately by several scientific persons, who experienced some difficulty in making their way to the principal chamber; but they were agreeably compensated for their trouble, by the effect produced from their lights on the pendulous incrustations of carbonate of lime, which emboss its roof and sides. Some specimens were brought away; but the owner of the spot has properly determined to preserve it in its present state, as a pleasing object of curiosity.

Some very curious antiquities were recently discovered four feet below the soil at Horsefield, near Barton.—They consist of a chain with six collars, for conducting slaves, a double *fulcrum*, showing the manner in which the spits of the ancients were supported for roasting meat, and illustrating the line of Virgil.

Subjiciunt verubus prunas, et viscera torrent.

Steam-boats appear to have come into very great and general use on the Clyde. No less than three sailed from Glasgow on Saturday, September 29, on excursions of some

some length, viz. The Dumbarton Castle, for Inverary; the Britannia, for Campbelton; and the Albion, for Arroqhuar. This circumstance is of importance to tourists, who wish to be conveyed with expedition to some of the most picturesque parts of the Highlands; for it is possible to dine on Monday in London, and on the Thursday following at Inverary, the romantic seat of the duke of Argyle.

23. As some workmen were digging for the foundation of a building, in the cellar of the Old Dolphin inn, Cambridge, about four feet from the surface they found the mouldered remains of a leather bag, out of which fell a parcel of gold rings, containing precious stones in very ancient setting; also some old silver coins, and other articles of value, the whole of which will perhaps not be known. The workmen beginning to quarrel about the booty, news of the discovery reached the owner of the estate, who has recovered a part of the property. It consists of the following curious reliques, which have remained buried 550 years, about seventeen years before the foundation of the University:—1. A sapphire, rudely set in its natural form, in a ring of pure gold, weighing, with the stone, 4 dwts. 2 grs.—2. An amethyst ditto, weighing 2 dwts. 8 gr.—3. Ditto ditto, weighing 1 dwt. 19 gr.—4. Ruby ditto, weighing 25 gr.—5. Small gem, unknown, weighing, with the ring, 21 gr.—6. Large brooch of pure gold, mounted in silver, the silver being completely mineralized; originally studded with rubies, one of which remains; the whole of curious workmanship; its weight equals 1 oz. wanting only 23 gr.—7. Small brilliant gold *fleur de lis*, broken from some trinket that has disappeared.—8. A piece of coral set in silver.—9. A collection of silver pennies of Henry the Third, struck in his fifty-first year; about which time they seem to have been buried.

FRANCE.

A young man has been apprehended at Rouen, who called himself Louis the Seventeenth. About twenty years since, when quite a child, we are told, he had presented himself, during the distresses of La Vendee, to a lady of that country, as the child of a noble family of the name of Desin. After some time the little impostor was detected; but madame Turpin humanely kept him about five months, when she was obliged to dismiss him on account of his misconduct. Since then, she had not seen him till he was confronted with her at Rouen. He is said to be the son of a shoemaker of the name of Brunet.

NETHERLANDS.

It appears by the Brussells paper, that the duke of Wellington has failed in his action against the editor of The Flanders Journal, and that he has been condemned to pay the costs. The judgement expresses the grounds on which it has been pronounced; which are, that the libel was not calculated to expose the duke to the consequences of a criminal or correctional action, or to the contempt and hatred of the public. The allegation contained in the article of which his grace complained, was, that in consequence of his powerful recommendations a person had been continued in the government of a French colony, because of his having administered the government for the interests of Great Britain.

ITALY.

Eruption of Vesuvius.—An article from Naples, dated July 20, says —"The present eruptions of Vesu-

vius are astonishing. Copper, iron, alkaline acid, sulphur, sulphuric acid, chalk, and ammoniac, form salts that are sometimes in a mass, and sometimes divided. It is observed, that copper is very much mixed with volcanic matter; qualities of it are found among the different kinds of lava. Vesuvius, which since the year 1813 has been more or less in a state of commotion, has entirely covered its former crater with a thick crust, over which the new eruptions have thrown two little mountains, from which come smoke, ashes, and vitrified stones. The earth is covered with bits of transparent glass. This crust is so considerable, that, if it be not propped up, the sinking of the matter composing it will produce an effect like that of the eruption which took place in the time of Titus."

GERMANY.

A remarkable rise of the Rhine took place on the night of the 27th ult.; by which the adjacent country has been to a great extent inundated, and the produce of the harvest destroyed. In some places the river has entirely deserted its former bed.

AFRICA.

The plague has broken out at Algiers and other points of the coast of Africa. Mr. M'Donnel, the British consul, who communicates this alarming news, adds, that the disease was introduced to Algiers by a caravan of Moors returning from Mecca, who afterwards proceeded overland to Morocco.

OCTOBER.

The original diamond ring of Mary queen of Scots, upon which are engraved the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, quartered, and which was produced in evidence at the trial of the unfortunate Mary, as a proof of her pretension to the crown of England, was in the possession of the late Mr. Blachford, one of the lords of the Admiralty, at the time of his death. The history of this fatal ring is curious. It descended from Mary to her grandson Charles I. who gave it, on the scaffold, to abp. Juxon, for his son Charles II. who, in his troubles, pawned it in Holland for 300*l.* where it was bought by governor Yale, and sold at his sale for 320*l.* supposed for the Pretender. Afterwards it came into possession of the earl of Ila, duke of Argyle, and probably from him to the family of Mr. Blachford; at the sale of whose effects it was said to have been purchased for the prince regent.

NEW CUSTOM-HOUSE.

This fine building rapidly advances towards completion. In its plan and execution, utility and service have been kept in view, rather than external ornament and decoration. The southern, or water front, however, is not destitute of splendour; but it is calculated to strike from novelty of design and colossal proportions, rather than from any tasteful or elegant display of modern architecture. The long room, which occupies the centre of the building, is of immense proportions, beyond any thing of the kind ever seen in any commercial country; and the fittings up are appropriate. It is lighted by nine gigantic windows, with semi-circular heads; and in the centre of the range, under these, are grouped the royal arms, on a very large scale, and executed in a fine style in Coade's artificial stone. Immediately below, and in the exact centre of the southern front, is the principal entrance into the vaulted story, which runs under the whole edifice; it is semi-circular, and the upper compartment

ment displays a large escallop shell, decorated with the usual marine attributes, also in artificial stone. The façade cannot boast of much columnar display. On each side, near the extremities, the second and third stories are decorated with a range of six Ionic columns. These, with the decorations we have mentioned, constitute the entire ornamental parts of the water front. The *tout ensemble*, however, principally from its colossal proportions, is grand and imposing. At the same time this effect is rather diminished by the display of a white dial-plate in the centre of the attic story. The utility of such an index is obvious, but the location is eminently tasteless.—The northern, or land front, which looks into Lower Thames-street, is neat, but perfectly unornamented. The numerous windows derogate from the appearance of solidity and strength.

3. This morning the corning-house of the gunpowder works belonging to John Hall, esq. at Ore, near Faversham, containing about twelve barrels of powder, blew up with a dreadful explosion, which destroyed every part of the building. Three men employed in it at the time were literally blown to pieces.

During the last three days there has been greater bustle and more gaiety than was ever recollected by any individual in this town, in consequence of the influx of visitors attracted from all parts of these populous districts to the music meeting which is triennially held here for the benefit of the funds of the general hospital. The receipts at the church and theatre amounted to 7776*l.* 16*s.* besides the amount received for the ball. To be added to this is the profit on books; making on the whole upwards of 8000*l.* which is 1000*l.* more than the last festival.

7. This night Thomas Hall, aged about seventy years, and Mary Grant, his housekeeper, of about the same age, who had many years resided by themselves in a very lonely cottage in Theddlethorpe, about twelve miles from Louth, in Lincolnshire, were murdered by some diabolical monster or monsters in human shape, who entered by a breach made in the back wall of the house, for the cruel purpose. The bodies, particularly that of Hall, were dreadfully mangled, owing, as there is reason to believe, to the vigorous defence which he made. Money and notes were found scattered about, whence it is supposed that the murderers were disturbed before they had time to secure their plunder.

11. The coal-owners of the rivers Tyne and Wear, (the body of men most extensively benefited by sir Humphry Davy's safety lamps for preventing explosions in coal-mines) have shown their sense of the importance of the discovery to their interests and those of humanity, by presenting sir Humphry with a handsome service of plate, of the value of nearly 2,000*l.* The ceremony of the presentation of it took place this day, when a grand dinner was given to sir Humphry at Newcastle.

Among the improvements going on in Exeter is the repairing of the cathedral. The south-west angle of the west front, built by bishop Grandison A. D. 1332, being in a ruinous state, has been rebuilt by Mr. J. Kendall, with a scrupulous attention to the highly decorative style of the surrounding parts. Among the statues restored are those of Edward III. Alfred the Great, &c. supported by angels.

Lord Bulkeley has presented a remarkably fine-toned bell to the church at Aber in Carnarvonshire, for the humane purpose of being rung during the recess of the tide in foggy weather, to enable bewildered travellers to direct their way over the Levan Sands to the shore; which will prevent similar accidents to that which occurred in April last, when eight unfortunate persons perished in the water.

The seventy-fourth Methodist conference assembled lately in Carver-street chapel, Sheffield. The following is the list of preachers and members, as stated in conference:—In Great Britain 193,670; Ireland, 21,031; France, and other parts of Europe, 175; Africa, India, and New South Wales, 241; West Indies, 20,288; British America, 2,224: Total, 237,629:—Travelling preachers in Great Britain and Ireland, 713; missionaries, 103; in all, 288,445: Increase, 14,000.

At the late assizes for Lancashire, William Holden and three men named Ashcroft, the father and two sons, were tried for the murder of the two female servants of Mr. Littlewood, of Pendleton, near Manchester, on the 26th of April. They were all found guilty, and executed on the 25th of September; but persisted in asserting their innocence both at the bar and on the scaffold.

16. A special commission for the trial of certain persons charged with high treason was this day opened at Derby; of which our limits permit us to give but a brief account. The number of prisoners arraigned was 35. The trial of Jeremiah Brandreth, the leader of the rioters (called the Nottingham captain), occupied the court three days, when a verdict of Guilty was returned. William Turner and Isaac Ludlam the elder, were severally found guilty; the former on the fifth day, and the latter on the seventh. The trial of George Weightman, a youth of about twenty-two years of age, commenced on the seventh day; and he was also found guilty, but the jury strongly recommended him to mercy. A proposition was then made by the crown solicitor to the agents of the prisoners, that "mercy should be extended to such as remained to be tried, on condition of their withdrawing their plea of Not Guilty." This proposition was accepted, the evidence being so clear that no doubt could be entertained of their conviction; and on the following day nineteen of the prisoners (viz. T. Bacon, J. Bacon, S. Hunt, J. Turner, E. Turner, J. Onion, J. Mackeswick, German Buxton, J. Godber, J. Moone, E. Moone, C. Swaine, J. Hill, J. Rawson, G. Brassington, W. Handwicke, W. Weightman, A. Johnson, and T. Bettison) pleaded guilty.—On their being removed from the bar, twelve others (J. Ludlam jun. S. Ludlam, W. Ludlam, R. Turner, J. Weightman jun., J. Weightman, T. Weightman, W. Adams, J. Wright, J. Topham, J. Lensor, and J. Savage) were brought up: an abstract of the indictment was read over to them, and the attorney-general, in a most feeling and impressive speech, declined offering evidence: the jury consequently returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

The learned judge then thus addressed the prisoners: "Young men, I hope that you and every one of you, heard every word that was addressed by the learned attorney-general to the jury; and I hope that it has made its due impression. Let me beseech you never to forget the danger you are now escaping; for I must inform you, that if the prose-

prosecution had proceeded against you, I have papers before me of your examinations before the magistrates; and from them I know I might have been pronouncing the sentence of death upon you, if his majesty's attorney-general had chosen to proceed. To his compassion you owe your lives. He has trusted that you were misled by others, and he flatters himself you will be recalled to a good course of life. Take warning—go home, endeavour to lead a new and honest life here, and gain a happy eternity hereafter."

The solicitor-general said, "many of the prisoners had been apprehended under the warrant of the coroner who sat on the body of Mrs. Hepworth's servant, a verdict of Wilful Murder being found against them. Such verdict having all the operative force of an indictment, he begged to announce that it was not his intention to proceed on it."—The prisoners who had pleaded guilty were now conducted into court; and after them came Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam the elder, William Turner, and George Weightman, whose approach was announced by the clanking of their irons, which echoed through the silent hall in a horrid manner.—Mr. Lowndes addressed Brandreth in the form usual on such occasions; "Jeremiah Brandreth, you stand convicted of high treason; have you any thing to say why sentence of death should not be passed on you?" Brandreth, in a very low tone, addressed a few words to their lordships, in which he expressed a hope that mercy would be shown to him.—W. Turner uttered a few words to the same effect, in reply to the foregoing question.—Isaac Ludlam said, "May it please your lordships to show mercy. I hope your lordships will. If I may be spared, my life shall hereafter be in such conformity with the laws of God and man, that no one shall repent that my prayer was attended to." While speaking he was greatly agitated.—George Weightman said nothing.—Several of those who had pleaded guilty implored their lordships to show mercy.

This ceremony concluded, the last awful business of the day commenced, and the chief baron then addressed them:

"Prisoners at the bar, in the unhappy situation in which you now stand, it becomes my duty to pass upon you the sentence of the law, which you have incurred by the violation of the laws of your country. It must be some consolation to you, however, that you have had every assistance and every advantage that men in your situation could have. You have been defended by counsel of your own selection, who, without any interruption from any quarter, used every exertion in your favour, which their experience, their learning, and their great abilities, suggested to them. I am speaking of those among you who pleaded Not Guilty. You were tried by several juries, whose respectability was undoubted. During the whole of the investigation on this most important and solemn occasion, every attention has been paid to every side of the question; and yet those juries found themselves compelled, by the most irresistible evidence, to find you guilty of high treason. Those of you who were not tried by a jury, desired to have the liberty of withdrawing your pleas. You know that your cases had been decided by the verdicts which had been given. You are, therefore, all of you, before the world, guilty of high treason which the indictment

charges against you—the highest offence known to our laws. Your insurrection, thank God, did not last long; but whilst it continued, it was marked with violence, and with the murder of an innocent young man, who did not offer the least provocation. That conduct has shown the ferocity of your hearts. Your object was, to wade through the blood of your countrymen; to extinguish the law and constitution of the country; and to substitute for the liberty of your fellow subjects, anarchy and the most complete ruin. God be praised! your purpose failed.—It is not my intention to dwell on this dreadful picture; but I may be allowed to express my sincere hopes, and sincere wishes, that the example which you will furnish on this important day, may deter others from yielding to the wild and frantic delusions of rapacious spirits; and warn others, if such others there be, from being made instruments in the hands of hellish agitators. Let me beseech you, to weigh well your condition; your lives have become forfeited to the violated laws of your country. Make the most of the small portion of that life which is left, and endeavour to make some compensation to society by repentance. May your example serve to teach that great lesson that Mr. Goodwin read to you. You did go with halters round your necks; and the laws, thank God, are too strong for you! I cannot trust myself to say more; [Here his lordship was deeply affected] but must pass upon you the awful sentence of the law: which is, that you and each of you be taken hence to the gaol whence you came, from whence you must be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and be thence severally hanged by the neck until you are dead; your heads must then be severed from your bodies, which are to be divided into four quarters, and to be at his majesty's disposal."

The greater part of the unhappy men seemed most deeply affected by this solemn address; but Brandreth remained unmoved. They were taken from the bar, and conveyed back to the gaol, whither they were followed by several thousands of persons.

FRANCE.

The trial of the persons charged with being concerned in the conspiracy of the Black Pin has terminated, and the whole were acquitted. From the oath which the parties took, the plot would seem to have been directed against the allied troops; but this is said to have been merely a cover for the real design of the ringleaders, which was to subvert the government of Louis XVIII. The full extent of the plot was disclosed by Monnier, who was last year sentenced to death for planning the capture of Vincennes, for the purpose of arming from the arsenal there a body of 600 or 700 men, who were to march against Paris. Monnier saved his life by making the discoveries which led to the prosecution of the parties now tried. Contremoulin, an officer of cavalry, who was arrested upon his information, was admitted as a witness for the prosecution. The parties who were privy to the plot had each a large pin with a black head given to them, by which they could recognise each other.

An interest is naturally felt in this country in all that concerns the Protestants of France. According to a decision of the court of Cassation, to which Louise Madière, Pierre Junt, and Jean Chabrol, had appealed against a sentence of the tribunal

tribunal of Lavaur pronounced on the 23d of July, it appears that, notwithstanding the charter, French Protestants are liable to penalties for not decorating the fronts of their residences in honour of the festivals of the Catholic church. Three of that persuasion have actually been fined in the amount of one hundred and fifty francs, for not acting in opposition to their religious opinions during the recent *fête de Dieu*.

The Moniteur contains a royal ordonnance, for placing lithographic printing (engraving on stone) under the same restrictions as printing in general.

NETHERLANDS.

Societies have been instituted in several towns of the Netherlands for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, in consequence of the distresses of the manufacturers.

PRUSSIA.

A monument of cast-iron is erecting in Silesia, to commemorate the deliverance of that country from the armies of Bonaparte, and the battle of the Katzbach. Prince Augustus of Prussia, marshal Blucher, &c. were present at laying the foundation of the column.

Much political discontent appears to be growing up in Berlin and other parts of Prussia; societies are forming in various cities, with a view of procuring a constitution founded on principles of liberty, as promised them when the country was effecting its deliverance from France.

The arrest of colonel Massenbach likewise causes a great sensation. Massenbach, a Prussian officer, and a champion for popular rights, threatening to publish some things offensive to the court, was illegally seized at Frankfort (a free and neutral city), where he had taken refuge, and conveyed prisoner to the fortress of Custrin. The king of Prussia has, however, restored the colonel's half pay until the decision of his cause.

The dispositions of the people of Berlin in favour of a free government were recently evinced in the most marked manner, by public honours which they paid to a Mr. Arndt upon the occasion of his marriage. Mr. Arndt is the author of a number of patriotic songs, that inspired the Germans with that enthusiasm which liberated them from a foreign yoke. The prince royal of Prussia has, it is understood, espoused the cause of the popular party; and hence he has recently received an interesting and most affectionate reception from the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces. Some differences between him and his royal father are spoken of, which however have been settled.

RUSSIA.

The acquisitions of Russia during the last fifty years it is quite startling merely to enumerate. On the south, she has possessed herself of the whole of Little Tartary and the Crimea; and, pushing her frontier even to the banks of the Danube, she extends her influence still further over the vaivodes of Walachia and Moldavia, absolutely besieging the feeble remains of the Turkish empire. On the west, the empress Catherine and her grandson have acquired the greatest part of Poland; and their frontier comes in contact not only with Hungary and Prussia, but with Germany itself, to which country the Russians have now become close neighbours; while in the north the acquisition of Finland and the islands of the Baltic enables the emperor Alexander to dictate to Sweden. These, it must be owned, are formidable accessions of power, which render Russia mistress

of the north as well as east of Europe, and lay open the south and west to her enterprises.

SWEDEN.

The Swedish government seems to have a very tender care of the sobriety of its subjects. At the end of the present year the use of Champagne, Burgundy, Cape, Tokay, foreign liqueurs, and beer, is to be discontinued. These are undoubtedly luxuries; but what state of society must that be, in which the monarch considers it expedient to prohibit the use of every thing, save that which mere animal life requires?

TURKEY.

The fortress of Parga, situate on the opposite coast to the Ionian isles, and which had been for a considerable time occupied by British troops, was some time since ceded by this government to the Turks, contrary to the wishes and earnest entreaties of the inhabitants, who had the utmost abhorrence of the power to which they were to be delivered, and who urged that it would be most unjust to surrender the unfortunate inhabitants of Parga (after they had been promised the protection of Britain) to a power under whose auspices they would be condemned to suffer every species of misery. It appears now, that there was a clause in the treaty, providing that such of the inhabitants as did not choose to remain, should have the liberty of departing, and disposing of their property, and that they should receive indemnities for the losses they thus sustained. So many of the inhabitants determined to take advantage of this proviso, in order to escape the blessings of Turkish domination, that it was found that the indemnities to be paid to them would amount to upwards of 20,000,000 piastres (another account says 30,000,000). This the Ottoman government thought too dear a purchase; and the question as to the possession of Parga is to be the subject of another negotiation. One statement adds, that four English officers had been sent to Parga, for the purpose of assisting the inhabitants in defending themselves from any attempt on the part of the Turks to take the place by a *coup-de-main*.

AMERICA.

Christophe, the chieftain of Hayti, is providing for the future civilization and moral improvement of his country. He has appropriated an immense sum to the building and endowing a college, in which professors of every branch of learning and science are to be established, and liberally rewarded. It is no small advantage to England, that they will be nearly all chosen from this country. In the establishment of this college, as well as in some other matters, Christophe, we understand, has had the good sense to solicit the advice of Mr. Wilberforce.

NOVEMBER.

5. A disturbance took place at Brighton, in consequence of a tumultuous crowd of persons having assembled to celebrate the anniversary of Gunpowder treason. In order to prevent disturbance, the high constable assembled his officers, who were stationed on the Steyne, where more than two hundred persons had collected, having with them great quantities of fire-works, a pitch-barrel, and other combustible materials, intending to set them on fire. In consequence of an attempt on the part of the peace officers to seize these materials, a general riot took place, and the officers were unable to disperse the mob, many of them being wounded with stones

stones flung at them by persons in the crowd; and the house of one of those who were struck, William Williams, was attacked, his windows being broken. The constables, being unable to repress the disturbance, were obliged to call in the assistance of the military, and to apply to the magistrates. About half-past nine the magistrate read the riot act, and while reading it a stone was flung at him, and went close to his head; and another struck the high constable. A short time after, the military, being stationed on the Steyne, were attacked with stones; and in advancing upon the mob, a man named Thomas Rowles was killed in the confusion by one of the soldiers named White. Under the circumstances of the case, a coroner's jury returned a verdict of Wilful Murder against the constable Williams and the soldier. The men have been admitted to bail, having given security for their appearance at the assizes.

13. Two inhuman murders were committed at Godalming, on the bodies of Mr. Chennel, shoe-maker, and his house-keeper. They were both found covered with blood, their skulls fractured, and the head of the poor man nearly severed from his body. A son of Mr. Chennel was apprehended, on suspicion; as also a labourer in the employ of Mr. C.

The bridge over the Irwell, communicating between Salford and Strangeways, is now completed. It is an elegantly neat structure of cast iron, of one arch of one hundred and twenty feet span, and may deservedly be considered as a proof of the decided superiority of cast-iron bridges, in the essential points of economy and facility of execution, the abutments and bridge having been completed in the short period of eight months; and with a slightness of scaffolding, and limited number of workmen, truly astonishing; as, after the completion of the abutments, not more than from six to ten men were employed to fix the scaffolding and complete the iron-work. The erection of this bridge was contracted for by the Coalbrook Dale company.

Two trials which took place at the late assizes for Staffordshire have excited a more than ordinary sensation. The one was that of two soldiers, John Hall and Patrick Morrison, who, in a drunken frolic, took a shilling from a labourer named Read, who, at the instigation of George Roberts, keeper of the prison at Wolverhampton, founded upon this circumstance a charge of highway robbery. The men were convicted, and left for execution. The real facts of their case having, however, been made known to some benevolent characters at Wolverhampton, a respite, and subsequently a free pardon, was obtained for the soldiers.

The second case was that of Abraham Thornton, of Castle Bromwich, who was tried for rape and murder committed on the body of Mary Ashford, a young woman, whose fate has excited the deepest horror and sympathy. In spite of very strong circumstantial evidence, Thornton was acquitted; but the verdict was by no means satisfactory to the county; indeed, we may say, to the country at large; and in consequence the nearest of kin to the unfortunate girl obtained a writ of appeal, upon which Thornton was again taken into custody, to undergo another trial, which, by the ancient law of England, the next heir of the murdered person is entitled to institute.—The plea of Thornton was received in the court of

of King's Bench, Nov. 17, where an immense crowd was attracted by the novelty and peculiar circumstances of the case. The record, stating that he was appealed for the murder, and containing an exact copy of the indictment, was read by Mr. Le Blanc, clerk in the crown-office, who concluded by saying, "Are you guilty, or not guilty, of the said murder whereof you stand so appealed?" Mr. Reader, one of the counsel for the prisoner, put into the prisoner's hand a paper from which he read, "Not guilty —and I am ready to defend the same with my body." Mr. Reader had likewise handed a pair of gloves to the prisoner, one of which he put on, and the other, in pursuance of the old form, he threw down for the appellant to take up. It was not taken up; and Mr. Reader moved that it should be kept in the custody of the officer of the court. Mr. Ashford, the appellant, was then formally called into court; and Mr. Clarke, his counsel, said, "I must confess I am surprised that the charge against the prisoner should be put to issue in this way. The trial by battle is an obsolete practice which has long since been out of use; and it would appear to me extraordinary indeed, if the person who has murdered the sister, should, as the law exists in these enlightened times, be allowed to prove his innocence by killing the brother —or at least by an attempt to do so. It will be for the court to determine, under all the circumstances, whether they will permit a battle to be waged in this case or not. The court will, no doubt, look to the person of the appellant, and seeing that he is weak of body, few in years, and in other qualities by no means capable of combating in battle with the appellee, they will, perhaps, not permit the issue to be put upon personal contest." Mr. Reader suggested that the only course of proceeding which his learned friend could take was to put in a counter-plea; and Mr. Clarke, on the question being put to him by lord Ellenborough, humbly moved, on the part of the appellant, that he might have time to plead. The request was acceded to, and Saturday, Nov. 22, appointed to put in the counterplea; on which day the parties appearing in court, the counter-plea was read, stating that Thornton ought not to be admitted to wage battle in this appeal, because there were, and still are, violent and strong presumptions and proofs, that he was and is guilty of the felony and murder so charged against him. [The circumstances of the case were then stated.] Mr. Reader, considering that the case could not come to issue in the present term, applied to the court for time until the second day of next term; and added, that it might be necessary for him to have the record of the acquittal on the indictment, because a great part of what the court had heard ("my learned friend," Mr. Reader observed, "says all")—he would not say all, but a great part, infinitely the greater, did undoubtedly appear at the trial.—Time was given as required.

We sit down to a painful, a heart-rending task—to record that lamentable event which has diffused sorrow throughout the whole kingdom. Our beloved princess is no more! She has been snatched from us at the very moment when we were congratulating ourselves on her preservation from imminent peril. All the hopes of private and public happiness, which rested on her

her life, have suddenly vanished. The lesson is awful! Youth, and health, and innocence, and cheerfulness,—the prospect of a crown, and the still dearer prospect of long years of connubial felicity,—have passed away like a shadow; and of her, who but a few days ago was the pride and hope of the first nation in the world, nothing now remains on earth but a sad remembrance and a bitter regret!

The event was thus officially announced in a London Gazette extraordinary:

"Whitehall, Nov. 6.—Her royal highness the princess Charlotte Augusta, daughter of his royal highness the prince regent, and consort of his serene highness the prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, was delivered of a still-born male child, at nine o'clock last night, and about half-past twelve her royal highness was seized with great difficulty of breathing, restlessness, and exhaustion, which alarming symptoms increased till half-past two o'clock this morning, when her royal highness expired, to the inexpressible grief of his royal highness the prince regent, of her illustrious consort the prince Leopold, and of all the royal family."

As every circumstance and communication connected with this subject of profound and universal sorrow—

"The mournful theme of national regret,"

must carry to the bosoms of our readers genuine interest, we select a variety of particulars which have transpired.

On Monday in the night, or about three on Tuesday morning, her royal highness was taken ill, and expresses were sent off to the great officers of state, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, desiring their immediate attendance. Earl Bathurst, lord Sidmouth, the lord chancellor, Mr. Vansittart, together with the archbishop and bishop, immediately attended. Dr. Baillie and sir R. Croft were the medical attendants. During the whole of Tuesday the labour advanced slowly, but without the least appearance of danger. The princess Charlotte showed uncommon firmness and the utmost resignation. Towards evening, as the labour still lingered, it was deemed advisable to send for Dr. Sims, who arrived in the middle of the night. Nothing could be going on better, though too slowly; and the excellent constitution of the princess gave every assurance that she would not be too much exhausted by the delay. The prince Leopold was incessant in his attendance, and no countenance could more deeply express the anxiety he felt. Once or twice he exclaimed to the medical attendants, "that the unrepining, patient endurance of the princess, whilst it gave him comfort, communicated also a deep affliction at her sufferings being so lengthened."—About six o'clock on Wednesday the labour advanced more rapidly, no apprehensions were entertained of any fatal result—and the child was ascertained to be still living. At nine o'clock her royal highness was delivered of a male child, but still-born. Throughout the whole of this long and painful labour, her royal highness evinced the greatest firmness, and received the communication of the child being dead-born with much resignation, expressing her entire submission to the will of Providence. Prince Leopold exclaimed to the medical attendants, as soon as the intelligence was communicated to him

him—"Thank God! thank God! the princess is safe." The princess was composed after her delivery, and, though of course much exhausted, every hope was entertained of her doing well. This pleasing intelligence being communicated to the great officers of state, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, they left Claremont about eleven o'clock. The prince Leopold, sir Richard Croft, Dr. Baillie, and Dr. Sims, retired, the prince to the room adjoining that of the princess; it was then twelve o'clock, and it was considered by the medical gentlemen that she wanted no more assistance than Mrs. Griffiths, the nurse, could render, and that during the remainder of the night she should be kept as quiet and composed as possible. A little after twelve the nurse thought it her duty to call the prince and the medical gentlemen, who lost no time in repairing to the princess's bed-room: a change was observed in her royal highness—her quiet left her—she became restless, and uneasy—and the medical attendants felt alarmed. Expresses were sent off to the officers of state, stating the change that had taken place.—From half-past twelve, restlessness and convulsion increased, till nature and life were exhausted. Her royal highness continued half an hour, from a little before two till near half-past, from the time of her being taken dangerously ill, without speaking; but she appeared perfectly composed, and sensible that her dissolution was approaching. Her resignation was very apparent. About five minutes before her death, she said to the medical attendants, "Is there any danger?" They replied, by requesting her royal highness to compose herself. She breathed a gentle sigh, and expired. The prince Leopold remained by the bed-side the whole time, endeavouring, as much as possible, to disguise from his suffering consort the grief and agony he felt at the unexpected turn that had taken place. Her royal highness, it is said, scarcely ever moved her eyes from the face of her beloved consort (extending her hand frequently to meet his)—that face had been her delight in health, and strength, and joy; and it beamed consolation and support on the awful verge of a purer existence!

The blow has come upon all with an unexpected and astounding force. We cannot easily put our griefs in order, or weigh one cause of affliction against another. We know not with whom most to sympathize, whether with those whose sorrows rest on public or on private grounds: the former we can more fully participate, the latter we can more distantly respect. It is not for us to enter into the afflictions of the sovereign and the father. If there be one trait which is more marked than another in the character of the prince regent, it is his affection for all the members of his family; and if there was one individual in whom that affection was more intensely centred than another, it was his beloved and only daughter. Words would be vain to paint the feelings with which, after having hastened* on the wings of anxiety to learn the result of the princess's pregnancy, and having experienced a first disappointment in the loss of her offspring, his royal highness must have received the shock of her

* The prince regent had been for several days at Sudborne-hall in Suffolk.

death,

death. In this sad picture we must draw a veil over the countenance of the royal parent. We are, however, happy to state, that amidst the depth of the most acute sorrow, his royal highness was able to maintain a degree of self-command, which was admirably suited to the melancholy duties of his station. He gave a long audience to viscount Sidmouth on the subject of the arrangements requisite for the sad occasion; and he wrote, with his own hand, a letter of the most consolatory kindness to his afflicted son-in-law, inviting him to leave the dreadful scene of his distress, and take his abode at Carlton-house—an act of royal and affecting courtesy, which, however, the prince Leopold could not be induced to accept. The letter expressed the deepest sense of the manner in which his serene highness had invariably conducted himself to the dear departed princess, and which insured to him the blessings and affection of her father, and the admiration and respect of the nation. Doubtless, if the pure spirit of her whom we lament could contemplate such sentiments uniting those whom she most loved on earth, it must afford her a celestial gratification. They do equal honour to the feelings of him from whom they proceeded, and of him to whom they were addressed. The regent spoke not only as a father, but as an Englishman; and the nation will go heartily along with him in gratitude to the man, whose persevering attentions softened agony, and smoothed even the bed of death, to our amiable and lamented princess.

Of prince Leopold there is but one voice and one feeling. He had long since obtained general esteem and respect by his domestic conduct; he has now endeared himself to the whole country by the tenderness and warmth of affection which he exhibited throughout the whole of the last agitating and agonizing trial. As the illustrious pair, during their too short connubial life, were the very model of domestic harmony, agreeing in tastes and studies, delighting in each other's society, and evidently formed for each other's happiness; so it is a consolation to reflect, that the amiable princess, even in the extremity of her sufferings, was in some measure animated by the presence and unceasing attentions of her husband.

This subject is too painful for us long to pursue it. We must, however, say a few words of the princess herself. She was a genuine Englishwoman; and had it pleased Providence that she should mount the throne, she would have brought to it the spirit of an English queen. Proud of her country, she respected its manners, she admired its constitution, and she venerated its religion. Warmth and openness of heart marked her conduct through life; she was beloved by all who knew her; and when she found herself blessed with the husband of her choice, and saw that choice justified by his virtues, she more than once repeated, that she was the happiest woman in the kingdom. Alas! that happiness was too short lived on earth. Let us firmly trust that it has been exchanged for a blissful futurity!

The princess was in her twenty-second year. She was born on the 7th of January 1796, and married May 2, 1816.—Her royal highness was about the middle size, inclining rather to the *embonpoint*, but not so much so as to impair the symmetry of her form. Her complexion was beautifully fair—her arms delicately rounded, and her head finely placed. There was a mingled

mingled sweetness and dignity in her look, a full, intelligent eye; and when she was engaged in conversation she had much liveliness in the expression of her countenance. The resemblance to her illustrious father was striking. To these accomplishments of person her royal highness added the more valuable qualities of the mind and heart. She had read much, and with discrimination, particularly since her marriage. One of her most pleasing occupations was to accompany her illustrious consort in his study of the English language, in which he was so diligent, that he has been able to read our best writers upon history and jurisprudence. She was of religious habits, and a strict observer of the Sabbath, as well as her husband, who regularly read to her, after the church-service, one of our best English sermons. She was a most affectionate child; and, as a wife, was a model for her sex. She looked up to her husband with the most perfect affection and respect; and he deserved it all.

Dispatches were sent off at a very early hour on Thursday morning to the queen and the princess Elizabeth at Bath, and to every other member of the royal family. The fatal intelligence reached the queen's house whilst her majesty was at dinner with the princess Elizabeth, the countess dowager of Ilchester, general Taylor, and others. The dispatch being addressed to general Taylor, he came out; and with a view to communicate the afflicting news to the queen in the best possible way, requested lady Ilchester to be called out. When the awful event was disclosed, her majesty's agony was extreme. She rose from her chair, and, covering her face, uttered a convulsive sob, and left the table. The same mournful impression was made on the princess Elizabeth, who was exceedingly agitated; and they both retired to their private apartments.

The mayor and corporation of Bath, who had presented an address to her majesty in the morning, had repaired to the Guildhall to dine together, honoured with the countenance of noblemen of the first distinction. Before the tables were cleared, one of her majesty's pages brought a letter to sir H. Halford; it was instantly handed to his royal highness the duke of Clarence, who, reading it with peculiar intuitive feelings, rose from his seat, and took his departure. In a faultering tone of voice, the marquis Camden proposed a suspension of all entertainment, and every individual rose from the table, and retired in silent contemplation.

And now may we be permitted to turn our attention to another illustrious and venerable personage of the royal family, the glory of that family, the pride of his subjects, who is not dead, and yet who partakes not of the joys or the afflictions of his kindred or his people. Withdrawn from all eyes but those that watch to supply his necessities —in silence and in darkness, to him there is neither sun nor moon, nor kingdom, nor wife, nor children, nor subjects. He is alone in the midst of the living, and almost as far removed from them as from the dead. The little world in which he dwells is a solitude, peopled only by imagination; but the inhabitants of it are not those that haunt the guilty mind, even when reason is not overthrown. It is said that ministering angels are the companions of his thoughts in the loneliness of that circle, by which he is cut off from rational intercourse either with this world or the next. Yet he is

not

not forsaken in his hoary hairs, nor in his deep humiliation, by Him whose loving kindness is better than life, and all its pleasures, if all its pleasures could be enjoyed for ever. A creature, an intellectual creature, may be debarred from communion with every thing and every being in the universe, except the Creator. The venerable father of the British people, we have reason to believe, whatever else may have failed him, is happily conscious of that presence, which is the hope of earth, and the joy of heaven. The hand of mercy may have shut him up from the sight of evils that would have grieved his eyes and wrung his heart, had reason been preserved to him to the end of his lengthened days—"The Lord is his keeper."

A communication was made, at an early hour, on Thursday morning, to the lord mayor, by viscount Sidmouth; and a council was held to give the necessary orders for the funeral, and for a general mourning. The great bell at St. Paul's tolled from twelve till one o'clock. The theatres and all the places of public amusement were closed till after the funeral; and the drawing of the lottery postponed. The recorder adjourned the proceedings of the court at the Old Bailey; the fitting up of Guildhall for lord mayor's day was discontinued, and public notice was given for preventing all show and rejoicings on that day.

The sad but requisite operation of investigating the state of the royal corpse, was executed with the formalities customary in such cases, on Friday the 7th, by sir Everard Home and sir David Dundas, serjeant surgeons to the king, to whose office that function of right belongs; assisted by Mr. Neville, of Esher, surgeon to the princess Charlotte and prince Leopold. Mr. Brand, of Arlington-street, apothecary to the king, was also present. A regular report was of course drawn up; and though delicacy must necessarily forbid the making such a document public, yet we are enabled to state what must afford our readers the only satisfaction possible under such an affliction, namely, that all had been done to preserve the valuable lives both of mother and child, which human science could suggest, or human skill effect*; and that the visitation proceeded alone from that Almighty will, to which we must bow in humble and adoring submission. It appears that in the interior conformation of her royal highness, there was a want of muscular energy, which, unhappily, subjected her to pangs beyond what nature could endure; and from the same cause the animation of the infant was terminated very shortly before it should have seen the light.

The body, after it was embalmed, was inclosed in a number of wrappers, after the manner of the Egyptians; and was then inclosed in rich blue velvet, tied with white satin riband.

On Saturday evening Nov. 8, the

* On Wednesday morning (Nov. 12) sir B. Bloomfield, by the prince regent's command, addressed a letter to sir Richard Croft, conveying, in the most unqualified terms, his royal highness's entire approbation of the medical skill and ability displayed by that gentleman in the eventful confinement of the princess, during her arduous and protracted labour; and adding, that his royal highness felt that the afflicting result was to be attributed only to the inscrutable will of Divine Providence. A letter to the same purport was also transmitted to sir R. Croft, by order of prince Leopold.

prepa-

preparations for the funeral commenced at Claremont. The mournful task of placing the body in the coffin devolved upon Mr. Neville, the princess's surgeon extraordinary, and Mrs. Griffiths, the nurse, assisted by Mr. France, the undertaker. The proceeding was witnessed by some of the principal attendants, and lord J. Thynne.

On Saturday evening, Nov. 15, the remains of the princess were lifted into the state coffin, which is of mahogany, covered with the richest crimson velvet, ornamented in the most splendid style. The urn is ornamented in a similar manner. The coffin of the infant is covered with crimson velvet, the ornaments of silver, those of the princess's coffin and urn highly gilt. The spectators of this mournful performance were, baron Hardenbrock, sir Robert Gardiner, colonel Addenbrooke, lady John Thynne, Mrs. Campbell, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Cohenbourg, &c. It was much wished that this solemn performance should be completed, and every thing in a composed state, before eleven o'clock, at which hour the prince nightly visited the remains of his beloved princess since her decease, to weep over her previous to his retiring to his bed. Happily, the whole proceeding was accomplished before that time.

At six o'clock on Tuesday evening (Nov. 18) the remains of the princess, and of her child, accompanied by the prince Leopold, and those mourners who formed part of her late happy household, were removed from Claremont. On arriving at Windsor, at a quarter before one, the whole procession moved through Park-street to St. Alban's-street, leading to the Lower Lodge. Here an escort of twenty men of the royal horse guards, ten preceding and ten following the mourning coach conveying the urn and body of the infant, with its attendants—accompanied by mutes and pages—passed up High-street, to the south entrance of the lower ward of the Castle. At the south door of St. George's Chapel, the urn was delivered to four yeomen of the guard, who bore it into the chapel, holding it with white napkins. The coffin with the infant was conveyed also by four yeomen, in a correspondent manner. Colonel Addenbrooke, sir R. Gardiner, and Mr. Mash, followed. They were joined by Mr. Stevenson, comptroller of the Windsor household. The procession was received by the honourable and reverend dean of Windsor, rev. E. Northey, B. D. and the honourable and reverend J. Marsham, D. D. Passing into the choir, the yeomen descended into the entrance of the royal dormitory; and the mourners deposited these remains in the niche destined to receive the body.

A part of the procession, as just mentioned, having passed up the High-street, the hearse, followed by the mourners, turned up St. Alban's-street to the Lower Lodge. At the entrance of the street, and within the gates of the lodge, a guard of honour received the illustrious remains. The hearse being driven into the carriage-yard of the lodge, the coffin was carried by eight yeomen of the guard into the room fitted up for the reception of the body, and placed under a rich canopy of black velvet. The afflicted prince Leopold was assisted from the carriage, and afterwards supported, by baron Hardenbrock and Dr. Stockmar. Quite unable to survey the mournful solemnities, he was ushered to apart-

apartments prepared for his reception, by sir George Nayler, his majesty's gentleman usher in waiting, and by the officers of the lord chamberlain of the household. During the night lady John Thynne, Mrs. Griffiths, and four attendants, remained with the corpse.

In the early part of Wednesday, the view of the coffin lying in state was confined to the mourners, and persons particularly connected with the solemnities. Tickets were then issued to the members of the king's and queen's household; and subsequently to a portion of the public, who could procure tickets from the lord chamberlain's office at the palace.

At a quarter past seven o'clock, the regiment of royal horse guards formed in single files on each side the High-street and Castle-street. The foot guards were also stationed by the outer-gate of the castle, within the walls, and in the interior of St. George's chapel. At eight o'clock, each fourth man of the royal horse guards lighted a torch. About half-past eight the procession began to move from the Lower Lodge, in the following order:

Servants and grooms of the princess and prince Leopold on foot, in deep mourning.

Servants and grooms of the royal family, the prince regent, and their majesties, on foot, in full state liveries, with crape hat-bands and black gloves, four and four, bearing flambeaux.

Band of the royal horse guards blue.

THE HEARSE,

drawn by eight of the prince regent's black horses, fully caparisoned, each horse attended by a groom in full state livery.

His majesty's body carriage (drawn by a full set of his majesty's horses, each horse attended by a groom in full state livery), conveying prince Leopold, chief mourner; and the dukes of York and Clarence, supporters to the chief mourner.

The carriages of the prince regent, the royal family, and the prince Leopold, each drawn by six horses, closed the procession.

The whole procession was flanked by the military, every fourth man bearing a flambeau. Upon arrival at St. George's chapel, the servants, grooms, and band, filed off without the south door.

At the entrance, the dean and prebendaries, attended by the choir, received the body; and the procession (having previously been formed, and being flanked by the military, every fourth man bearing a flambeau) moved down the south aisle and up the nave, into the choir, thus:

Poor knights of Windsor.

Pages of the prince Leopold, of the royal family, of the prince regent, and of their majesties.

Solicitor to her late royal highness.

Comptroller of the household.

Apothecaries, Mr. Walker, Mr. Brande;

Surgeons, R. Keate, esq. T. Neville, esq.

Curates and rectors of Esher and Windsor.

Physicians, Drs. Baillie, Sims, and Croft.

Chaplain to his serene highness, Dr. Short.

Equerry to the princess, honourable H. Percy.

Equerries of royal family and prince regent.

Quarter-master-general (major-general sir J. W. Gordon).

Adjutant-general (lieutenant-gen. sir H. Calvert).

Officers of duchy of Cornwall,

(W. D. Best, esq. W. Harrison, esq. earl of Yarmouth.)
Chamberlain to the great steward of Scotland (lord Keith).
Grooms of bedchamber to prince regent.
Pursuivants of arms.
Comptroller, treasurer, and master of the prince regent's household.
Heralds of arms.
Privy purse and privy secretary to the prince regent (sir Benjamin Bloomfield).
Lords of the prince regent's bedchamber.
Norroy king of arms.
Bishop of Exeter, bishop of Salisbury.
The bishop of London.
The ministers of Hanover and Saxony (count Munster and baron de Just).
Deputy earl Marshal, (lord H. Howard).
His majesty's ministers: lord chancellor, earls of Liverpool, Westmoreland, Bathurst, viscount Sidmouth, lord Melville, earl of Harrowby, lord Castlereagh, right honourable C. Bathurst, G. Canning, W. Pole, and N. Vansittart.
The archbishop of Canterbury.
Choir of Windsor.
Canons of Windsor.
Dean of Windsor.
Captain of the yeomen of the guard (earl of Macclesfield).
Groom of the stole (marquis Winchester): lord Steward of his majesty's household (marquis Cholmondeley).
King's master of horse (duke of Montrose).
Clarencieux king of arms.
The coronet of her late royal highness, borne upon a black velvet cushion by colonel Addenbrooke.
Garter principal king of arms bearing his sceptre.
The lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, attended by his secretary; and the vice-chamberlain on his right.
The coffin, covered with a black velvet pall, adorned with eight escutcheons of her late royal highness's arms, carried by eight yeomen of the guard, under a canopy of black velvet, borne by eight gentlemen ushers, and supported by lady Boston, lady Grenville, lady Arden, and lady Ellenborough.
The chief mourner, his serene highness prince Leopold, his train borne by baron de Hardenbrock and sir R. Gardiner: supported by the dukes of York and Clarence, their trains borne by two gentlemen of their households.
Princes of the blood royal, trains borne by two gentlemen of their households.
Ladies and women of the bedchamber to her late royal highness.
His majesty's establishment at Windsor.
Her majesty's establishment at Windsor.
Ladies attendants on the princesses.
Attendants on her late royal highness.
Attendants on her majesty and the princesses.

Immediately on the entrance of the body into the chapel, the choir commenced the impressive burial-service, composed jointly by Croft and Purcell. The second verse, "I know that my redeemer liveth," was played in the most tender manner, and sung in a style of the most pathetic solemnity. The body was placed on a platform near the ascent to the altar, concealing the entrance to the royal vault. The coronet and cushion were laid upon the coffin. The chief mourner, who moved in solemn procession with an effort of firmness which only more painfully indicated

indicated the struggles of his heart, was conducted to a chair placed for his serene highness at the head of the corpse. He was supported on each side by the dukes of York and Clarence. The supporters of the pall sat in their places near the body. The dukes of Sussex and Cumberland, and such of the nobility who are knights of the garter, ascended their different stalls. The ministers of state, the officers of the household, and the other attendants of the procession, were placed in various seats according to their respective ranks. The choir chanted the proper Psalms, viz. the 39 and 90th. The noble lesson of the burial-service was then read by the dean of Windsor, from the sovereign's stall. The same feelings which were struggling in so many breasts, almost overpowered the dean at this part of the ceremony. After the lesson, the following beautiful anthem, composed by Dr. Blake, was sung by the choristers and lay clerks:

"I have set God always before me; for he is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall.—Wherefore my heart was glad, and my glory rejoiced: my flesh also shall rest in hope.—For why? thou shalt not leave my soul in hell: neither shalt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption.—Thou shalt show me the path of life; in thy presence is the fulness of joy, and at thy right-hand there is pleasure for evermore." Ps. xvi.

During the performance of that part of the service which thus commences—'Man that is born of a woman'—the platform was gradually lowered, by imperceptible machinery; and at the moment of its disappearance the dean read the prayer—'For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God.' The effect of this part of the solemnity was most awful. The third part of the service, 'I heard a voice from Heaven,' was then sung; and the dean read the remainder of the office of interment.

After the service was concluded, the deputy king at arms proclaimed her royal highness's style; but his feelings would scarcely allow him to give utterance to it. The 'Dead March in Saul' was then exquisitely played by Mr. Sexton, organist to the chapel, while the mourner and attendants slowly retired. Prince Leopold was greatly agitated as he left the choir; his pallid countenance and agonized step excited the deepest sympathy.

The pavement of the choir was covered with black cloth; the stalls of the knights were hung with the same, in rich draperies; the cushions, seats, and other appurtenances of the choir, as well as the altar, were also clothed in black.

The day of the funeral was one of general and unaffected mourning, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the empire, a day of voluntary humiliation and prayer, of cessation from business, and of sad and silent reflection on the instability of all sublunary hopes. Never, perhaps, was there an instance in which a whole nation, through all its ranks and degrees, more deeply sympathized with the sorrows of its sovereign. Never was a mourning so universal: its universality alone must have proved its sincerity, even to those who had known nothing of this country or its interests. All persons of respectable condition were clothed in an entire suit of deep mourning; even domestics very generally wore black; and those whose circumstances would not allow of greater expense, assumed at least a crape or riband, or some other indication

of their sympathy with the common feelings. In short, it was as if the whole community had formed but one afflicted family, and every individual had lost a dear sister, an affectionate friend, or a kind benefactress. Such was the appearance in the streets; whilst within the churches and other places of divine worship, the mournful tale was again taken up, as it had been on the preceding Sunday, coupled with those instructive lessons of which it was so abundantly fruitful.

And thus has passed away what was, a few days since, a nation's joy and hope and example! Let not the monitions of the Most High be lost upon us! Let not the future be 'a barren path, a wildness, and a dream.' Great changes have sometimes been wrought upon mankind by sudden and irretrievable calamities. The beloved princess Charlotte has not lived in vain for a nation's edification. Her brief and innocent life has been a forcible illustration of the union of happiness and virtue. May the solemn spectacle of universal grief—the mourning garment which England has with one accord put on—teach the great how much a high-spirited and reflecting people reverence the graces of domestic life! May the awful termination of this earthly career of goodness produce no fleeting impression upon our hearts! may it induce a lasting sense of the infirmities of human nature—a permanent conviction that nothing but virtue is imperishable!

FRANCE.

Intelligence reached Paris on the 8th instant, communicating the melancholy event of the death of the princess Charlotte. The journals are unanimous in their expressions of sympathy and concern for a loss which may, in its final consequences, affect not the welfare of England alone, but the course of history, and the fate of nations throughout the European world.—The duke of Orleans, who had a dinner party for that day, immediately countermanded the invitations; and even on the French 'change a gloom took place when it was known, and no business was transacted.

On the 16th instant, a funeral service was solemnized at the English protestant church, in the Rue St. Honore, in honour of the princess Charlotte; and a sermon pronounced in testimony of her eminent virtues, and of the severe dispensation that has visited this country. An English clergyman preached the funeral sermon on the sorrowful occasion.

The French court went into mourning on the 22d for the death of our lamented princess Charlotte.

The conduct of the duc d'Angouleme, on his tour, has given great satisfaction to the king and ministers. The sums of money, with the application of which he was intrusted, have been increased from 300,000 to 450,000 francs.

ITALY.

The municipal authorities of many towns in Greece have established, for the education of youth, *Lyceums* or *Gymnasiums* (schools), in which are taught the ancient Greek, Latin, and modern languages, rhetoric, mathematics, &c. —The Greek merchants settled at Leghorn formed a society last year for affording relief to destitute students of their country. Those of Vienna have formed a similar one this year, under the direction of M. Mavrageni, a relation of a hospodar of that name. The object in view is, to maintain in civilised Europe many young Greeks, destined

tined to bear back and propagate in their native country the blessings of literature and civilization.

GERMANY.

A negotiation has, it is said, been recently set on foot between the British government and that of Austria; through which there it some chance of our being repaid a part of the debt due to us from the emperor; if not in money, at least in money's worth. As long back as 1802, an agreement was entered into with the Austrian government for the purchase of a large quantity of timber; but the breaking out of hostilities soon after, and the subsequent state of the continent, prevented the contract between the two powers from being carried into effect. The timber was, at that time, to have been delivered in part payment of the debt due to us; and we understand the Austrian government has renewed its offer of payment in the same way. The timber is said to be of the first quality and growth; and the offer has been considered so far worth attention by our government, that they have dispatched Mr. Smith, the assistant secretary to the navy board, to Trieste, accompanied by an experienced officer of Woolwich yard.

In the German papers we find an account of the celebration of the anniversary of Leipsic, at the Warteburg near Eisenach; which is, in many respects, highly deserving of attention. The students of the university of Jena invited the students of the other German universities to send deputies to Eisenach to join with them in this solemnity; and accordingly they were met on the afternoon of the 17th October, at the appointed place, by deputies from nearly all the universities. The students and professors assembled went in solemn procession on the 18th October to the Warteburg; when, after singing divine hymns, one of the students advanced towards an altar, and delivered an harangue; in which, calling to their recollection the great day of Leipsic, on which the sun of German freedom rose, he observed how little the result had answered the expectations which the people were entitled to form; and that no prince had yet performed the promise publicly made by him, excepting that prince in whose territories they were then solemnizing the festival. An *auto da fe* afterwards took place, in which several obnoxious works, and, among others, various productions of Schmalz, the writer who first advocated the re-action of the Prussian government, were committed to the flames. They burnt also several instruments and monuments of old German slavery: and, before they broke up, they pledged themselves to each other, in taking the sacrament, that they would conscientiously endeavour to carry into execution the obligations into which they had entered.—Such a solemn expression of the discontent which the conduct of the different German governments has excited, affords much matter for reflection.

As proofs of reform being wanted in Saxony, no one is allowed to sit in the diet that cannot produce a pedigree of eight noble ancestors! The higher classes contribute little to taxes, while feudal services are still required of the peasantry.

RUSSIA.

The population of St. Petersburgh is 285,500 persons, military included. In 1764 the number was 130,000; and, in 1792, 225,000.

ASIA.

Count Yermaloff, the Russian ambassador to Persia, is commissioned

sioned to engage at Ispahan and Cabul a number of workmen, who are to set up a manufactory of shawls and carpets, at Casan, in Russia, on very advantageous terms. The importance of the object is inferred from the fact, that 80,000 shawls are annually exported from Bussorah, which cost on an average 1000 roubles; so that the gross yearly exportation of shawls from Bussorah is about 80,000,000 roubles. Certainly this is a branch of commerce worth some little pains to get a share in from the people of the south of Asia; and if the wools of Thibet and the Persian silks are jointly so productive of profit to the shawl-makers, the court of St. Petersburg displays a good eye to business, in starting against them for so rich a prize.

Extract of a letter from the agent to Lloyd's at the Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 15:—"Arrived this day the Blucher, Kerr, from Batavia and the Mauritius. She brings advice, that at the isle of Lupperwaro, near Amboyna, the natives had risen and murdered the Dutch resident and his family, together with the whole of the garrison. A detachment of about 200 men were sent from Amboyna, which the natives allowed to land; after which they murdered them all. An expedition was about to sail from that place under admiral Buyokus."

DECEMBER.

9. Louisa Perkins was tried at the Old Bailey for child-stealing.—Emma Potter, the only child of Mrs. Potter, widow, of Vere-street, Clare-market, was sent 4th Nov. to a baker's shop in the neighbourhood: the prisoner came up to her, and took hold of her hand, promised her some biscuits, and said she would make her some doll's things, and took her up in her arms and carried her some way, then set her down to walk. Very fortunately Mr. Gilson (cooper to Messrs. Barclay and Co's brewhouse), observing the little child resisting and struggling with the prisoner, went up and spoke to her: she then said she was aunt to the child. An officer was fetched, and the woman taken into custody and carried to Guildhall.—Emma, a very interesting little girl, five years and seven months old, was examined on the trial, and gave her evidence in a clear and satisfactory manner. She was lifted on the table before the recorder, for the purpose of being more distinctly heard. She underwent examination by him, and cross-examination by the prisoner's counsel, with great composure. Verdict—Guilty. Sentence—seven years transportation. This is the eighth trial and conviction at the Old Bailey since the act 54 Geo. III. cap. 101, for the prevention of child-stealing.

18. The trial "The king v. W. Hone" came on before Mr. Justice Abbot and a special jury in the court of king's bench. This was an information filed by his majesty's attorney-general against the defendant for printing and publishing a seditious and profane libel on those parts of our church service called the Catechism, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. Mr. Hone addressed the jury in a speech which lasted five hours, in the course of which he brought forward many instances of men of character and talent having parodied the sacred or devotional writings, of which no notice had been taken by the legal authorities. The learned judge in his address to the jury expressed his conviction that the publication of the defendant was most profane

and

and irreligious, and peculiarly calculated to do mischief to the young and ignorant, from the cheap rate at which it was sold. The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of—Not guilty.

On the following day Mr. Hone was brought up on a second information against him by the attorney general before lord Ellenborough. Six gentlemen only on the special jury pannel having appeared, a tales was prayed, and accordingly six common jurymen were put into the box. The information was filed against the defendant for printing and publishing a certain impious and profane libel upon a part of the church service in the common prayer-book, called "the Litany, or general supplication." There was a second count, charging the said publication to be a wicked and seditious libel, of and concerning the prince regent, and the houses of lords and commons. Mr. Hone defended himself in a speech of seven hours, citing precedents as in the former trial. Lord Ellenborough, in his charge to the jury, urged the importance of the case, and of their decision, to the cause of religion, and to the vital interests of the country, concluding with a declaration that, according to his conscience, and upon his oath of office, he believed the publication was a most impious and profane libel. The jury, after deliberating an hour and three quarters, returned a verdict of—Not guilty.

Next day a third information against Hone was proceeded on, before lord Ellenborough and a special jury. Mr. Hone having evinced symptoms of indisposition, the attorney-general addressed his lordship, stating, that though on his own part he had no wish to postpone the proceedings of the court, a postponement might be desirable, as the defendant certainly appeared unable to make any great physical exertion, and as it must be necessary to have a full controul upon so serious an occasion: this offer of indulgence, however, the defendant declined, and the trial consequently proceeded. The information charged him with having published a certain impious work, the object of which was to ridicule and turn into contempt that part of the divine service called St. Athanasius's Creed. Mr. Hone's defence occupied seven hours and three quarters, and was similar in kind to that of the two preceding days. Lord Ellenborough shortly addressed the jury, who in twenty minutes returned their verdict—Not guilty.

Throughout these trials the court was very much crowded, and the proceedings were occasionally interrupted by the indecent conduct of the audience, which compelled the judges to order the sheriff to bring the offenders instantly before them: but the offence was too general for any one particularly to be selected. While the jury, however, were consulting on the last trial, a gentleman charged with riotous conduct on the steps leading into the court was brought up, and fined 20 pounds.

The whole interior and exterior of the New Mint, together with the military way and adjoining edifices, have been lighted with gas. The apparatus, which is on a new plan, is erected within the walls of the mint. The gas is prepared, not by distilling coal in retorts in the usual manner, but by means of a cylinder kept red hot, and revolving round its axis. The cylinder is upwards of ten feet in diameter, and produces, during its revolution in twenty-four hours, a sufficient quan-

tity of gas to light 1600 lamps. The purification of the gas is effected by means of chlorine instead of quicklime, and all the inlet and outlet mains and pipes are made to open and shut by mercurial valves. The quantity of gas daily made and consumed by the burners and lamps is registered, in the absence of the observer, on a dial-plate of a machine, the moving power of which is gas. There can be no doubt that the adoption of the new lights in this instance, as in all others where much light is wanted in a small space, must prove highly œconomical; and it is a pleasing reflection to see government giving effect to a discovery which cannot fail to increase the wealth of the nation, by adding to its internal resources, as long as coal continues to be dug in this island from the bowels of the earth. The effect of the new lights scattered upon so extensive a scale over the beautiful machinery of the coining processes, is uncommonly striking; and the new royal mint now exhibits the most elegant establishment of the kind in the world.

The duchess of Rutland has received the gold medal from the Society of Arts, for various experiments in raising oaks at Belvoir. Her Grace's decided conclusion, on five general experiments, is, that the best method is to sow the acorns where they are to remain, and after hoeing the rows two years, to plant potatoes, one row only between each row of oaks for three years. The benefit of the oaks from planting potatoes is incalculable; for, from the said experiments, and from others made at the same time, and with the same seedling oaks, planted with a mixture of larch, spruce, beech, birch, and other forest trees, and also with oaks only—in all cases she has found that potatoes between the rows are so superior to all other methods, that the oaks will actually grow as much the first four years with them, as in six without them. "It appears," she observes, "that the great secret in raising plantations of oaks is, to get them to advance rapidly the first eight years from the seed, or the first five years from planting, so as the heads of the trees are completely united, and become a smothering crop: after this is effected, the trees will appear to strive to outgrow each other, and will advance in height rapidly; they will be clean straight trees to any given height. Experiments have proved the fact, which may be verified by viewing Belvoir.

A Roman mosaic pavement, of considerable extent, and in fine preservation, has been discovered in the garden of J. Matthie, esq. of High Wycombe, three feet below the surface. Langley, the historian of the hundred of Desborough, mentions a similar discovery as having been made in the grounds of the earl of Shelburne, in the same vicinity, about sixty years since.

A quantity of ancient coins, in good preservation, having the impressions of the heads of the emperors Nero, Vespasian, and Trajan, was lately dug up on the estate of sir H. St. Paul, bart. at Wednesbury.

FRANCE.

The clergy of France are paid by the state. From the French pension list it appears, that their number amounts to 55,500 persons. The annual sum which they cost the public treasury is a trifle more than 540,000*l.* sterling per annum, or about 9*l.* 11*s.* a-year for each individual clergyman!

NETHERLANDS.

The king of the Netherlands proposed a law to the second chamber of the states general of the Netherlands,

lands, on the 16th inst. with a view to a new regulation of the import and export duties on tea in Holland and the Netherlands. The import duty upon teas into Holland, by the proposed law, will not exceed one half per cent. and the duty on exportation is only one fifth per cent. In short, teas will probably be sold in Holland, making the necessary allowance for the difference of price between a free trade and our monopoly price, at one-half what they are consumed for in this country. The encouragement which the measure will give to smuggling is expected to be very detrimental to the revenue here; and which, on this article alone, is computed at three millions sterling.

SPAIN.

A letter from Madrid, dated December 9, says, "We are informed that the council of Castille has adopted a resolution, calling on the public creditors to abandon two-thirds of their claims, and that government has offered to acknowledge the validity of the remaining third; but it is not said how that will be paid off. It is supposed that the junta of public credit has funds at its disposal to pay the interest of the reduced debt. Those who will not consent to the reduction demanded, may preserve their claims upon the entire debt; but they will be obliged to wait for more favourable periods of payment. A statement of the general debt, which is publicly circulated, makes the funded part of it amount to 5,904,662,866 reals of Vellon, of which the annual interest is 195,573,391 reals of Vellon; and the floating debt, without interest, amounts to 5,232,976,520 reals.

The inquisition in Spain has recently arrested a number of individuals for the crime of free-masonry.

ITALY.

Rome, Sept. 23.

(From a private letter.) Highway robbery is carried on systematically here, and on a grand scale. At Veroli, a small town fifteen miles from this, a teacher, with twelve spiritual seminarists, walking in the environs, were taken prisoners by the robbers and dragged to the mountains. The robbers were polite enough to send to Veroli, and to offer to give up the pupils for 12,000 crowns, and the teacher into the bargain. A negotiation was entered into, and 4000 crowns were taken. Several days afterwards a young man, of a thick and heavy make, belonging to Angou, was walking with seven male and female relations, and the whole party were taken 200 steps from the gate and carried off. The alarm-bell of the town, which contains nearly 12,000 inhabitants, was rung. The robbers flew with their prisoners to the mountains: the young man not being able to keep up with them, they cut his throat, and escaped with the other seven persons. These unfortunate prisoners were afterwards ransomed by their relatives for 5000 scudi. There are many hundreds of these robbers, and their numbers are daily increasing. They have their male and female leaders, and receive only people of irreproachable character: the investigation into morals, and the proof as to ancestry, is very strict on their reception, as persons of consideration take an interest in it.

GERMANY.

Lavalette now resides six miles from Munich, under a different name; Fouché is at Prague; Beauharnois resides at Munich; and the ex-queen of Holland at Augsburg.

M. Las

M. Las Casas, the friend of Buonaparte, recently returned from St. Helena, has received orders to fix his residence in the Prussian dominions; and he has left Frankfort for Berlin under the care of a Prussian officer of police.

By a Hamburgh mail we have received copies of two letters addressed by the count Las Casas, in the latter end of last month, one to lord Sidmouth, and the other to lord Holland. In the former Las Casas mentions his having been for four days in the hands of an English state messenger, on his arrival in the Thames, who at first permitted him to enjoy the free use of his papers, and to indulge himself in writing—but, as if to take advantage of the confidence thus inspired, this messenger, at the very moment of departure, seized on every paper, even the most trifling, in the name and under the authority of lord Sidmouth. "Every thing," says the letter, "has been taken from me: letters, notes, my son's writing-books, deeds of property, domestic secrets, official documents of sir Hudson Lowe and lord Charles Somerset, my journals, and even a letter to the French minister of police, and another to my wife. They have been taken from me without making an inventory of them, or numbering them; and they declare that it was done by your lordship's orders." In the letter to lord Holland, the count alludes to some statements previously transmitted to his lordship from the Cape of Good Hope, touching the alleged grievances at St. Helena; and also mentions the great difficulty he experienced in writing the present letter.

SWEDEN.

A mail from Hamburgh brings the king of Sweden's speech; which was read by prince Oscar at the opening of the diet. The Swedish paper currency was, in 1802, 14,000,000, and is now 30,000,000 of bank-dollars, having more than doubled in fifteen years. On the other hand, the government makes the gratifying boast, that, notwithstanding the natural wants of Sweden, none of its inhabitants have, like those of more fertile countries, been forced to emigrate from the apprehension of famine.

RUSSIA.

Ukase addressed to the legislative synod at Moscow, by Alexander, emperor of Russia, dated from Moscow, Oct. 27.

"During my late travels through the provinces, I was obliged, to my no small regret, to listen to speeches pronounced by certain of the clergy in different parts, which contained unbecoming praises of me—praises which can only be ascribed unto God. And as I am convinced, in the depth of my heart, of the Christian truth, that every blessing floweth unto us through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ alone, and that every man, be he who he may, without Christ, is full only of evil; therefore to ascribe unto me the glory of deeds, in which the hand of God hath been so evidently manifested before the whole world, is to give unto men that glory which belongeth unto Almighty God alone.

"I account it my duty, therefore, to forbid all such unbecoming expressions of praise; and recommend to the holy synod, to give instructions to all the diocesan bishops, that they themselves, and the clergy under them, may, on similar occasions, in future, refrain from all such expressions of praise, so disagreeable to my ears; and that they may render unto the Lord of Hosts alone thanksgivings for the blessings bestowed

stowed upon us, and pray for the outpouring of his grace upon all of us; conforming themselves in this matter to the words of sacred writ, which requires us to render to the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the only wise God, honour and glory for ever and ever. ALEXANDER."

The Russian interest prevails so much in Persia, that Russian traders are expected to be allowed a passage through that country to and from India.

Funeral service has been performed at Warsaw, for the death of Kosciusko, at which the grand duke and all the public authorities attended.

ASIA.

A horrible transaction has occurred at the island of Java, since its repossession by the Dutch, of which the subjoined is an affecting detail:—Towards the close of 1816 a disturbance took place at no great distance from Batavia, the capital, produced by some unauthorized exactions of the kapala chootak, and other native chiefs acting under the Dutch government. The ignorant and suffering inhabitants were prevailed upon by a few of the heads of villages, to assemble for the purpose of marching to Indramaye, for the ostensible purpose of having their grievances redressed. No chief of any rank was amongst them, and their number did not at any time exceed 900. It is a fact worthy of notice, that in all their marches over a considerable extent of country, no property of any kind was seized, nor one personal outrage committed. At Lobenar, where they remained for several days, the servants, rice, paddy, cattle, &c. of Mr. Muntinghe, a public functionary, lay open before them; but not a human being was molested, nor an article of any description touched. What efforts were made on the part of the government to remonstrate with these deluded people, or to procure their peaceable dispersion, does not satisfactorily appear. Dispositions were made to attack them, which was done at Lobenar on the 20th of December. In the contest 100 of the natives were killed, and 594 were made prisoners. These men were all disarmed, and by the magistrates delivered into the care of the military. On their arrival at Indramaye, they were put into a coffee store-house within the fort, and the temporary prison was surrounded by sentinels. In the course of the night some of these poor creatures having endeavoured to get out, for the purpose, as it is now believed, of enjoying the freshness of the open air, the Dutch guard fired in among them, and, horrible to relate, continued their execution, in spite of Mr. Mateman the magistrate, and under the eye of their own officers, until 300 of those unarmed, unresisting, helpless human creatures were massacred in cold blood! The prayers and commands of the civil magistrate were equally disregarded on this occasion, which was but the first act of an atrocious tragedy. The survivors were embarked in coffee prows, and dispatched up the river to Caroug Sauberg; while on the river, they were accused of a second attempt to escape; when the former dreadful scene was renewed, and near 200 more were mercilessly slaughtered! So insatiate was the thirst for Javanese blood, that of 594 made prisoners after the attack upon them by the Dutch troops, only 113 remained alive when the account of these frightful transactions was written, in the month of January following.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS *from* December 10, 1816, *to* December 16, 1817.

Christened			In all,	Buried			In all,	Decrease in Burials 348.
	Males	12624			Males	10033		
	Females	11505	24,129		Females	9935	19,968	

Died under 2 years	5698	20 and 30 -	1364	60 and 70 -	1614	100 ..	7.
Between 2 and 5	9019	30 and 40 -	1795	70 and 80 -	1224	105....	2.
5 and 10	929	40 and 50 -	1983	80 and 90 -	683		
10 and 20	796	50 and 60 -	1788	90 and 100	156		

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive, Still born	700	Diabetes	3	Palpitation of the Heart	4	Broken Limbs	6
Abscess	98	Dropsy	718	Palsy	162	Bruised	2
Aged	1375	Epilepsy	5	Pleurisy	22	Burnt	41
Ague	2	Evil	6	Purples	1	Choked	2
Apoplexy and suddenly	462	Fevers of all kinds	1299	Quinsy	2	Drowned	119
Asthma	743	Fistula	3	Rash	2	Excessive Drinking	12
Bedridden	5	Flux	9	Rheumatism	11	Executed*	10
Bile	6	French Pox	86	Scrophula	5	Found Dead	29
Bleeding	45	Gout	54	Scurvy	6	Fractured	4
Bursten & Rupture	43	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	24	Small Pox	1051	Frighted	9
Cancer	99	Grief	4	Sore Throat	5	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	65
Chicken Pox	1	Headmoldshot, Horse-shoe-head, & Water in the Head	419	Sores and Ulcers	11	Killed themselves	34
Childbed	252	Imposthume	2	Spasms	25	Murdered	3
Colds	14	Inflammation	1002	St. Anthony's Fire	7	Poisoned	6
Colick, Gripes, &c.	7	Jaundice	75	Stoppage in the Stomach	24	Scalded	4
Consumption	4200	Jaw-locked	2	St. Vitus's Dance	1	Shot	1
Convulsions	3242	Livergrown	76	Stricture	1	Starved	8
Cough, and Hooping-Cough	645	Lumbago	1	Swelling	1	Strangled	1
Cow Pox	1	Lunatick	244	Teeth	449	Suffocated	11
Cramp	1	Measles	725	Thrush	111		
Croup	109	Miscarriage	6	Tumor	3		
		Mortification	304	Water in the Chest	68		
				Worms	12	Total	367

* There have been executed in the city of London and County of Surrey, 26; of which number 10 only have been reported to be buried within the Bills of Mortality.

BIRTHS in the year 1817.

Jan. 2. In Devonshire-place, the lady of major-general sir William Anson, K. C. B. of a son.

4. In Hertford-street, the countess of Clonmell, of a son and heir.

At Hollycombe, Sussex, the wife of C. W. Taylor, esq. M. P. of a son and heir.

13. At Kemsey Lodge, Worcester, the lady of major-general sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, bart. of a daughter.

14. In Wimpole-street, the lady of the right honourable lord Bridport, of a daughter.

16. Viscountess Folkestone, of a daughter.

25. In Grosvenor-street, the wife of the dean of Chester, of a son.

31. At the Admiralty, the wife of John Wilson Croker, esq. of a son.

— At Salton Hall, Scotland, lady Eleanor Balfour, of a daughter.

— At Porto-bello, Scotland, lady Elibank, of a son.

Feb. 4. At Powerscourt-house, Cheltenham, the lady of sir Hungerford Hoskyns, bart. of Harewood-house, county of Hereford, of a son.

At

4. At Valenciennes, the wife of lieutenant-colonel Mac Gregor, 88th regiment, of a daughter.

17. In Margaret-street, viscountess Duncannon, of a daughter.

21. In Upper Grosvenor-street, the countess de la Warr, of a son.

March 6. At Wells, the lady of the honourable Dr. Ryder, bishop of Gloucester, of a daughter.

8. At Bath, the lady of rear-admiral sir John Gore, K. C. B. of a daughter.

13. At Yeste-house, the marchioness of Tweedale, of a daughter.

17. At Methley-park, county of York, viscountess Pollington, of a son.

21. At Melbury, the countess of Ilchester, a son.

— At Chester, the wife of Rev. Richard Massie, of a son, (her 20th child.)

28. At Ham, Surrey, the lady of sir Henry C. Montgomery, bart. of a daughter.

At Brighton, the wife of the honourable D.M. Erskine, of a son.

31. In Saville-row, lady Sarah Littleton, of a son.

At Eastbourne, the wife of Davies Gilbert (late Davies Giddy) esq. M.P. of a daughter.

April 4. In Gloucester Place, viscountess Hawarden, of a son and heir.

11. In Hamilton Place, right honourable lady Emily Murray, of a daughter.

14. In Lisson Grove North, the countess of Roches, of a daughter.

22. At Clumber Park, the duchess of Newcastle, of a son.

26. At Glen Stuart, the marchioness of Queensberry, of a daughter.

28. In Cavendish-square, the lady of admiral sir G. Cockburn, of a daughter.

29. In Seymour-place, lady K. Halbert, of a son.

May 2. Lady Harriet Paget, of a daughter.

3. In Grosvenor-place, viscountess Milton, of a son.

— Of a son and presumptive heir, the wife of the honourable G. J. Tuchet, eldest son of lord Audley.

June 4. At the Chateau of Neuilly, the duchess of Orleans, of a daughter.

21. At Naples, the lady of earl Compton, of a daughter.

26. At Dalhousie Castle, lady Robert Ker, of a daughter.

30. At Geneva, the countess of Minto, of a son.

— In the Austrian dominions, princess Paul Esterhazy, lady of the Austrian ambassador, of a son.

July 2. In Hamilton Place, the duchess of Bedford, of a son.

— 15. The duchess of Modena, of a princess.

— At Lacken, near Brussels, lady Thurlow, of a son.

20. At Rosiere, near Lyadhurst, Hants, the countess of Erroll, of a son.

24. At the earl of Besborough's, Roehampton, lady Barbara Ponsonby, of a daughter.

— At her father's (the earl of Hardwicke) in St. James's-square, lady Caroline Cocks, of a daughter.

August 15. At Framingham, near Norwich, the wife of Edward Rigby, M.D. of Norwich, of three sons and a daughter.

21. The queen of Spain, of a princess.

24. At the house of her father, (the earl of Malmesbury,) lady Frances Cole, of a son.

October 4. At Clifton, the marchioness of Ely, of a son.

6. Right honourable lady Caroline Anne Macdonald, of Clanranald, of a daughter.

29. At Grmiston-hall, the countess of Hopetoun, of a son.

—At Palenham-hall, Ireland, the

the countess of Longford, of a son and heir.

November 8. Lady Charles Bentinck, of a son.

— At Stevenson's, the lady of sir John Gordon Sinclair, bart. of a daughter.

10. At Cheveley, the duchess of Rutland, of a son.

11. At Toft-hall, Cheshire, the wife of Ralph Leycester, esq. of a son and heir.

December 12. At Dublin, the countess Talbot, of a son.

MARRIAGES in the year 1817.

Jan. 6. Right honourable Joshua lord Huntingfield, of Heveningham Hall, Suffolk, to miss Blois, daughter of sir C. Blois, bart. of Cockfield Hall, in the same county.

— 11. Sir John Anstruther, of Anstruther, bart. M.P. to Jessie, third daughter of major-general Dewan, of Gilston.

13. By special license, lieutenant-colonel sir Guy Campbell, bart. to Frances Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Montagu Burgoyne, esq. of Mark-hall, Essex.

20. John Becket, esq. under secretary of state for the home department, to lady Anne Lowther, third daughter of the earl of Lonsdale.

22. The earl of Longford, to lady Georgiana Lygon, sister of earl Beauchamp.

27. At Ugbrooke-park, Devon, honourable Mr. Langdale, of Haughton, county of York, to the honourable Charlotte Clifford, daughter of lord Clifford.

29. Captain Ord, royal artillery, second son of Craven Ord, esq. of Greensted-hall, Essex, to miss Blagrave, niece to the late lady Cullum, of Hardwicke-house, Suffolk.

Rev. J. Bennett, nephew to the bishop of Cloyne, to Louisa, eldest daughter of Robert Otway, esq. of Cork.

30. Peter Herve, esq. founder of "The National Benevolent Institution," to miss Nicholls of Hampstead, daughter of the late J. Nicholls, esq. of Lincoln's Inn.

Feb. 3. Captain J. L. Stuart, of the Bengal army, grandson of Francis, late earl of Moray, to Sarah, sixth daughter of the late Robert Morris, esq. M. P. for Gloucester.

4. At Ickham church, Kent, and at the chapel at Hales Place, Edward Quillinan, esq. 3d dragoon guards, to Jemima, second daughter of sir Egerton Brydges, of Lee Priory, near Canterbury, bart. M. P.

5. Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, bart. to lady Harriet Clive, eldest daughter of the earl of Powis.

March 3. Lieut.-gen. the honourable sir William Lumley, K. C. B. to Louisa Margaret, widow of the late major Cotton, brother to lord Combermere.

18. At Desart by special licence, colonel James Campbell, 94th regiment, to lady Dorothea L. Cuffe, daughter of the late earl of Desart.

19. In the Elector's palace at Cassel, the grand duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, to the princess Maria, second daughter of the Landgrave Frederic.

20. Major-general sir Thomas Sidney Beckwith, K.C.B. to Mary, eldest daughter of the late sir William Douglas, bart. of Kelhead.

April 10. Charles, earl of March, eldest son of the duke of Richmond, to lady Caroline Paget, eldest daughter of the marquis of Anglesey.

17. Sir William Hoste, bart. royal navy, to lady Harriet Walpole, third daughter of the earl of Orford.

24. At

24. At Stutgard, the hereditary prince of Saxe Heildburghausen, to the princess Amelia, second daughter of duke Louis of Wirtemberg, uncle to the king.

29. Earl Percy, to lady Charlotte Florentia Clive, daughter of the earl of Powis.

At Vienna, general Macdonald, to madame Murat.

May 19. Honourable C. Lowther, major of the 10th royal Hussars, second son of the earl of Lonsdale, to the right honourable lady Eleanor Sherrard, daughter of the late earl of Harborough.

24. By special licence, Edmund Phelps, esq. to Anne Catherine, countess of Antrim.

— Mr. Milbank, to lady Augusta Vane, second daughter of the earl of Darlington.

— Honourable Charles Noel Noel, of Barham Court, Kent, eldest son of sir Gerard Noel, bart. to Elizabeth, second daughter of the honourable sir George Grey, bart. commissioner of Portsmouth dock-yard.

June 5. At Mr. Mitchell's house, Sigismund marquis de Nadaillac, son of the duchess d'Escars, to Catherine Maria, daughter of Mr. Mitchell, Charles-street, Berkley-square.

20. At Edinburgh, count Flahault [who was aid-de-camp to Bonaparte at the battle of Waterloo] to the honourable Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, of Aldie, eldest daughter of viscount Keith, of Purbrook park.

— At Berlin, George Sholto Douglas, esq. secretary to the British legation, to Miss Rose, eldest daughter of his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at that court.

July 5. Honourable Orlando Bridgman, third son of the earl of Bradford, to Selina, fourth daughter of the honourable general Needham, of Waresley Park, county of Huntingdon.

17. By special licence, viscount Strangford, to Ellen, youngest daughter of the late sir John Bourke, bart. and relict of Nicholas Browne, esq. of Mount Hazle, county of Galway.

31. The duke of Saxe Cobourg, brother of prince Leopold, to the princess Louisa, of Saxe Gotha.

— Viscount Ebrington, to lady Susan Ryder, eldest daughter of the earl of Harrowby.

Aug. 12. The grand duke Mecklenburgh Strelitz, to the princess Mary, daughter of the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse.

Sept. 17. At Vienna, count Joseph Esterhazy, of Galantha, to the princess Mary of Metternich, daughter of the minister for foreign affairs.

30. At Dublin, sir J. M. Doyle, K. C. B. &c. to Mary, only daughter of major Bryan.

October 7. The earl of Desart, to Catherine, eldest daughter of Maurice N. O'Connor, esq.

9. John Sim, M. D. of Greville-street, Hatton Garden, to Ann Eliza, eldest daughter of James Clark, M. D. of Dominica.

13. Major-general Darling, deputy-adjutant-general, to Eliza, second daughter of the late lieutenant-colonel Dumaresq.

16. Lieutenant-colonel D'Arcy, royal artillery, to lady Catherine Georgiana West, daughter of the late earl Delawarr.

Edmund Antrobus, esq. nephew of sir E. Antrobus, bart. to Anne, only daughter of the honourable Hugh Lindsay, of Plaistow-lodge.

Rear-admiral sir Philip Charles Durham,

Durham, K.C.B. to Ann Isabella, only child of sir J. Henderson, bart. of Fordel, county of Fife.

18. Honourable captain J. A. Maude, royal navy, to miss Albina Broderic, second daughter of the archbishop of Cashel.

21. Lord Selsey, to the honourable Anna Maria Louisa Irby, youngest daughter of lord Boston.

28. At Dresden, the hereditary prince of Tuscany, to the princess Maria Anne Caroline of Saxony.

November 14. At Culzean Castle, viscount Kinnaird, son of the earl of Newburgh, to lady Margaret Kennedy, third daughter of the earl of Cassillis.

21. At Ballenstadt, prince Frederic of Prussia, to the princess Louisa, of Anhalt-Bernbourg.

27. George Stanley Repton, esq. of Dover-street, to the honourable Elizabeth Scott, daughter of lord Eldon.

DEATHS in the year 1817.

Jan. 4. In his 77th year, sir Arthur Owen, bart. late adjutant-general in the East Indies, and a colonel in the army. He is succeeded in his titles by his nephew, W. Owen, esq. of the Temple, barrister-at-law.

10. At West-Ham, Essex, in consequence of a fall from his gig, George Anderson, esq. F. L. S. son of the late Dr. James Anderson, author of Essays on Agriculture, the Bee, and other works. As a man of genius, erudition, and deep botanical research, his death is a severe loss to the scientific world, and will be long deplored by a numerous circle, both of learned and social friends.

At St. Andrew's, rev. Dr. Robertson, professor of Oriental languages.

12. At Maidstone, aged 83, sir William Bishop, knight, the oldest justice of the corporation.

13. Suddenly, aged upwards of 70, George Harriot, esq. lately one of the magistrates of the Thames police office.

26. In Grosvenor-place, Caroline dowager countess of Buckinghamshire.

28. In his 84th year, Anthony Gell, esq. of Cheyné-walk, Chelsea.

29. At Blenheim, aged 78, his grace George, third duke of Marlborough.

At Pisa, the right honourable Francis North, earl of Guilford.

Feb. 2. Aged 85, general Carleton, colonel of the 2d battalion 60th foot, and great uncle to the present lord Dorchester.

3. At Cambridge, in his 72d year, sir Isaac Pennington, knight, M. D. regius professor of physic, senior fellow of St. John's college, and senior physician of Addenbrooke's hospital.

6. In Queen Ann-street, Cavendish square, the right honourable Catharine Anne, lady Glenbervie. She was the eldest daughter of Frederick second earl of Guildford, and sister to the late earl.

At Rufford Hall, Lancashire, the lady of sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh, bart.

7. At the Jews Hospital, Mile-end, aged 104, Henry Cohen. He was taken ill in the morning, and expired in the evening, retaining his senses to the last.

8. At Yellowfield, Devon, in her 89th year, the dowager lady Carew, relict of the late sir John, and grandmother of the present sir Henry Carew, bart. of Haccombe.

11. At his seat at Carlton, in Northamptonshire, aged 82, sir John Palmer, bart.

At

12. At Leeds, Joshua Walker, esq. M.D. of the Society of Friends; 25 years physician to the general infirmary in that town.

14. At her hotel in Paris, aged 85, the countess of Coislin, formerly one of the attendants upon the person of the queen of Louis XV. and grand-aunt of the duchess of Pie of Bavaria.

22. At Camberwell, much respected, Mr. John Walker, late of Paternoster-row, bookseller, and one of the common council of the ward of Farringdon Within.

23. At the house of Charles Brooke, esq. Long Ditton, Surrey, right honourable lady Amelia Leslie, second daughter of the late earl of Rothes.

March 7. At the house of sir Henry Halford, bart. in Curzon-street, London, in his 65th year, the rev. David Hughes, D.D. principal of Jesus-college in the university of Oxford, and many years rector of Besselsleigh, Berks.

At Rudding Park, in her 83d year, right honourable Catherine, dowager countess of Aberdeen, daughter of Mr. Hanson, of Wakefield in Yorkshire.

At Trawnstynydd, county of Merioneth, aged 110, Edmund Morgan, being, as it is believed, the oldest inhabitant of Wales. He retained his faculties to the hour of his death. His funeral was attended by his three sons, one daughter, twenty-three grand-children, ten great-grand-children, and five great-great grandchildren, and upwards of seven hundred inhabitants of that and the adjoining parishes.

At Brighton, in her 74th year, Theodosia, countess of Clanwilliam, relict of John earl of Clanwilliam, only child and heiress of Robert Hawkins Magill, esq. of Gill-hall in the county of Down. Her ladyship was grand-daughter of John earl of Darnley, and lineally descended from the illustrious earl of Clarendon.

At Gilcomston, Aberdeenshire, aged 101, John M'Bain. He was present at the battle of Culloden, and was attached to the corps brought into the field by lady M'Intosh, which made so furious an irruption into the left wing of the royal army, that they completely annihilated the first line. In this attack he received a wound, being struck with a musket-ball on the left cheek when running on to the second line after the first had been overthrown; but he said it did not disable him.

In Bolton-row, in her 75th year, Jane countess of Uxbridge.

At his house in Ipswich, at the advanced age, there is reason to believe, of 100 years, and deservedly respected, sir William Innes, bart. of Balvenie.

At their encampment at Honiton, Mrs. Boswell, sister to the Queen of the Gipsies. She was interred with great pomp.

25. Expired easily, and almost imperceptibly, at his apartments in Jesus college, Cambridge, rev. Robert Tyrwhitt, formerly fellow of that college.

27. At Halliford, Middlesex, Joseph Boydell, esq. well known as an eminent encourager of the arts, and himself a very superior artist.

April 1. At Paris, aged 71, the duke of Laval de Montmorency, a peer of France and a lieutenant-general in the king's army.

2. In Grosvenor-place, in his 22d year, Charles-Fox Townshend, esq. eldest son of lord John Townshend.

At his estate, at Ruel near Paris, after a long and severe illness, Andrew Massena, prince of Esling.

10. At Gatcombe, near Portsmouth,

mouth, lady Curtis, relict of the late admiral sir R. Curtis, bart. G.C.B.

11. At his house in Kensington-square, the reverend William Beloe, B.D. F.S.A. rector of All-hallows, London Wall, prebendary of Pancras in St. Paul's cathedral, and prebendary of Lincoln.

13. In Macclesfield-street, Soho, in his 73d year, Thomas Hearne, esq. F.S.A.

15. At Bath, in his 73d year, right honourable sir A. Thomson, lord chief justice of his majesty's court of exchequer.

18. At Mauldslie Castle, in his 60th year, the right honourable Thomas Carmichael, earl of Hyndford.

May 1. At Clifton, near Bristol, right honourable lady Edward O'Bryen, daughter of the late Paul Cobb Methuen, esq. of Corsham-house, Wiltshire.

At Aston-hall, Yorkshire, right honourable lady Mary Foljambe, sister to the present earl of Scarborough, and relict of the late Francis Ferrand Foljambe, esq. of Osberton-hall, Nottinghamshire.

2. At Paris, M. de Urquijo, prime minister of Spain under king Charles IV. and during the government of Joseph.

7. At Dunglass-house, Scotland, Helen, eldest daughter of sir James Hall, bart. of Dunglass.

8. At Carlsruhe, of convulsions, the hereditary prince of Baden, only son of the grand duke.

15. In Welbeck-street, madame de Freire, wife of his excellency the chevalier de Freire, late minister at this court from the court of Portugal.

16. At Bath, the right honourable Charlotte Newcomen, viscountess Newcomen, baroness Newcomen of Mosstown, county of Longford, in her own right.

23. At Gort, county of Galway, in his 76th year, the right honourable John Prendergast Smyth, viscount Gort, baron Kiltarton, a governor of the county of Galway, chamberlain of the city of Limerick.

At Rome, the celebrated Cardinal Maury; who was in some measure, under Buonaparte and during the capacity of the Pope, the head of the Catholic church. He fancied he saw a change of colour in his lips, that denoted his having swallowed poison; and by taking counterpoisons, he killed himself.

At Heckington, aged 65, Mr. Samuel Jessup, an opulent grazier, of pill-taking memory. He lived in a very eccentric way as a bachelor, without known relatives; and has died possessed of a good fortune, notwithstanding a most inordinate craving for physic, by which he was distinguished for the last thirty years of his life, as appeared on a trial for the amount of an apothecary's bill, at the last assizes at Lincoln, in which Mr. Jessup was the defendant. The evidence on the trial affords the following materials for the epitaph of the deceased: In twenty-one years (from 1794 to 1816) the deceased took 226,934 pills supplied by a respectable apothecary at Bottesford; which is at the rate of 10,806 pills a-year, or 29 pills each day: but as the patient began with a more moderate appetite, and increased it as he proceeded, in the last five years preceding 1816 he took the pills at the rate of 78 a-day, and in the year 1814 swallowed not less than 31,590. Notwithstanding this, and the addition of 40,000 bottles of mixture and juleps and electuaries, extending altogether to fifty-five closely written columns of an apothecary's bill, the deceased lived to attain

attain the advanced age of sixty-five years.

At Great Melton-hall, Norfolk, aged 86, sir John Lombe, bart. so created in 1783.

29. In Grosvenor-square, the countess dowager of Leitrim.

At Enfield, aged 74, William Saunders, M.D. F.R.S. and F.S.A. Fellow of the royal college of physicians, physician extraordinary to the prince of Wales, and senior physician to Guy's hospital.

June 2. At the advanced age of 103, Catherine Prescott, of Manchester.

5. At Bamborough-hall, aged 78, Henry Grey, esq. of Shoreston-house, Northumberland.

7. At Warwick, in his 83d year, the honourable James Dormer, brother to the late and uncle to the present lord Dormer.

16. At the royal arsenal at Woolwich, in his 80th year, general Vaughan Lloyd.

July 8. At his house in Curzon-street, in consequence of a paralytic affection, with which (like the great earl of Chatham) he had been suddenly seized, a few evenings before, in his place in parliament, the right honourable George Ponsonby, M.P. for Wicklow.

10. At Northumberland-house, in his 75th year, his grace Hugh, duke of Northumberland.

At Paris, aged 53, the celebrated madame de Stael-Holstein, daughter of M. Necker, so much distinguished before the French revolution for his financial talents.

At Dresden, Werner, the celebrated German mineralogist.

At Edinburgh, Alexander Carre, esq. of Caverse and Nisbet.

At Hamburgh, at a very advanced age, professor Ebeling, one of the most learned geographers of Germany, who continued the geographical works of Busching.

At Paris, M. Suard, whose loss will be sensibly felt by literature.

9. At Brighton, in her 87th year, lady Anne Murray, sister to the late earl of Mansfield.

13. At Eglinton Castle, the right honourable Hugh Montgomery, earl of Eglinton.

14. At Bath, in his 54th year, right honourable James Everard, ninth lord Arundel of Wardour Castle, and count of the sacred Roman empire.

19. In Somerset-street, Portman-square, suddenly, in his 71st year, sir William Parsons, knight, one of the magistrates belonging to the public office, Marlborough-street, and master of his majesty's band of musicians.

At Paris, in the hospital for pauper lunatics of Salpetriere, where he had lived unpitied and unknown for many years, aged 57, the famous Theroigne de Mericourt, one of the regicides, and the most blood-thirsty of the heroes of the revolution.

At Agen, aged 50, madame Toussaint Louverture, widow of the celebrated black general.

At Philadelphia, after a short illness, supposed about eighty years of age, Mr. Thomas M'Kean, formerly representative in the continental congress, one of the signers of American independence, chief justice of Pennsylvania, and nine years governor of that state.

August 1. At St. Catherine's, near Dublin, in his 86th year, right honourable David Latouche, many years one of his majesty's privy council, and for forty years a member of parliament of Ireland.

5. At Wolsely-hall, Staffordshire, sir William Wolsely, bart.

10. In Upper Berkeley-street, lieutenant-colonel the honourable W. Grey, fourth son of the late and brother of the present earl Grey.

At his mother's, the dowager

lady Burgoyne, in Oxford-street, major-general sir Montagu Roger Burgoyne, bart. of Sutton Park, county of Bedford.

At Plymouth dock, in his 70th year, sir John-Thomas Duckworth, bart. G. C. B. admiral of the white squadron, commander in chief on the Plymouth station, and M.P. for New Romney.

At Wallerstein, of an apoplectic fit, the princess dowager of d'Œttingen-Œttingen, born duchess of Wurtemberg.

In his 77th year, Leopold Frederick Francis, duke of Dessau.

At Amsterdam, the dowager marchioness of Sligo.

22. In Harley-street, in her 51st year, right honourable Frances lady Redesdale.

23. Honourable Mrs. Hugo Meynell, of Hoarcross, in the parish of Yoxall, Staffordshire, sister of the marchioness of Hertford.

24. At Herne Hill, near Dulwich, aged 49, Signora Storace, sister of Stephen Storace, the eminent composer.

At Twickenham, aged 75, viscountess Howe, widow of William lord viscount Howe.

28. At Bottleys, Surey, sir Joseph Mawbey, bart. He succeeded his father, sir Joseph, the first baronet, in 1798. He married in 1796, Charlotte Caroline Maria, only daughter, by his first wife, of the late Thomas Henchman, esq. of Littleton, Middlesex, by whom he had issue two daughters. The remains of sir Joseph were interred at Chertsey: the attempt to render his obsequies simple and without pomp was frustrated by the numerous applications from persons desirous of showing their last testimony of regard. The poor in him have lost a friend, as he performed his duties as a magistrate with unbiassed rectitude, and by living on his estate conduced to the benefit of his dependents—such is the life of a true country gentleman.

In Great Ormond-street, in his 74th year, Gamaliel Lloyd, esq.

At Chelsea, in his 70th year, George Dobree, esq. of Oxford-street.

September 7. Lady Frances Pelham, third daughter of the earl of Chichester.

8. In Upper Eaton-street, Pimlico, aged 69, Mr. John Carter, F.S.A. draftsman and architect, and eminently distinguished for his skill in ancient English architecture.

12. At Bath, the right honourable sir John M'Mahon, bart. a privy counsellor, and late private secretary, secretary extraordinary, and keeper of the privy purse, to the prince regent.

At the Cape of Good Hope, Thomas Sheridan, esq. son of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, by his first wife, the daughter of Mr. Linley; and the only child of that marriage.

In Dublin, of typhus fever, the honourable judge Osborne, fourth justice of the court of King's Bench, in Ireland.

At Orlingbury, county of Northampton, Elizabeth Susanna Frederica, born countess Wartensleben, wife of the reverend John Whitehouse, rector of Orlingbury, and widow of John Ewart, esq. formerly his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Berlin.

At Constantinople, of a consumption, aged about 50, the sultana Valide, mother of the grand Seignior.

Count Philip D'Edling, formerly grand master of the household of the archduchess Leopoldine, now princess royal of Brazil.

18. In Serjeant's-inn, Fleet-street, aged 60, William Charles Wells,

Wells, M.D. F.R.S. L. and E. who was for twenty years one of the physicians to St. Thomas's hospital.

22. In Hanover-square, aged 72, sir James Earle, knight, F.R.S. master of the royal college of surgeons, many years senior surgeon of St. Bartholomew's hospital, and surgeon-extraordinary to his majesty and household.

19 In Upper Grosvenor-street, Jane, relict of the late colonel Conynghame, sister to lady Vernon, and youngest daughter of the late sir John Whitefoord, bart. of Whitefoord.

At Kirkoim, near Stutgard, aged 61, of apoplexy, duke Louis of Wurtemberg, uncle to the king of Wurtemberg.

At St. Petersburg, duke Julius de Polignac, well known for the distinguished favour with which he was honoured by Louis XVI.

At Killishee, county of Kildare, John-Henry, baron de Robeck. He possessed large estates in Ireland, by his marriage with the baroness, daughter and sole heiress of the late honourable Richard Fitzpatrick. He is succeeded in his titles and property by his only son Henry.

At Cheltenham, in his 72d year, Thomas Bidwell, esq. who during the last twenty-five years of his life had filled the office of chief clerk in the department of Foreign affairs, into which he entered fifty years ago.

October 2. In his 85th year, Alexander Monro, M.D. F.R.S. professor of medicine, anatomy, and surgery, in the University of Edinburgh, and fellow of the royal college of physicians.

8. At his seat at Ammondell, the honourable Henry Erskine.

14. At Amelia-place, Brompton aged nearly 70, the right honourable John Philpot Curran.

16. At Soleure, in Switzerland, the brave and virtuous Kosciusko.

At Melchburn, Bedfordshire, right honourable St. Andrew lord St. John, baron St. John of Bletso.

At Lindridge, in his 72d year, the very reverend Arthur Onslow, D.D. dean of Worcester, master of St. Oswald's hospital, and archdeacon of Berkshire.

In Conduit-street, Hanover-square, suddenly, in his 58th year, John Barclay, esq. surgeon.

21. In Windsor cloisters, after a long illness, reverend Francis Roper, A.M. vicar of Sutton Courtney, Oxon, minor canon of St. George's chapel, and one of the conducts at Eton college.

At Frogmore, after an illness of five years, Esther Jane, relict of the late right honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

At Harpenden, major-general Hadden, of the royal artillery.

At Pimlico, of a paralytic affection, aged 49, Mr. James Grant Raymond.

At Paris, the comtesse Dillon, relict of the honourable general Arthur Dillon, (brother of the late viscount Dillon,) and cousin-german to Josephine, the first wife of Bonaparte.

At Vienna, aged 92, baron de Jacquin. He was one of the first naturalists in Europe, rival and friend of Linnæus.

Nov. 1. At St. Maude, near Paris, of a severe illness, in consequence of having swallowed an ear of rye on the 21st of July, in his 12th year, viscount Boringdon, eldest son of the earl of Morley.

14. At Mr. Coke's, Norfolk, in her 42d year, the right honourable countess of Albemarle.

17. At Canterbury, in his 62d

year, sir Robert Salusbury, bart. so created April 11, 1795.

9. At Paris, aged 64, count Otto, formerly ambassador from France to the courts of Vienna, London, and Munich.

27. At Paris, in his 65th year, of a mortification in his leg, which closed a long series of indispositions, Père Elysée.

Aged 72, at the Castle-inn, Salt Hill, on his way from Bristol to West Tilbury, the rev. sir Adam Gordon, bart. M.A. prebendary of Bristol, and rector of West Tilbury in Essex.

At Chelsea, in his 67th year, James Glenie, esq. F.R.S. a gentleman well known in the literary world.

At Hayti, aged 31, prince John of Hayti, grand admiral of the kingdom.

In childbed, after giving birth, prematurely, to a prince and princess (the former since dead), her imperial highness the archduchess Hermine, wife of the archduke palatine of Hungary.

PROMOTIONS in the year 1817.

Windsor-Castle, Jan. 1. Major-general Herbert Taylor, treasurer to her majesty, *vice* the earl of Effingham dec.

Mr. Barré Beresford, deputy vice-treasurer of Ireland.

War office, Feb. 11. General Francis Dundas, governor of Dumbarton Castle, vice general Drummond deceased. Lieutenant-general Baldwin Leighton, governor of Carrickfergus, vice Dundas.

Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke, librarian of the university of Cambridge.

Downing-street, Feb. 28. Major-general George Stracy Smith, lieutenant-governor of the province of New Brunswick.

Dr. John Haviland, regius professor of physic in the university of Cambridge, vice sir J. Pennington deceased; and one of the physicians to Addenbrooke's hospital.

March 22. The earl of Errol, commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

27. The earl of Macclesfield took the oaths as lord lieutenant of the county of Oxford.

Lord Combermere, governor of Barbadoes.

Dr. Lee, rector of the University of St. Andrew's, Edinburgh.

April 17. Marquis of Lothian, one of the Scotch representative peers, vice the earl of Rothes deceased.

22. Mr. Baron Richards, sworn in chief baron of the court of Exchequer, vice Thompson deceased.

May 6. Sir William Garrow, sworn in a puisne baron of the court of Exchequer, vice sir R. Richards.

Sir S. Shepherd, sworn into the office of attorney-general, vice sir W. Garrow.

9. Robert Gifford, esq. sworn in solicitor-general (and a king's council), vice sir S. Shepherd.

Whitehall, May 31. The dignity of a baron of the United Kingdom granted to the right honourable Charles Abbot, of Kidbrooke, county of Sussex, late speaker of the house of commons, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of baron Colchester, of Colchester, county of Essex.

June 7. J. Becket, esq. judge-advocate-general.

14. Lord Strangford, envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the Swedish court.

The right honourable Charles Manners Sutton, speaker of the house of commons, vice right honourable Charles Abbot, now lord Colchester.

Sir

Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, keeper of the privy purse and private secretary to the prince regent, vice right honourable J. M'Mahon resigned.

July 11. Right honourable J. Becket, sworn in of the privy council.

19. The dignity of a baronet conferred on the right honourable J. M'Mahon.

Foreign-office, July, 22. Right honourable Edward Thornton, envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Most Faithful Majesty. — Honourable Francis Reginald Forbes, secretary of legation.

Earl Bathurst, a knight of the garter.

26. The duke of Northumberland took the oaths on his appointment as lord lieutenant of that county.

Whitehall, August 29. John lord Somers, lord lieutenant of the county of Hereford, vice the earl of Essex resigned.

H. Hobhouse, esq. under secretary of state for the home department, vice J. Beckett, esq.

George Maule, esq. solicitor to the treasury, vice Henry Hobhouse, esq.

Mr. Shield, master of the royal band.

Carlton-house, Sept. 17. Lord Talbot, a member of the privy council, and lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Lord Somers, lord lieutenant of Herefordshire.

27. Lord William Gordon, receiver-general of Cornwall, vice sir John M'Mahon deceased.

Oxford, October 8. Rev. Thomas Lee, vice chancellor of the University for the year ensuing.—Rev. Whittington Landon, D.D. rev. John Cole, D.D. rev. Frodsham Hodson, D.D. and rev. George William Hall, D.D. pro-vice-chancellors.

Foreign-office, Oct. 14. Charles Manners St. George, esq. secretary of legation at the court of Stockholm.

The right rev. Dr. W. Bennett, bishop of Cloyne, president of the Dublin library, vice right honourable J. P. Curran deceased.

Rev. John Banks Jenkinson, D.D. dean of Worchester, vice Onslow deceased.

Rev. Herbert Oakley, prebendary of Worcester, vice Jenkinson.

SHERIFFS *for the year* 1817.

Bedfordshire. S. Crawley, of Stockwood, esq.

Berkshire. William Stone, of Englefield, esq.

Buckinghamshire. G. Carrington, of Missenden-abbey, esq.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Thomas Spooner, of Hillhouse, Ely, esq.

Cheshire. Sir Richard Brooke, of Norton-priory, bart.

Cumberland. Sir Ph. Musgrave, of Eden-hall, bart.

Derbyshire. T. Hallowes, of Glasswell, esq.

Devonshire. Sir Wal. Roberts, of Courtland, bart.

Dorsetshire. Sir W. Oglander, of Parnham, bart.

Essex. John Hall, of Woodford, esq.

Gloucestershire. Sir H. Cann Lippincott, of Stoke Bishop, bart.

Herefordshire. Tomkyns Dew, of Witney-court, esq.

Herts. Edmond Morris, of Charley-wood, esq.

Kent. W. A. Moreland, of Lamberhurst, esq.

Lancashire. R. Townley Parker, esq.

Leicestershire. Clement Winstanley, of Braunston, esq.

Lincolnshire. Sir Robert Sheffield, of Normanby-hall, bart.

Monmouthshire. Sir Robert Thompson, of Tinterne-abbey.

Norfolk. Henry Negus Burroughes, of Burlingham, esq.

Northamptonshire. Sir C. Knightley, of Fawsley-park, bart.

Northumberland. Sir T. J. Clavering, of Harwood Skeels, bart.

Nottinghamshire. T. Blackburne Hildyard, of Flentham, esq.

Oxfordshire. Walter Perry, esq.

Rutlandshire. T. F. Baines, of Morcott, esq.

Shropshire. W. O. Gore, of Porkington, esq.

Somersetshire. Phillip J. Miles, of Wraxnell, esq.

Staffordshire. T. Kirkpatrick Hall, of Hollybush, esq.

County of Southampton. J. Fleming, of Stoneham-park, esq.

Suffolk. Sir R. Harland, of Nacton, bart.

Surrey. T. Lett, jun. of Dulwich, esq.

Sussex. James C. Strode, of Frant, esq.

Warwickshire. The honourable H. Verney, of Compton Verney.

Wiltshire. John Hungerford Penruddock, of Compton, esq.

Worcestershire. John Taylor, of Strensham-court, esq.

Yorkshire. Sir William M. Milner, of Nun-Appleton, bart.

WALES.

Caermarthenshire. G. Lloyd, of Brunant, esq.

Pembrokeshire. C. Mathias, of Langwarren, esq.

Cardiganshire. J. Davies, of Glanrhocca, esq.

Glamorganshire. Thomas Bates Rous, of Court-yr alla, esq.

Breconshire. C. C. Clifton, of Tuy Mawr, esq.

Radnorshire. Penry Powell, of Pen Llan, esq.

Merioneth. J. Evans, of Hendremorfydd, esq.

Carnarvonshire. John Lloyd, of Trallwyn, esq.

Anglesey. Rice Thomas, of Cemaes, esq.

Montgomeryshire. R. Price, of Gunley, esq.

Denbighshire. Pierce Wynne York, of Dyffrynaled, esq.

Flintshire. William Rigby, of Northop-hall, esq.

Appointed by the Prince of Wales.

Cornwall. W. A. Harris, of Keneggy.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

THE public papers which we present to our readers in this volume, though few in number, are of great interest and importance. They consist,

1. Of the speech of the president of the United States at the opening of congress. This speech is distinguished by profound and comprehensive, as well as just and liberal, views of the policy of the United States—by good sense and moderation; and the picture which it draws of the rising prosperity of the United States, is uncommonly flattering, and, we have no doubt, accurate.

2. The finance accounts of Great Britain and of Ireland for the year ending 5th January 1817. These accounts have never before appeared in our volumes; though no papers have a stronger claim to insertion in an Annual Register. We hoped to have been able to have given also the finance accounts for the year ending 5th January 1818; but, in consequence of the consolidation of the British and Irish finances, they have not yet been prepared.

3. The report on the poor-laws. The state of the poor, the consequences of the poor-laws, and the amount of the poor-rates, constitute the besetting evil of England. No apology, therefore, seems necessary for giving this report entire. We have also added that part of the appendix which gives an account of the state of the poor, and the mode of supporting them, in Scotland. What a contrast to the report respecting the English poor, and poor-laws and rates!

Washington, Dec. 2.

This day the president of the United States transmitted to both houses of congress the following message:

Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

At no period of our political existence had we so much cause to felicitate ourselves at the prosperous and happy condition of our country. The abundant fruits of the earth have filled it with plenty. An extensive and profitable commerce has greatly augmented our revenue. The public credit has attained an extraordinary elevation. Our preparations for defence in case of future wars, from which, by the experience of all nations, we ought not to expect to be exempted, are advancing under a well-digested system, with all the dispatch which so important a work will admit. Our free government, founded on the interest and affections of the people, has gained and is daily gaining strength. Local jealousies are rapidly yielding to more gene-

rous,

rous, enlarged, and enlightened views of national policy. For advantages so numerous and highly important, it is our duty to unite in grateful acknowledgements to that Omnipotent Being from whom they are derived, and in unceasing prayer that he will endow us with virtue and strength to maintain and hand them down, in their utmost purity, to our latest posterity.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that an arrangement, which had been commenced by my predecessor with the British government, for the reduction of the naval force by Great Britain and the United States on the Lakes, has been concluded; by which it is provided, that neither party shall keep in service on Lake Champlain more than one vessel; on Lake Ontario more than one; and on Lake Erie and the Upper Lakes more than two; to be armed each with one cannon only;—and that all the other armed vessels of both parties, of which an exact list is interchanged, shall be dismantled. It is also agreed, that the force retained shall be restricted in its duty to the internal purposes of each party; and that the arrangement shall remain in force until six months shall have expired, after notice given by one of the parties to the other of its desire that it should terminate. By this arrangement, useless expense on both sides, and, what is still of greater importance, the danger of collision between armed vessels in those inland waters, which was great, is prevented.

I have the satisfaction also to state, that the commissioners under the fourth article of the treaty of Ghent, to whom it was referred to decide to which party the several islands in the bay of Passamaquody belonged, under the treaty of 1783, have agreed in a report, by which all the islands in the possession of each party before the late war have been decreed to it. The commissioners acting under the other article of the treaty of Ghent, for the settlement of the boundaries, have also been engaged in the discharge of their respective duties, but have not yet completed them. The difference which arose between the two governments under that treaty, respecting the right of the United States to take and cure fish on the coast of the British provinces north of our limits, which had been secured by the treaty of 1783, is still in negotiation. The proposition made by this government, to extend to the colonies of Great Britain the principle of the convention of London, by which the commerce between the ports of the United States and British ports in Europe had been placed on a foot of equality, has been declined by the British government. This subject having been thus amicably discussed between the two governments, and it appearing that the British government is unwilling to depart from its present regulations, it remains for congress to decide whether they will make any other regulations, in consequence thereof, for the protection and improvement of our navigation.

The negotiation with Spain, for spoliations on our commerce, and the settlement of boundaries, remains, essentially, in the state it held, by the communications that were made to congress by my predecessor. It has been evidently the policy of the Spanish government to keep the negotiation suspended; and in this the United States have acquiesced, from an amicable disposition towards Spain, and in the expectation that her government would,

would, from a sense of justice, finally accede to such an arrangement as would be equal between the parties. A disposition has been lately shown by the Spanish government to move in the negotiation, which has been met by this government; and, should the conciliatory and friendly policy which has invariably guided our councils be reciprocated, a just and satisfactory arrangement may be expected. It is proper, however, to remark, that no proposition has yet been made, from which such a result can be presumed.

It was anticipated, at an early stage, that the contest between Spain and her colonies would become highly interesting to the United States. It was natural that our citizens should sympathize in events which affected their neighbours. It seemed probable, also, that the prosecution of the conflict along our coast, and in contiguous countries, would occasionally interrupt our commerce, and otherwise affect the persons and property of our citizens. These anticipations have been realized. Such injuries have been received from persons acting under the authority of both the parties, and for which redress has in most instances been withheld. Through every stage of the conflict, the United States have maintained an impartial neutrality, giving aid to neither of the parties in men, money, ships or munitions of war. They have regarded the contest, not in the light of an ordinary insurrection or rebellion, but as a civil war between parties nearly equal, having, as to neutral powers, equal rights. Our ports have been open to both, and every article, the fruit of our soil or of the industry of our citizens, which either was permitted to take, has been equally free to the other. Should the colonies establish their independence, it is proper now to state, that this government neither seeks nor would accept from them any advantage, in commerce or otherwise, which would not be equally open to all other nations. The colonies will, in that event, become independent states, free from any obligation to or connection with us, which it may not then be their interest to form on the basis of a fair reciprocity.

In the summer of the present year an expedition was set on foot against East Florida, by persons claiming to act under the authority of some of the colonies, who took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's river, near the boundary of the state of Georgia. As this province lies east of the Mississippi, and is bounded by the United States and the ocean on every side, and has been a subject of negotiation with the government of Spain as an indemnity for losses by spoliation or in exchange for territory of equal value westward of the Mississippi, a fact well known to the world, it excited surprise that any countenance should be given to this measure by any of the colonies. As it would be difficult to reconcile it with the friendly relations existing between the United States and the colonies, a doubt was entertained whether it had been authorized by them or any of them. This doubt has gained strength by the circumstances which have unfolded themselves in the prosecution of the enterprise, which have marked it as a mere private unauthorized adventure. Projected and commenced with an incompetent force, reliance seems to have been placed on what might be drawn, in defiance of our laws, from within

our

our limits; and of late, as their resources have failed, it has assumed a more marked character of unfriendliness to us,—the island being made a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighbouring states, and a port for smuggling of every kind.

A similar establishment was made, at an earlier period, by persons of the same description, in the gulph of Mexico, at a place called Galvestown, within the limits of the United States, as we contend, under the cession of Louisiana. This enterprise has been marked, in a more signal manner, by all the objectionable circumstances which characterized the other; and more particularly by the equipment of privateers, which have annoyed our commerce, and by smuggling. These establishments, if ever sanctioned by any authority whatever, which is not believed, have abused their trust, and forfeited all claim to consideration. A just regard for the rights and interests of the United States required that they should be suppressed; and orders have accordingly issued to that effect. The imperious considerations which produced this measure will be explained to the parties whom it may, in any degree, concern.

To obtain correct information on every subject in which the United States are interested; to inspire just sentiments in all persons in authority, on either side, of our friendly disposition, so far as it may comport with an impartial neutrality; and to secure proper respect to our commerce in every port, and from every flag, it has been thought proper to send a ship of war, with three distinguished citizens, along the southern coast, with instruction to touch at such ports as they may find most expedient for these purposes. With the existing authorities, with those in the possession of and exercising the sovereignty, must the comunication be held: from them alone can redress for past injuries, committed by persons acting under them, be obtained; by them alone can the commission of the like in future be prevented.

Our relations with the other powers of Europe have experienced no material change since the last session. In our intercourse with each, due attention continues to be paid to the protection of our commerce, and to every other object in which the United States are interested. A strong hope is entertained, that by adhering to the maxims of a just, a candid, and friendly policy, we may long preserve amicable relations with all the powers of Europe, on conditions advantageous and honourable to our country.

With the Barbary states and Indian tribes our pacific relations have been preserved.

In calling your attention to the internal concerns of our country, the view which they exhibit is peculiarly gratifying. The payments which have been made into the treasury show the very productive state of the public revenue. After satisfying the appropriations made by law for the support of the civil government and of the military and naval establishments, embracing suitable provision for fortifications and for the gradual increase of the navy, paying the interest of the public debt, and extinguishing more than eighteen millions of the principal within the present year, it is estimated that a balance of more than six millions of dollars will remain in the treasury on the first day

day of January, applicable to the current service of the ensuing year.

The payments into the treasury during the year 1818, on account of imposts and tonnage, resulting principally from duties which have accrued in the present year, may be fairly estimated at twenty millions of dollars; internal revenues, at 2,500,000; public lands, at 1,500,000; bank dividends and incidental receipts, at 500,000: making in the whole, 24,500,000 dollars.

The annual permanent expenditure for the support of the civil government, and of the army and navy, as now established by law, amounts to 11,800,000 dollars; and for the sinking fund, to 10,000,000: making in the whole, 21,800,000 dollars; leaving an annual excess of revenue beyond the expenditure of 2,700,000 dollars, exclusive of the balance estimated to be in the treasury on the first day of January 1818.

In the present state of the treasury, the whole of the Louisiana debt may be redeemed in the year 1819; after which, if the public debt continues as it now is, above par, there will be annually about five millions of the sinking fund unexpended until the year 1825, when the loan of 1812, and the stock created by funding treasury notes, will be redeemable.

It is also estimated that the Mississippi stock will be discharged, during the year 1819, from the proceeds of the public lands assigned to that object; after which, the receipts from those lands will annually add to the public revenue the sum of 1,500,000 dollars, making the permanent annual revenue amount to twenty-six millions of dollars, and leaving an annual excess of revenue, after the year 1819, beyond the permanent authorized expenditure, of more than four millions of dollars.

By the last returns from the department of war, the militia force of the several states may be estimated at 800,000 men, infantry, artillery, and cavalry. Great part of this force is armed, and measures are taken to arm the whole. An improvement in the organization and discipline of the militia is one of the great objects which claims the unremitted attention of congress.

The regular force amounts nearly to the number required by law, and is stationed along the Atlantic and inland frontiers.

Of the naval force, it has been necessary to maintain strong squadrons in the Mediterranean and in the Gulf of Mexico.

From several of the Indian tribes inhabiting the country bordering on Lake Erie, purchases have been made of lands, on conditions very favourable to the United States, and, as it is presumed, not less so to the tribes themselves. By these purchases, the Indian title, with moderate reservation, has been extinguished in the whole of the land within the limits of the state of Ohio, and to a great part of that in the Michigan territory, and of the state of Indiana. From the Cherokee tribe a tract has been purchased in the state of Georgia, and an arrangement made, by which, in exchange for lands beyond the Mississippi, a great part, if not the whole of the land belonging to that tribe, eastward of that river, in the states of North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, and in the Albama territory, will soon be acquired. By these acquisitions, and others that may reasonably be expected soon to follow, we shall be enabled to extend

extend our settlements from the inhabited parts of the state of Ohio, along Lake Erie, into the Michigan territory, and to connect our settlements, by degrees, through the state of Indiana and the Illinois to that of Missouri. A similar and equally advantageous effect will soon be produced to the south, through the whole extent of the states and territory which border on the waters empyting into the Mississippi and the Mobile. In this progress, which the rights of nature demand and nothing can prevent, marking a growth rapid and gigantic, it is our duty to make new efforts for the preservation, improvement, and civilization of the native inhabitants. The hunter state can exist only in the vast, uncultivated desert. It yields to the more dense and compact form, and greater force, of civilized population; and of right it ought to yield, for the earth was given to mankind to support the greatest number of which it is capable; and no tribe or people have a right to withhold from the wants of others more than is necessary for their own support and comfort. It is gratifying to know, that the reservations of land made by the treaties with the tribes on Lake Erie were made with a view to individual ownership among them, and to the cultivation of the soil by all, and that an annual stipend has been pledged to supply their other wants. It will merit the consideration of congress, whether other provision, not stipulated by the treaty, ought to be made for these tribes, and for the advancement of the liberal and humane policy of the United States towards all the tribes within our limits, and more particularly for their improvement in the arts of civilized life.

Among the advantages incident to these purchases, and to those which have preceded, the security which may thereby be afforded to our inland frontiers is peculiarly important. With a strong barrier, consisting of our own people, thus planted on the lakes, the Mississippi and the Mobile, with the protection to be derived from the regular force, Indian hostilities, if they do not altogether cease, will henceforth lose their terror. Fortifications in those quarters, to any extent, will not be necessary, and the expense attending them may be saved. A people accustomed to the use of fire-arms only, as the Indian tribes are, will shun even moderate works which are defended by cannon. Great fortifications will, therefore, be requisite only in future along the coast, and at some parts of the interior connected with it. On these will the safety of our towns, and the commerce of our great rivers, from the bay of Fundy to the Mississippi, depend. On these, therefore, should the utmost attention, skill, and labour, be bestowed.

A considerable and rapid augmentation in the value of all the public lands, proceeding from these and other obvious causes, may henceforward be expected. The difficulties attending early emigrations will be dissipated even in the most remote parts.—Several new states have been admitted into our union, to the west and south, and territorial governments, happily organized, established over every other portion in which there is vacant land for sale. In terminating Indian hostilities, as must soon be done, in a formidable shape at least, the emigration, which has heretofore been great, will probably increase, and the demand for land, and the increase in its value, be in like proportion. The great increase of

of our population throughout the union, will alone produce an important effect; and in no quarter will it be so sensibly felt as in those in contemplation. The public lands are a public stock, which ought to be disposed of to the best advantage for the nation. The nation should, therefore, derive the profit proceeding from the continual rise in their value. Every encouragement should be given to the emigrants consistent with a fair competition between them; but that competition should operate, in the first sale, to the advantage of the nation rather than of individuals. Great capitalists will derive all the benefit incident to their superior wealth, under any mode of sale which may be adopted. But if, looking forward to the rise in the value of the public lands, they should have the opportunity of amassing at a low price vast bodies in their hands, the profit will accrue to them and not to the public. They would also have the power, in that degree, to control the emigration and settlement in such manner as their opinion of their respective interests might dictate. I submit this subject to the consideration of congress, that such further provision may be made in the sale of the public lands, with a view to the public interest, should any be deemed expedient, as in their judgement may be best adapted to the object.

When we consider the vast extent of territory within the United States, the great amount and value of its productions, the connection of its parts, and other circumstances on which their prosperity and happiness depend, we cannot fail to entertain a high sense of the advantages to be derived from the facility which may be afforded in the intercourse between them, by means of good roads and canals. Never did a country of such vast extent offer equal inducements to improvements of this kind, nor ever were consequences of such magnitude involved in them. As this subject was acted on by congress at the last session, and there may be a disposition to revive it at the present, I have brought it into view, for the purpose of communicating my sentiments on a very important circumstance connected with it, with that freedom and candour which a regard for the public interest, and a proper respect for congress, require. A difference of opinion has existed, from the first formation of our constitution to the present time, among our most enlightened and virtuous citizens, respecting the right of congress to establish such a system of improvement. Taking into view the trust with which I am now honoured, it would be improper, after what has passed, that this discussion should be revived with an uncertainty of my opinion respecting the right. Disregarding early impressions, I have bestowed on the subject all the deliberation which its great importance and a just sense of my duty required; and the result is a settled conviction in my mind that congress do not possess the right. It is not contained in any of the specified powers granted to congress; nor can I consider it incidental to, or a necessary means, viewed on the most liberal scale, for carrying into effect any of the powers which are specifically granted. In communicating this result, I cannot resist the obligation which I feel to suggest to congress the propriety of recommending to the states the adoption of an amendment to the constitution, which shall give to congress

congress the right in question. In cases of doubtful construction, especially of such vital interest, it comports with the nature and origin of our constitutions, and will contribute much to preserve them, to apply to our instituents for an explicit grant of the power. We may confidently rely, that if it appears to their satisfaction that the power is necessary, it will always be granted. In this case I am happy to observe, that experience has afforded the most ample proof of its utility; and that the benign spirit of conciliation and harmony, which now manifests itself throughout our union, promises to such a recommendation the most prompt and favourable result. I think proper to suggest also, in case this measure is adopted, that it be recommended to the states to conclude in the amendment sought, a right in congress to institute, likewise, seminaries of learning, for the all-important purpose of diffusing knowledge among our fellow-citizens throughout the United States.

Our manufactories will require the continued attention of congress. The capital employed in them is considerable; and the knowlegde acquired in the machinery and fabric of all the most useful manufactures is of great value. Their preservation, which depends on due encouragement, is connected with the high interests of the nation.

Although the progress of the public buildings has been as favourable as circumstances have permitted, it is to be regretted that the capitol is not yet in a state to receive you. There is good cause to presume that the two wings, the only parts as yet commenced, will be prepared for that purpose at the next session. The time seems now to have arrived when this subject may be deemed worthy the attention of congress, on a scale adequate to national purposes. The completion of the middle building will be necessary to the convenient accommodation of congress, of the committees, and various offices belonging to it. It is evident that the other public buildings are altogether insufficient for the accommodation of the several executive departments, some of whom are much crowded, and even subjected to the necessity of obtaining it in private buildings, at some distance from the head of the department, and with inconvenience to the management of the public business. Most nations have taken an interest and a pride in the improvement and ornament of their metropolis; and none were more conspicuous in that respect than the ancient republics. The policy which dictated the establishment of a permanent residence for the national government, and the spirit in which it was commenced and has been prosecuted, show that such improvement was thought worthy the attention of this nation. Its central position, between the northern and southern extremes of our union, and its approach to the west, at the head of a great navigable river which interlocks with the western waters, prove the wisdom of the councils which established it. Nothing appears to be more reasonable and proper, than that convenient accommodations should be provided, on a well-digested plan, for the heads of the several departments, and for the attorney-general; and it is believed that the public ground in the city, applied to those objects, will be found amply sufficient. I submit this subject to the consideration of congress, that such further provi-

sions

sions may be made in it as to them may seem proper.

In contemplating the happy situation of the United States, our attention is drawn, with peculiar interest, to the surviving officers and soldiers of our revolutionary army, who so eminently contributed, by their services, to lay its foundation. Most of those very meritorious citizens have paid the debt of nature, and gone to repose. It is believed that among the survivors there are some not provided for by existing laws, who are reduced to indigence, and even to real distress. These men have a claim on the gratitude of their country, and it will do honour to their country to provide for them. The lapse of a few years more, and the opportunity will be for ever lost. Indeed, so long already has been the interval, that the number to be benefited by any provision which may be made will not be great.

It appearing in a satisfactory manner that the revenue arising from imports and tonnage, and from the sale of the public lands, will be fully adequate to the support of the civil government, of the present military and naval establishments, including the annual augmentation of the latter, to the extent provided for; to the payment of the interests on the public debt, and to the extinguishment of it at the times authorized, without the aid of the internal taxes; I consider it my duty to recommend to congress their repeal. To impose taxes, when the public exigencies require them, is an obligation of the most sacred character, especially with a free people. The faithful fulfilment of it is among the highest proofs of their virtue, and capacity for self-government. To dispense with taxes, when it may be done with perfect safety, is equally the duty of their representatives. In this instance we have the satisfaction to know, that they were imposed when the demand was imperious, and have been sustained with exemplary fidelity. I have to add, that, however gratifying it may be to me, regarding the prosperous and happy condition of our country, to recommend the repeal of these taxes at this time, I shall nevertheless be attentive to events, and, should any future emergency occur, be not less prompt to suggest such measures and burdens as may then be requisite and proper.

JAMES MONROE.

Washington,
Dec. 2. 1817.

I.—PUBLIC INCOME OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FOR THE YEAR ENDING FIFTH JANUARY, 1817.

An Account of the ORDINARY REVENUES *and* EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES *constituting the* PUBLIC INCOME *of* GREAT BRITAIN.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	GROSS RECEIPT: Total Sums to be accounted for. £.	s.	d.	Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue. £.	s.	d.	NET PRODUCE applicable to National Objects, and to Parliamentary Grants, paid into the Exchequer, &c. £.	s.	d.
Ordinary Revenue.									
Permanent and Annual Taxes.									
CUSTOMS	11,154,879	8	8½	2,985,098	12	1½	8,169,780	11	7½
EXCISE	21,671,610	14	9½	2,657,980	5	2	19,013,630	9	1½
STAMPS	6,526,164	18	3½	341,876	7	10½	6,184,288	10	5½
LAND AND ASSESSED TAXES	7,562,411	9	7	304,504	12	5½	7,257,906	17	1½
POST OFFICE	2,207,788	4	10	547,933	8	6	1,659,854	16	4
PENSIONS AND SALARIES 1s. in the £.	23,029	18	5	453	11	7	22,576	6	10
SALARIES 6d. in the £.	14,323	14	5	663	10	4	13,660	4	1
HACKNEY COACHES	31,011	14	8½	4,515	7	10	26,496	6	10½
HAWKERS AND PEDLARS	25,038	15	3½	3,002	5	3	22,036	10	0½
TOTAL Permanent and Annual Duties	49,216,258	13	6½	6,846,028	1	1	42,370,220	12	5½
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.									
ALIENATION FINES	7,661	2	1	1,147	8	0	6,513	14	1
POST FINES	7,181	13	4½	99	11	0	7,082	2	4½
SEIZURES	14,584	0	5	-	-	-	14,584	0	5
COMPOSITIONS AND PROFFERS	608	9	4	-	-	-	608	9	4
CROWN LANDS	138,759	10	2	2,688	17	6½	136,070	12	7½
Extraordinary Resources.									
War Taxes.									
CUSTOMS	1,246,409	7	9½	238,599	2	0½	1,007,810	5	9
EXCISE	6,035,302	11	9½	1,453,664	15	1½	4,581,637	16	7½
PROPERTY TAX	12,276,870	18	3½	237,750	7	11½	12,039,120	10	4½
ARREARS OF INCOME DUTY, &c.	96	18	0		18	0	96	0	0
Lottery, Net Profit (of which one-third part is for the Service of Ireland)	252,166	13	4	17,486	0	0	234,680	13	4
Monies paid on Account of the Interest of Loans raised for the Service of Ireland	4,558,558	8	1	-	-	-	4,558,558	8	1
On Account of Balance due by Ireland, on joint Expenditure of the United Kingdom	1,184,009	8	5	-	-	-	1,184,009	8	5
On Account of the Commissioners, appointed by Act 35 Geo. 3, cap. 127, and 37 Geo. 3, cap. 27, for issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada, &c.	5,091	17	1	-	-	-	5,091	17	1
Unclaimed Dividends paid into the Exchequer by the Chief Cashier of the Bank of England	303,506	18	6	-	-	-	303,506	18	6
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices	28,619	10	8½	-	-	-	28,619	10	8½
Imprest Monies repaid by sundry Public Accountants, and other Monies paid to the Public	101,259	8	9½	-	-	-	101,259	8	9½
TOTAL (independent of Loans)	75,376,885	9	9	8,797,465	0	8½	66,579,420	9	0½
LOANS paid into the Exchequer (including the amount of those raised for the service of Ireland	8,939,802	16	3	-	-	-	8,939,802	16	3
GRAND TOTAL	84,316,688	6	0	8,797,465	0	8½	75,519,223	5	8½

An ACCOUNT *of the Gross and Net Produce of the* DUTIES *arising from* STAMPS *in* ENGLAND, *in the Year ending 5th Jan.* 1817.

	GROSS PRODUCE.	Discounts and Parliamentary Allowances.	Charges of Management and Incidents.	Parchment, Paper, and Blanks, for the use of the Country.	Returns of Duty.	NET PRODUCE.	Payments into the Exchequer.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Deeds, Law Proceedings, and other written Instruments (except Legacy Receipts, Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories, Bills of Exchange, and Promissory Notes and Receipts) and on Licences to Dealers in Thread Lace	1,958,248 4 10½	13,949 15 5	61,045 12 5	24,116 11 8	- - -	1,859,081 4 4½	1,880,646 2 6
Legacies	694,529 13 7	- - -	22,561 5 0½	- - -	2,002 5 0	669,966 8 6½	685,172 0 11¼
Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories	681,346 6 4½	7,370 19 3	12,368 11 0½	- - -	3,516 12 8	658,090 8 4½	610,442 2 2½
Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes	641,517 4 10½	4,780 13 11	16,230 15 9	- - -	- - -	620,505 15 2½	625,266 7 11½
Receipts	194,724 14 9½	9,555 15 0	5,074 16 10½	- - -	- - -	180,094 2 10½	182,459 7 10
Newspapers	350,893 15 8	65,828 19 4	3,918 6 2	- - -	- - -	281,146 10 2	281,146 10 2
Almanacks	32,694 8 9	1,255 14 0	365 1 6	- - -	- - -	31,073 13 3	31,073 13 3
Medicine and Medicine Licences	39,412 4 6½	4,261 2 5	704 11 11½	- - -	- - -	34,446 10 2	35,069 0 8½
Fire Insurances	573,212 19 2	26,222 0 7	10,120 17 2½	- - -	- - -	536,870 1 4½	536,912 9 6½
Cards	20,350 2 6	302 6 6	227 4 10	- - -	- - -	19,820 11 2	19,820 11 2
Gold and Silver Plate	77,694 3 9	1,935 7 2½	1,171 5 8½	- - -	- - -	67,588 11 7	67,558 14 2½
Dice	1,217 0 0	- - -	13 11 8	- - -	- - -	1,203 8 4	1,203 8 4
Pamphlets	728 5 5	- - -	9 0 7	- - -	- - -	719 4 8	711 5 7
Advertisements	118,202 3 4	- - -	3,785 9 1½	- - -	- - -	114,416 14 2½	115,660 5 0½
Stage Coaches	259,096 15 8	- - -	6,687 10 11½	- - -	- - -	252,461 2 3½	254,328 0 9½
Post Horses	227,424 0 8	- - -	2,539 11 2	- - -	- - -	224,884 9 6	224,884 9 6
Race Horses	914 10 0	45 0 7½	45 17 6½	- - -	- - -	823 11 10	830 7 2
	5,822,203 11 4½	135,507 14 2½	146,319 10 7	24,116 11 8	5,518 17 8	5,508,136 17 11½	5,556,184 17 6
Lottery	4,286 11 4	- - -	696 19 6	- - -	- - -	4,989 11 10	4,289 11 10

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An ACCOUNT *of the Gross and Net Produce of the* DUTIES *arising from* STAMPS *in* SCOTLAND, *in the Year ending 5th January* 1817.

	GROSS PRODUCE.			Discounts, and Parliamentary Allowances.			Drawback on Plate.			Charges of Management and Incidents.			Returns of Duty.			NET PRODUCE.			Payments into the Exchequer.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Deeds, Law Proceedings, and other written Instruments (except Legacy Receipts, Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories, Bills of Exchange, and Promissory Notes and Receipts) and on Licences to Dealers in Thread Lace	186,904	0	8	42	10	9	-	-	-	9,475	14	2½	-	-	-	177,385	15	8½	180,064	14	2
Legacies	17,153	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	813	9	6	354	00		16,389	12	1	16,580	0	0
Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories	25,452	8	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	405	0	0	-	-	-	24,693	8	10	22,010	0	0
Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes	112,985	13	1½	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,251	3	8	-	-	-	107,782	9	5½	113,070	0	0
Receipts	14,244	17	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	597	5	0	-	-	-	13,647	12	10	14,430	0	0
Newspapers	16,612	2	4	3,239	3	4	-	-	-	60	0	0	-	-	-	13,312	19	0	15,312	19	0
Almanacks	—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—	
Medicine and Medicine Licences	378	16	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5	0	-	-	-	372	11	9	290	0	0
Fire Insurances	19,242	7	7½	962	1	9½	-	-	-	10	10	4	-	-	-	18,269	15	6	18,240	0	0
Cards	—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—	
Gold and Silver Plate	4 626	16	2	115	13	3½	111	11	5	10	0	0	-	-	-	4,389	11	6	4,170	0	0
Dice	—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—	
Pamphlets	7	8	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	8	0	7	8	0
Advertisements	15,353	8	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	0	0	-	-	-	15,053	8	6	15,053	8	6
Stage Coaches	15,742	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	405	0	0	-	-	-	15,337	2	9½	14.960	0	0
Post Horses	—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—	
Race Horses	65	2	0	3	6	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	15	4	61	15	4
	428,766	1	3	4,362	15	10	111	11	5	17,334	7	8½	354	0	0	406,603	6	8½	413,250	0	0

TAXES.	GROSS PRODUCE, being the Gross Receipt, 1816.	Advances and Disbursements, under the authority of various Acts of Parliament.		Charges of Management.	NET PRODUCE: being the Payments into the Exchequer.		Total of Payments, Advances, and Disbursements, and Charges of Management.
	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Land Tax	1,203,310 4 1¼	Militia and Deserters Warrants	53,265 19 2	35,562 1 10½	Land Tax	1,108,547 11 11½	1,203,310 4 1¼
		Volunteers	1,168 19 6				
		Defence Acts	949 19 6				
		Army of Reserve	127 12 4				
		Expenses, under Land Tax Redemption Acts	3,668 8 10				
Assessed Taxes	5,696,257 3 11¼	- - - -	- - -	244,633 17 3¾	Assessed Taxes	5,451,623 6 7½	5,696,257 3 11¼
Property Tax	11,013,455 5 7¾	- - - -	- - -	224,764½ 7 10½	Property Tax	10,788,690 17 9½	11,013,455 5 7¾
Aid and Contribution	— —	— — —	— —	— —	Aid and Contribution	— —	— —
Income Tax	36 18 0	- - - -	- - -	18 0	Income Tax	36 0 0	36 18 0
Totals	17,913,059 11 8¾	- - - -	59,180 10 4	504,981 5 0½		17,348,897 16 4¾	17,913,059 11 8¾

The same for SCOTLAND.

Land Tax	31,107 14 6	Militia and Deserters, &c.	4,708 15 9	—	Land Tax	25,300 0 0	31,107 14 6
		Volunteers	- - -				
		Defence Acts	- - -				
		Army of Reserve	951 4 11				
		Population Act	50 17 5				
		Expenses under Land Tax Redemption Acts	96 16 5				
Assessed Taxes	378,515 4 3	Militia	9,187 14 2½	24,288 13 3½	Assessed Taxes	331,700 0 0	378,515 4 3
		Army of Reserve	1,063 4 7				
		Augmentation of Stipends to Scotch Clergy	9,775 12 9				
		Commissioners for the Highland Roads	2,500 0 0				
Property Tax	783,886 0 1	- - - -	- - -	12,986 0 1	Property Tax	770,900 0 0	783,886 0 1
Aid and Contribution	— — —	— — —	— —	—	Aid and Contribution	— —	— —
Income Tax	— — —	— — —	— —	—	Income Tax		

An Account of the Gross and Net Produce, and Payments into the Exchequer, of the Revenue arising from the POST OFFICE *in* ENGLAND *and* SCOTLAND *respectively, for the Year ending Fifth January* 1817: *Likewise an Account of the* PENSIONS *and* PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS *paid out of the Revenue of the Post Office.*

	Gross Produce.	Management.	Bonuses.	Packet Establishment.	Captured and Extra Packets.	Irish, with 9,000*l.* per Ann.	Irish Inland Postage.	Nett.
	£. *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*
Inland, East and West Indies, and America	1,535,022 12 1	323,471 16 5	55,154 16 2	12,302 7 11	28,601 3 6	- - -	- - -	1,115,486 8 1
Foreign	197,461 16 10	27,156 6 9	1,884 19 2	19,193 12 4	28,000 0 0	- - -	- - -	121,296 18 9
Two-penny Post	94,832 10 0	37,045 11 2	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	57,786 18 10
Scotland	192,569 4 5	41,176 18 1	11,835 1 6	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	139,557 4 10
Ireland	55,020 12 0	- - -	3,465 8 9	- - -	- - -	15,179 13 6	15,869 18 10	20,505 10 11
TOTAL	2,074,906 15 4	428,856 12 5	72,340 5 7	31,496 0 3	56,601 3 6	15,179 13 6	15,869 18 10	1,454,633 1 3

Payments paid into the Exchequer by the Receiver-General.	Parliamentary Grants.	Total Exchequer Payments, and Parliamentary Grants.
£. *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*
1,430,000 0 0	13,760 0 0	1,443,709 0 0

Edinburgh Remittances.	
	£. *s.* *d.*
5th April 1816	39,476 9 11
5th July	32,399 16 6
10th October	40,950 17 11
5th January 1817	30,947 16 8
	143,775 1 0

INCOME.	£. s. d.	CHARGE.	Actual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th January 1817. £. s. d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th of January 1817. £. s. d.
CUSTOMS:—Consolidated, after reserving the sum of £.105,000 per annum, to be carried to Duties pro Anno 1809, per Act 49 Geo. 3.....£2,626,751 17 8½		TOTAL CHARGE for Debt created prior to 1807..	21,613,206 1 7½	21,567,765 18 11½
Isle of Man Duties..... 6,180 2 11½				
Quarantine Duty 17,716 19 11				
Canal and Dock Duty..... 28,241 16 4				
	2,678,890 16 11½			
EXCISE:—Consolidated, after reserving the several sums carried per Acts 52, 53 and 55 Geo. 3, to the Duties pro Annis 1812, 1813, and 1815..£14,510,252 15 7½		CIVIL LIST:		
British Spirits, Anno 1806, Schedule A..... 292,300 0 0		For the Support of His Majesty's Household, per Act 17 Geo. 3.....	898,000 0 0	898,000 0 0
	14,802,552 15 7½	Ditto...44 ditto.....	60,000 0 0	60,000 0 0
STAMPS:—Consolidated, after reserving as directed per Acts 48, 50, and 55 Geo. 3.....£3,990,429 5 4		Ditto...52 ditto.....	70,000 0 0	70,000 0 0
Licences for selling Lottery Tickets 4,289 11 10		COURTS OF JUSTICE:		
	3,994,718 17 2	Judges of England and Wales, in Augmentation of their Salaries.....	13,050 0 0	13,050 0 0
INCIDENTS.	6,347,422 18 4½	Deficiencies of Judges Salaries in England.....	12,792 16 0½	Uncertain.
		Additional Salaries to the Welch Judges....	3,200 0 0	3,200 0 0
Surplus Duty on Sugar, Malt, and Tobacco, annually granted	1,594,112 9 8¾	John Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the Seven Police Offices	20,747 5 6	Uncertain.
Annual Malt, &c. Anno 1813, 1814, and 1815	553,428 0 0	Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. do. Thames Police Office	6,807 14 5	
Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates, Anno 1813, 1814, and 1815	58,516 7 11½	VICE ADMIRALTY JUDGES:—		
Arrears of 4s. Aid, Land Taxes, Anno 1808 to 1816	1,069,417 13 8	Alexander Croke, Esq. at Nova Scotia....	1,544 18 10½	To cease.
Income Duty, Anno 1801	36 0 0	Henry John Hinchliffe, Esq. Jamaica.....	2,000 0	2,000 0 0
Money reserved on account of Nominees appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, in Tontine, Anno 1789	23,622 19 3¼	William Territt, Esq. Bermudas.....	1,949 8 9	To cease.
		Sheriffs of England and Wales.....	4,000 0 0	4,000 0 0
		Clerk of the Hanaper	4,000 0 0	Uncertain.
		MINT:		
		Master of His Majesty's Mint in England.....	13,800 0 0	13,800 0 0
		Ditto..... ditto.....Scotland.....	1,200 0 0	1,200 0 0
		T. Morrison, Esq. Deficiency Mint Fees.....	236 10 3	Uncertain.
[This account continued over leaf.]				[This account continued over leaf.]

	£.	s.	d.
Monies paid by divers persons	1,881,594	5	4½
Amount of Property Tax, Anno 1815, remaining in the Exchequer, and not otherwise appropriated, carried to Consolidated Fund per Act 27 Geo. 3. cap 13, c. 52.	374,006	6	0½
TOTAL Income of Duties applicable to paying the Charge prior to 1807, and the Incidental Charges as they stood on the 5th January 1817	33,553,925	4	2½
DUTIES pro Anno 1807:			
Brought from War Taxes to pay the charge of Loan	603,072	4	9½
War Duties of Customs made permanent Anno 1816	596,927	15	2½
Interest, Management, and 1 per Cent. on Loan for Ireland	222,685	19	6
TOTAL Income of Duties pro Anno 1807	1,422,685	19	6
DUTIES pro Anno 1808:			
Surplus Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes..	139,793	14	0
Surplus Consolidated Stamps	150,000	0	0
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland..	148,606	14	8
TOTAL Income of Duties pro Anno 1808	438,400	8	8
DUTIES pro Anno 1809:			
Brought from Consolidated Customs	105,000	0	0
Ditto War Taxes, to pay Charge of Loan.....	472,051	13	0½
War Duties of Customs, made permanent Anno 1816	530,931	8	11½
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland..	177,156	4	9
TOTAL Income of Duties pro Anno 1809	1,285,139	6	9½
DUTIES pro Anno 1810:			
Surplus Consolidated Stamps, per Act 48 Geo 3 ..	1,32,547	10	8½
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland..	305,584	1	9
TOTAL Income of Duties pro Anno 1810	1,630,131	10	5½

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Speaker of the House of Commons, to complete his salary of 6,000 £ per annum	2,036	4	0			
Edward Roberts, Esq. an annual sum, formerly paid to the Auditor	650	0	0	Uncertain. 650	0	0
George Pepler, Esq. Inspector of Tontine Certificates	750	0	0	Uncertain.		
Chief Cashier of the Bank, for fees at sundry Public Offices	1,123	5	0	Ditto.		
For the Encouragement of the Growth of Hemp and Flax in Scotland	2,956	13	8	2,956	13	8
Messenger of the Great Seal, per 53 Geo. 3, cap 89	113	19	5¼	113	19	5¼
COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS:						
William Mackworth Praed, Esq. Chairman....	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
Sir Charles W. Rouse Boughton, Bart.	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Francis Percival Eliot, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Richard Dawkins, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
John Sargent, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
John Anstey, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
John Whishaw, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Salaries and Contingencies in the Office of said Commissioners	34,040	0	0	Uncertain.		
COMMISSIONERS OF WEST INDIA ACCOUNTS:						
John Halket, Esq. Chairman	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
James Chapman, Esq.	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
John Wilson, Esq.	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
Salaries and Contingencies in the Office of said Commissioners	6,717	17	1	Uncertain.		
MISCELLANEOUS AND PENSIONS	550,624	15	2½	449,156	8	2
TOTAL of Incidental Charges upon the Consolidated Fund, as they stood on the 5th of January 1817	1,7[illegible]4,741	12	10½	1,530,327	1	8½

Duties pro Anno 1811:	£.	s.	d.
Brought from War Taxes	235,077	15	7
British Spirits, pro Anno 1811	516,640	0	0
Foreign ditto	87,640	0	0
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1811	889,357	15	7½
Duties pro Anno 1812:			
Taken from Consolidated Excise	615,834	0	0
Additional Duty on the Postage of Letters	205,306	1	1
Male Servants, Carriages, Horses for Riding Ditto and Mules, Dogs, Horse Dealers' Licenses, Game Certificates	448,924	9	6
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland..	308,736	6	0
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1812	1,578,800	16	7
Duties pro Anno 1813:			
Permanent Duty on Customs	516,885	18	8
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland	437,269	10	7
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1813	954,155	9	3
Duties pro Anno 1814:			
Brought from Money reserved in the Exchequer, being part of Annuity to the Prince of Wales..	22,000	0	0
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland..	328,888	0	7
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1814	850,888	0	7
Duties pro Anno 1815:			
Surplus Consolidated Stamps	500,458	0	11½
Taken from Consolidated Excise { Tobacco	131,318	0	0
Taken from Consolidated Excise { Licences .. .	121,002	0	0
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland..	840,852	13	9
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1815	1,593,630	14	8½
Total INCOME of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th January 1817	43,642,116	6	4½

RECAPITULATION:

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Total Charge for Debt incurred prior to the Year 1807	21,613,206	1	7½	21,567,765	18	11½
Total of Incidental Charges, &c.	1,724,741	12	10½	1,530,327	1	3½
Total Charge for Debt incurred in the Year 1807	1,261,631	10	7½	1,261,323	11	8½
Ditto .. .. 1808....	878,055	3	0	878,055	3	0
Ditto .... 1809....	1,378,013	14	10½	1,378,013	14	10½
Ditto .... 1810....	1,276,589	10	2½	1,276,589	10	2½
Ditto .... 1811....	1,495,929	14	9	1,495,929	14	9
Ditto .... 1812....	2,216,395	8	8½	2,216,397	10	6½
Ditto .... 1813....	4,150,227	0	4½	4,151,235	1	9½
Ditto .... 1814....	3,268,802	16	0½	3,288,802	16	0½
Ditto .... 1815....	4,988,395	14	9½	4,365,619	10	2
Total CHARGE upon the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th January 1817:	44,251,988	7	10½	43,410,059	13	8½

An Account of the Net Produce of all the PERMANENT TAXES *of* GREAT BRITAIN; *taken for Two Years, ending respectively the 5th January* 1816, *and 5th of January* 1817.

		In the Year ended 5th January 1816. £.	s.	d.	Ditto 5th January 1817. £.	s.	d.
CONSOLIDATED CUSTOMS.		3,857,940	16	4½	2,731,751	17	8½
ISLE OF MAN		9,501	9	5	6,180	2	1½
QUARANTINE DUTY		18,149	2	8½	17,716	19	11
CANAL AND DOCK Ditto		30,841	9	7	28,241	16	4
PERMANENT Ditto, 1813		716,497	19	4½	516,885	18	8
—Ditto——late WAR DUTY 1809		-	-	-	1,080,077	0	9½
—Ditto——Ditto——1810 and 1811		-	-	-	47,782	3	1½
EXCISE		16,663,879	0	0	15,578,406	15	7½
BRITISH SPIRITS 1806		531,700	0	0	292,300	0	0
Ditto—Ditto—1811		526,840	10	9½	516,640	0	0
FOREIGN Ditto		87,025	19	10½	87,640	0	0
STAMPS, 1808		3,338,219	3	10	—		
Ditto—1815		2,527,196	4	7	5,965,434	17	0
LOTTERY LICENCES		3,961	6	0	4,289	11	10
LAND TAXES		1,045,536	1	6½	1,069,417	13	8
INCIDENTS.							
Letter Money		1,548,000	0	0	1,426,000	0	0
Hawkers and Pedlars		17,350	0	0	25,860	0	0
Seizures		9,445	7	2	14,584	0	5
Proffers		626	15	4	608	6	0
Compositions		-	-	-	0	3	4
Fines and Forfeitures		228	15	3	100	0	0
Rent of Alum Mines		864	0	0	864	0	0
—Ditto—a Light-House		-	-	-	26	13	4
Alienation Duty		6,470	8	8	3,049	18	8
Hackney Coaches and Chairs ..	1711	9,720	0	0	10,692	0	0
——— Ditto	1784	13,130	0	0	15,473	0	0
Windows	1766	2	15	0	—		
Houses	1778	0	16	6	—		
Arrears of Carts	1785	3	12	0	—		
Servants	——	5	5	0	—		
Arrears of 10*l.* per cent.	1798	5	11	3	—		
Carriages	1798	21	0	0	—		
Husbandry Horses	——	-	-	-	3	18	8½
Windows	1804	196	12	11	7	8	0
Houses	——	27	7	10	0	10	6
Horses and Mules	——	146	0	0	1	19	7
Horses	——	429	0	0	26	5	5
Horse Dealers Licences	——	-	-	-	1	1	0
Servants	——	63	1	9½	4	0	0
Hair Powder	——	18	17	9½	—		
Armorial Bearings	——	33	6	9½	—		
Carriages	——	231	13	6	—		
Dogs	——	118	18	0	2	8	0
10*l.* per cent.	1806	37	16	1½	—		
Consolidated Assessed Taxes	1808	6,213,639	2	9½	5,782,875	15	10
6*d.* per lib. on Pensions	1812	49	17	10	—		
1*s.* ditto .... Salaries	——	417	5	10	—		
6*d.* ditto .... Pensions	1813	800	0	0	1,292	5	0
1*s.* ditto .... Salaries	——	1,497	4	2	190	13	0
6*d.* ditto .... Pensions	1814	5,100	0	0	694	5	7½
1*s.* ditto .... Salaries	——	14,000	0	0	1,879	4	11½
6*d.* ditto .... Pensions	1815	2,550	0	0	6,180	0	0
1*s.* ditto .... Salaries	——	1,500	0	0	14,635	0	0
6*d.* ditto .... Pensions	1816	-	-	-	2,600	0	0
1*s.* ditto .... Salaries	——	-	-	-	4,000	0	0
Two-wheeled Carriages	1802	-	-	-	400	0	0

		In the Year ended the 5th January 1816.			Ditto 5th January 1817.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Surplus duties annually granted after discharging 3,000,000*l.* Exchequer Bills charged thereon.	Sugar and Malt	283,356	19	6	550,528	6	6¼
	Additional Ditto	873,368	0	0	889,844	3	2
	Annual Ditto	552,419	0	0	553,428	0	0
	Tobacco	91,924	0	0	153,740	0	0
	Land Tax on Offices	54,460	18	6	58,516	7	11½
		39,039,488	12	11½	37260,874	12	6¾
Duties Annually granted, to discharge 3,000,000*l.* Exchequer Bills charged thereon.	Sugar and Malt	2,470,362	2	9	2,993,202	12	2
	Additional Ditto	238,119	0	0	920,604	0	0
	Annual Ditto	-	-	-	786	0	0
	Tobacco	357,831	0	0	312,734	0	0
	Land Tax on Offices	16	18	4	4,016	0	0
		42,105,817	14	0½	40,192,218	3	0¾

III. TRADE AND NAVIGATION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

An Account of the Official Value of all IMPORTS *into, and of all* EXPORTS *from,* GREAT BRITAIN, *in the Years* 1814, 1815, *and* 1816, *respectively.*

YEARS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF IMPORTS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF EXPORTS.			Declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported.
		British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	Total Exports.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1814.....	36,559,788	36,092,167	20,499,347	56,591,514	47,851,453
1815.....	35,989,650	44,053,455	16,930,439	60,983,894	58,217,445
1816.....	30,106,818	36,714,534	14,545,933	51,260,467	42,942,951

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *which have been Built and Registered in the several Ports of the* BRITISH *Empire (except Ireland) between 5th January* 1814 *and 5th January* 1817, *distinguishing each Year.*

	SHIPS.	TONS.
In the Year 1814.....	818	95,946
..... 1815, being the Account delivered last Year, and now corrected.....	1,147	126,618
.....1816.....	1,051	103,765

Note.—The Return made last Year for 1815 is now corrected. The present Return for 1816 will be subject to a similar Addition next Year, as a part of the Accounts from the Plantations are not yet received.

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *and th Number of* MEN *and* BOYS *usually employed in Navigating the same, which belonge to the several Ports of the* BRITISH *Empire, on the 30th of September in the Year* 1814, 1815, *and* 1816.

	On 30th Sept. 1814:			On 30th Sept. 1815:			On 30th Sept. 18		
	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.
England	17,102	2,088,204	151,078	17,346	2,139,301	135,006	17,442	1,152,968	154,[illegible]
Scotland	2,785	241,578	17,900	2,863	254,926	18,629	2,958	263,536	18,[illegible]
Ireland.....	1,18[illegible]	61,769	5,700	1,163	60,123	5,551	1,178	63,229	5,6[illegible]
Plantations ...	2,868	202,795	14,729	2,991	203,445	14,706	3,775	279,643	16,[illegible]
Guernsey.....	65	6,928	529	61	6,662	508	65	7,237	4[illegible]
Jersey.....	62	6,794	643	69	7,519	626	77	7 992	6[illegible]
Isle of Man...	355	8,897	2,207	367	9,300	2,283	369	9,335	2,3[illegible]
Total	24,418	2,616,965	172,786	24,860	2,681,276	177,309	25,864	2,783,940	178,[illegible]

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *and the Number of* MEN *and* BOYS *employed in Navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages) which entered* INWARDS *and cleared* OUTWARDS, *at the several Ports of* GREAT BRITAIN, *from, or to, all Parts of the World, between 5th January* 1814 *and 5th January* 1817.

	INWARDS.						OUTWARDS.					
	BRITISH.			FOREIGN.			BRITISH.			FOREIGN.		
England.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1814	14,291	1,655,845	100,808	4,896	538,401	33,988	13,334	1,573,224	95,845	4,277	548,638	31,595
1815	14,735	1,761,453	104,690	4,527	610,612	35,568	14,739	1,805,409	109,567	4,089	642,258	35,256
1816	15,034	1,767,623	106,669	2,732	302,682	21,463	14,282	1,697,499	104,851	2,185	318,055	19,492
Scotland.												
1814	1,774	190,825	13,241	213	28,115	1,593	3,320	302,631	20,719	175	22,778	1,[illegible]
1815	2,116	231,697	15,337	295	45,659	2,531	3,242	300,267	20,483	196	29,452	1,645
1816	1,720	199,267	13,110	93	14,895	790	3,101	290,294	18,882	75	11,887	664

IV.—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.—Jan. 5, 1817.

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
For Interest, &c. on the Permanent Debt of Great Britain, Unredeemed; including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years	- - -	45,044,889 9 6
Interest on Exchequer Bills	- - -	2,196,177 19 3
Civil List	1,028,000 0 0	
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund. — Courts of Justice	70,092 3 7	
Mint	15,236 10 3	
Allowances, &c. to the Royal Family	427,009 4 5½	
Salaries and Allowances	60,588 3 10½	
Miscellaneous	123,815 10 9	
		1,724,741 12 10½
Civil Government of Scotland	- - -	128,514 15 1
I. The other Payments in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts; viz.		
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	247,132 14 6	
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue.....	27,700 0 0	
Militia, and Deserters Warrants	83,749 10 6½	
		358,582 5 0½
II. The Navy, viz.		
Wages and General Services	6,695,647 4 10	
Victualling Department	1,128,061 1 4½	
Transport ...Ditto	1,692,617 0 9	
		9,516,325 6 11½
II. The Ordnance	- - -	2,661,711 12 1
X. The Army, viz.		
Ordinary Services.... .. £.8,607,497 8 7		
Extraordinary Services, including Remittances and Advances to other Countries 6,171,225 0 8		
	14,778,722 9 3	
Deduct the Amount of Remittances and Advances to other Countries	1,731,139 12 11½	
		13,047,582 16 3½
X. Loans, &c. to other Countries, viz.		
Ireland	2,581,148 6 2½	
Russia..... .... £.1,096,355 17 7½		
Sicily 117,748 6 8		
Sweden 506,098 13 7		
Naples 263 15 7½		
Spain 1,121 10 8¾		
Holland 23 18 9		
Minor Powers under Engagements with the Duke of Wellington.. 9,527 10 0		
	1,731,139 12 11½	
		4,312,287 19 1½
XI. Miscellaneous Services, viz.		
At Home	3,661,300 9 4½	
Abroad	247,861 10 6	
		3,909,161 19 10½
		82,899,975 16 1½
Deduct Sums, which, although included in this Account, form no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain; viz.		
Loan, &c. for Ireland	2,581,148 6 2½	
Sinking Fund on Loan to the East India Company	132,998 10 4	
		2,714,146 16 6½
		*80,185,829 19 7

* This includes the Sum of 495,711*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* for Interest, Management, and Sinking Fund, on Imperial Loans; and 57,070*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* for .. .. Ditto .. Portuguese Loan.

V.—PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT *of* GREAT BRITAIN, *as the same stood on the 1st of February* 1817.

	CAPITALS, at £3 per Cent. per Annum.				Consolidated Annuities at £4. per Cent.	CAPITALS, at £5 per Cent.	
	Bank of England and Annuities, 1726.	South Sea Old and New Annuities, 1791.	Consolidated Annuities.	Reduced Annuities.		Consolidated Annuities.	Annuities 1797 and 1802.
	£. s.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
TOTAL DEBT of Great Britain	15,686,800 0	21,037,684 13 11½	354,763,461 2 4½	132,527,696 18 10	68,981,344 2 2	132,678,087 9 7	1,063,798 0 8
..... Ireland, payable in Great Britain	- -	- - -	42,087,625 0 0	53,768,750 0 0	5,954,375 0 0	2,222,000 0 0	—
..... Loans to the Emperor of Germany, payable in Ditto....	- -	- - -	7,502,633 6 8	—	—	—	—
.....Ditto to Prince Regent of Portugal, payable in Ditto.	- -	- - -	- - -	895,522 7 9	—	—	
	15,686,800 0	21,037,684 13 11½	404,353,719 9 0½	186,191,969 6 7	74,935,719 2 2	134,900,087 9 7	1,063,798 0 8
In the Names of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the Debt	461 11	6,692,000 0 0	18,370,161 7 11	36,852,915 10 2	16,313 17 1	17,708 11 7	3,294 15 2
	15,686,338 9	14,345,684 13 11½	385,983,558 1 1½	149,339,053 16 5	74,919,405 5 1	134,882,348 18 0	1,058,503 5 6
Transferred to the Commissioners by Purchasers of Life Annuities, pursuant to Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 142	- - - -	- - -	2,275,876 0 0	1,174,079 0 0	—	—	—
TOTAL, &c.....£	15,686,338 9	14,345,684 13 11½	383,707,682 1 1½	148,164,974 16 5	74,919,405 5 1	134,882,348 18 0	1,058,503 5 6

(*Repeated Columns.*)	TOTAL CAPITALS. £.	s.	d.	ANNUAL INTEREST. £.	s.	d.	Annuities for Lives, or for Terms of Years. £.	s.	d.	Charges of Management. £.	s.	d.	Annual or other Sums payable to the Commissioners by sundry Acts of Parliament. £.	s.	d.	TOTAL of ANNUAL EXPENSES. £.	s.	d.
TOTAL DEBT of Great Britain	726,738,848	7	6½	25,166,815	16	4½	1,303,250	14	5½	245,350	14	1½	10,545,190	6	5½	37,260,607	11	5½
..... Ireland, payable in Great Britain	103,032,750	0	0	3,194,966	5	0	129,586	6	8	28,826	9	9½	1,039,584	19	9½	4,392,961	1	3½
..... Loans to the Emperor of Germany, payable in Ditto	7,502,633	6	8	225,079	0	0	230,000	0	0	3,852	10	6	36,693	0	0	495,624	10	6
..... Ditto to Prince Regent of Portugal, payable in Ditto	895,522	7	9	26,865	13	5½	-	-	-	159	7	10	30,000	0	0	57,025	1	3½
	838,169,748	1	11½	28,613,726	14	9½	1,662,834	1	1½	278,189	2	3	11,651,468	6	3½	42,206,218	4	5½
In the Names of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the Debt.	61,954,855	12	11	1,859,268	17	4½	509	14	4	-	-		1,859,778	11	8½	—		
	776,214,892	9	0½	26,754,457	17	5½	1,662,324	6	9½	278,189	2	3	13,511,246	17	11½	42,206,218	4	5½
Transferred to the Commissioners by Purchasers of Life Annuities, pursuant to Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 142.....	3,449,955	0	0	103,498	13	0	4,420	0	0	-	-	-	107,918	13	0	—		
TOTAL CHARGE for DEBT payable in Great Britain .. .. £.	772,764,937	9	0½	26,650,959	4	5½	1,657,904	6	9½	278,189	2	3	13,619,165	10	11½	42,206,218	4	5½
Add Annuities payable at the Exchequer, Unclaimed for three years, at 5th Jan. 1817.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28,838	7	0			
													13,648,003	17	11½			
Deduct Life Annuities payable at the Bank of England	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	225,254	13	0			
Amount applicable to the Reduction of the Debt payable in Great Britain ..	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13,422,749	4	11½			

EXCHEQUER, 18th of March 1817.

WM. ROSE HAWORTH.

REDEMPTION OF THE PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT *of* GREAT BRITAIN, *at 1st February* 1817.

FUNDS.	CAPITALS. £.	s.	d.	Long Annuities at the Bank of England. £.	s.	d.	Transferred to, or Redeemed by the Commissioners, from 1st August 1786 to 1st Feb. 1817. £.	s.	d.	TOTAL SUMS Paid. £.	s.	d.	Average Price of Stocks.
Consolidated £.3 per Cent. Annuities	448,297,588	4	5½	-	-	-	86,464,495	0	0	53,953,207	5	3	62⅛
Reduced .. Ditto	303,138,022	0	1	-	-	-	185,673,777	0	0	114,746,273	0	1	61⅞
Old South Sea Annuities	24,065,084	13	11½	-	-	-	10,600,000	0	0	7,243,834	8	9	68½
New .. Ditto													
£. 3 per Cents. Anno 1751	1,919,600	0	0	-	-	-	1,039,000	0	0	728,860	10	0	70⅛
Consolidated £ 4 per Cent.....Annuities	76,777,744	2	2	-	-	-	7,796,400	0	0	6,586,934	8	9	84½
Ditto.....£. 5 Ditto....Ditto	132,820,057	9	7	-	-	-	145,500	0	0	130,113	7	6	89⅜
£.5 per Cent. Annuities, Annis 1797 & 1802	1,063,798	0	8	-	-	-	—			—			
£.3 per Cent. Ditto .... Anno 1726	1,000,000	0	0	-	-	-	—			—			
Ditto .... Bank Annuities	14,686,800	0	0	-	-	-	—			—			
				1,229,852	12	0½	291,719,172	0	0	183,369,223	0	4	
Capitals transferred to the Commissioners, the Dividends on which have not been claimed for 10 years and upwards, and which are subject to the Claims of the Parties entitled thereto	- - - -			- - - -			539,258	9	11				
	1,003,768,694	10	10½	1,229,852	12	0½	292,258,430	9	11				
Transferred to Commissioners, on account of Land Tax Redeemed, at 1st February 1817	25,290,994	3	4	—									
	978,477,700	7	6½	—									
.....Ditto....for purchase of Life Annuities, per Act 48 Geo. 3. ..	3,449,955	0	0	4,420	0	0							
	975,027,745	7	6½	1,225,432	12	0½							
Redeemed by the Commissioners	292,258,430	9	11	471	6	8							
Debt Unredeemed at 1st February 1817	682,769,314	17	7½	1,224,961	5	4½							

	£.	s.	d.
Annual Charge, per Act 26 Geo. 3	1,000,000	0	0
Reduced.....42	200,000	0	0
Ditto..... per Act 55, being £.1 per Cent. on Outstanding and Exchequer Bills, unprovided for at 5th January 1816..	260,000	0	0
Annuities for 99 and 96 Years, Expired 1792	54,880	14	6
Ditto.....10 Years Anno 1787	25,000	0	0
Life Annuities Unclaimed for Three Years, at 5th January 1817	28,838	7	0
Ditto.....of which the Nominees shall have died prior to 5th July 1802....	21,431	6	1
Dividend on £.271,907,881, at £. 3 per Cent.	8,157,236	8	7
..... 7,796,400..... 4 Ditto..	311,856	0	0
..... 145,300 .... 5 Ditto.	7,275	0	0
Annuity of 1 per Cent. on Capitals created from 1st February 1793 to 1812 both inclusive	5,601,053	9	10
Dividend on £ 3,449,955. £. 3 per Cents. transferred to purchase Life Annuities	103,498	13	0
Dividend on £ 4,420 Long Annuities, for Ditto	4,420	0	0
The Proportion of Sinking Fund on Loan raised and Bills funded, Anno 1815, to be borne by Consolidated Fund...	543,494	6	11½
	16,319,034	5	11½
Annual Appropriation on £.12,000,000 part of £.14,290,000. Loan 1807, 47 Geo. 3, cap. 55	626,255	10	5
Annual Interest on £.11,869,391 Capital, purchased by the Commissioners at £3 per Cent. on account of Ditto	356,081	14	7
	17,301,371	10	11½
Interest on £ 212,258 9s. 11d. Capital unclaimed, on account of Great Britain	6,920	19	2½
Long Annuities unclaimed, Ditto	471	6	8
Interest on £.327,000 Reduced Annuities, purchased with Unclaimed Dividends	9,810	0	0
	17,318,573	16	10

Chargeable on Sinking Fund:	£.	s.	d.
Life Annuities	225,254	13	0
Loans and Bills, funded from 1813 to 1815 inclusive	7,632,969	14	9½
	7,858,224	17	9½
Unclaimed Loans and Bills	2,213,024	18	10½
	5,645,199	8	10½

ANNUITIES fallen in since 22d June 1802, or that will fall in hereafter.

		£.	s.	d.
Exchequer Annuities 2d & 3d Anne:	Expired 5 April 1808..	23,369	13	4
Ditto..	Ditto..5 Jan. 1805 ..	7,030	6	8
Ditto, 4 Anne	Ditto..5 April	23,254	11	6
Ditto, 5 Ditto.....	Ditto..... 1806..	7,776	10	0
Ditto, 6 Ditto.....	Ditto..... 1807..	4,710	10	0
Ditto.....	Ditto..5 July	10,180	0	0
Bank Short Anns. ..	Ditto..5 Jan. 1808..	418,333	0	11
Ditto Long Ditto ..	will expire 5 Jan. 1860	1,929,852	12	0½

By an Act of 42 Geo. 3, cap. 71, such Annuities as fall in after the passing of that Act, are not to be placed to the Account of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt.

An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the PUBLIC DEBT *of* IRELAND, *Funded in* GREAT BRITAIN, *at 1st February* 1817.

FUNDS.	CAPITALS. £.	s.	d.	Long Annuities at the Bank of England. £.	s.	d.	Transferred to, or Redeemed by the Commissioners from 1st of August 1786 to 1st Feb. 1817. £.	s.	TOTAL SUMS Paid. £.	s.	d.	Average Price of Stock.
Consol. £.3 per Cent. Anns.	49,087,625	0	0	-	-		9,267,670	0	5,769,056	2	8	62¼
Reduced....Ditto.....	52,768,750	0	0	-	-		9,820,176	0	6,104,423	14	2	62⅛
Consolidated £.4 per Cents.	5,954,375	0	0	—			—		—			—
Ditto..... 5 Ditto....	2,272,000	0	0	—			—		—			—
	105,082,750	0	0				19,087,846	0	11,873,489	16	10	
Redeemed by the Commrs.	19,087,846	0	0	-	-							
Debt Unredeemed at 1st February 1817.....	85,944,904	0	0									

SUMS Annually applicable to the Reduction of the DEBT.	£.	s.	d.
Annuity at £.1 per Cent. on Capitals created from 1797 to 1815, both inclusive....	1,039,584	19	9½
Dividend on £.19,087,846 £.3 per Cents.	572,635	7	7
	1,612,220	7	4½

ANNUITIES fallen in since 22d June 1802, or that will fall in hereafter.

Bank Long Annuities will expire 5th Jan. 1860: £.129,583 6 8

Progress made in the Redemption of the IMPERIAL DEBT *at 1st February* 1817.

Imperial £.3 per Ct. Anns	7,500,633	6	8	230,000	0	0	1,920,316	0	1,160,976	5	6	60.
Redeemed by the Commrs.	1,920,716	3	0	98	7	8	—					
Dividends unclaimed for 10 years and upwards.. ..	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	3				
Debt Unredeemed at 1st February 1817.....	5,581,917	3	8	229,961	12	4	1,920,716	3				

SUMS Annually applicable to the Reduction of the DEBT.	£.	s.	d.
Annuity at £.1 per Ct. on Capitals created by Loan 1797	36,693	0	0
Div. on £.1,920,316. 3 p.-Cts.	57,609	9	7
Ditto £.400 3s. Unclaimed Capital, 3-per Cents.....	12	0	1
Ditto Imperial Anns. for 25 years.	38	7	8
	94,352	17	4

Imperial Annuities will expire 1st May 1819: £.94,352 17 4

Progress made in the Redemption of the DEBT *of* PORTUGAL, *at 1st February* 1817.

Reduced £.3 per Ct. Anns.	895,522	7	9	-	-	-	426,721	0	266,292	2	3	62½
Redeemed by the Commrs.	426,721	0	0									
Debt Unredeemed at 1st February 1817.....	468,801	7	9									

SUMS Annually applicable to the Reduction of the DEBT.	£.	s.	d.
Annual Appropriation.....	30,000	0	0
Div. on £.426,721. 3 per Cts..	12,801	12	7
	42,801	12	7

EXCHEQUER, the 18th day of March 1817.

WM ROSE HAWORTH.

S. HIGHAM.

VI.—UNFUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *and* DEMANDS OUTSTANDING *on the 5th Day of January* 1817.

	£.	s.	d.	AMOUNT OUTSTANDING. £.	s.	d.
EXCHEQUER:						
Exchequer Bills .. Provided for.....	11,650,300	0	0			
Exchequer Bills .. Unprovided for....	33,000,000	0	0			
				44,650,000	0	0
TREASURY:						
Miscellaneous Services...	1,487,743	7	7¼			
Warrants for Army Services	476,888	7	4½			
Treasury Bills	536,171	0	0			
				2,500,802	14	11¾
ARMY				731,651	12	8
BARRACKS				36,961	19	1
ORDNANCE				391,641	3	3
NAVY				1,735,731	3	1
				50,047,088	13	0¾

I.—PUBLIC INCOME OF IRELAND:

FOR THE YEAR ENDED FIFTH OF JANUARY 1817.

An Account of the ORDINARY REVENUE *and* EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES, *constituting the* PUBLIC INCOME *of* IRELAND.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	GROSS RECEIPT. Total Receipt to be accounted for.			Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, paid out of the Gross Revenue.			NET PRODUCE applicable to National Objects, and the Payments into the Exchequer.		
Ordinary Revenue.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS	2,194,714	17	11⅞	517,396	0	6	1,677,318	17	5⅞
EXCISE	4,071,344	18	2⅞	642,870	10	11½	3,428 474	7	3½
STAMPS	755,604	18	6	70,049	2	9	685,555	15	9
POST OFFICE	260.039	1	0¾	150,242	11	5¼	109,796	9	7½
POUNDAGE FEES	6,120	2	5½	-	-	-	6,120	2	5½
PELLS FEES	1,224	0	6¼	-	-	-	1,224	0	6¼
CASUALTIES	3,233	17	4	-	-	-	3,233	17	4
Total Ordinary Revenue	7,292,281	16	1	1,380,558	5	7½	5,911,723	10	5½
Extraordinary Resources.									
From the Commissioners of the Navy in Great Britain, on account of Advances made by several Collectors in Ireland for Seamen's Wages	98,708	3	9	-	-	-	98,708	3	9
From the Paymaster General of Great Britain, on account of Advances made by several Collectors in Ireland, for Half pay to reduced Officers, Pensions to Officers' Widows, &c. on the British Establishment.	15,583	16	4¼	-	-	-	15,583	16	4¼
From Great Britain, being One-third of the Profit on Lotteries for 1815 and 1816..	180,615	14	9½	-	-	-	180,615	14	9½
From several County Treasurers, per the Receiver General, on account of Advances made by the Treasury for improving Post Roads in Ireland	46,110	18	11	-	-	-	46,110	18	11
From several County Treasurers, per the Receiver General, on account of Advances made by the Treasury for building Gaols	12,376	14	4	-	-	-	12,376	14	4
From several County Treasurers, per the Receiver General, on account of Advances made by the Treasury under the Police Act of 54 Geo. 3.	5,867	18	1¼	-	-	-	5,867	18	1¼
Other Monies paid to the Public	29,779	17	2	-	-	-	29,779	17	2
Total, independent of the Loans..	7,681,324	19	6¼	1,380,558	5	7½	6,300,766	13	10½
LOANS paid into the Exchequer, in the Year ended the 5th January 1817.....	2,759,422	6	3¾	-		-	2,759,422	6	3¾
Total, including Loans.....	10,440,747	5	10	1,380,558	5	7½	9,060,189	0	2¼
Appropriated Duties for Local Objects:									
Linen Manufacture	55	3	8	-	-	-	55	3	8
Improvement of Dublin	12,552	2	8	-	-	-	12,552	2	8
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1,937	2	8	-		-	1,937	2	8
Lagan Navigation	5,474	2	5½	3,208	8	5	2,265	14	0½
Inns of Court	1,880	13	4	-		-	1,880	13	4
Light-Houses	25,530	13	9	83	4	4	25,447	9	5½
Dunleary Harbour	4,019	9	8	-		-	4,019	9	8
Waterford Harbour	824	13	3	-		-	824	13	3
Total Appropriated Duties for Local Objects	52,274	1	5¼	3,291	12	9	48,982	8	8¼
GRAND TOTAL.....	10,493,021	7	3¼	1,383,849	18	4¼	9,109,171	8	11

II.—CONSOLIDATED FUND OF IRELAND.

An Account of the CONSOLIDATED FUND *of* IRELAND, *for the Year ended the 5th of January* 1817.

INCOME.	£.	s.	d.
Balance on the Consolidated Fund remaining in the Exchequer, on the 5th January 1816	1,448,086	11	11½
Customs and Excise Duties, including Quit Rents. Casual Revenue, and Payments on account of dismissed and deceased Collectors	3,925,978	10	9¼
Stamp Duties	544,315	6	4½
Post Office Revenue	78,000	0	0
Poundage Fee	6,120	2	5¼
Tells Fee	1,224	0	6¼
	6,003,724	12	0¾
Repayments from Great Britain, for Advances for Seamen's Wages, Half-pay to reduced Officers. Pensions to Officers' Widows, &c on the British Establishment	114,292	0	1¼
On account of Advances made for improving Post Roads, building Gaols, under the Police Act.	61,140	6	10½
Other Monies paid to the Public	29,779	17	2
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES:			
On account of Loans	2,759,422	6	3¾
On Exchequer Bills	5,511,666	13	4
From Great Britain, being One-third Part of the Profit on Lotteries in 1815 and 1816	180,615	14	9¾
	14,660,641	10	7¾

ACTUAL PAYMENTS.	£.	s.	d.	CHARGE.	£.	s.	d.
Interest on Funded Debt, including Annuities and Management	5,301,852	1	2½		5,301,852	1	2½
Interest on Unfunded Debt	126,500	0	0		153,596	9	7
Sinking Fund and Management	1,562,341	11	10		1,682,209	4	6½
Principal of Debentures	-	-	-		2,225	0	0
Principal of Exchequer	2,470,550	0	0		2,470,958	6	8
Lottery Prizes	110	0	0		25,693	0	0
Discount on prompt Payment of Loan Deposits, &c	14,243	18	3¾		14,243	18	3¾
Improving Post Roads	39,289	0	6½		39,289	0	6½
On account of Balance due by Ireland on joint Expenditure of the United Kingdom, to the 5th Jan. 1816.	1,282,676	17	5½		3,187,469	11	2½
	10,797,563	9	4¼		12,877,586	12	0¾
Inland Navigations	20,154	12	9¼				
Board of First Fruits	6,500	0	0				
Depôt Barrack at Cork, part of £.3,323, granted 1815	2,000	0	0				
Record Repository, part of £.16,864, granted 1814.	3,238	18	5½				
Ardglass Harbour, in further part of £.3,190 14s. granted 1814	103	17	1		Unascertained.		
Dunleary Harbour, advanced pursuant to 56 Geo. 3, ch 62.	30,000	0	0				
Civil List	217,878	9	7				
Pensions to the 25th March 1813	75	0	0				
Permanent Parliament Payments	366,113	5	10½				
Grants for Military Purposes	2,508,827	15	4½				
Vote of Credit, Arrear of 1815	20,261	9	9½				
Grants for Civil Purposes	560,629	0	2½				
	14,533,345	18	6¼		Unascertained.		
SURPLUS of the Consolidated Fund, on 5th Jan. 1817	127,295	12	1½				
	14,660,641	10	7¾				

III.—TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

An Account of the Value of all IMPORTS *into, and all* EXPORTS *from,* IRELAND, *for Three Years ending 5th January* 1817.

	OFFICIAL VALUE OF IMPORTS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF Foreign and Colonial Merchandise Exported.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Year ending 5th January 1815	7,243,043 2 11½	6,558,103 19 4½	581,332 13 3½
5th January 1816	6,106,877 12 5½	6,742,905 5 2	333,217 17 9½
5th January 1817	5,084,890 13 2½	6,455,943 5 2	247,856 12 11

Note.—The real Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1817, computed at the Average Prices current, amounted to.....£.9,111,766 6s. 9½.

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *that were Built and Registered in the several Ports of* IRELAND, *in the Three Years ending 5th January* 1817; *distinguishing each Year.*

	VESSELS.	TONNAGE.
Year ending 5th January 1815.....	46	1,973
1816.....	36	1,922
1817.....	41	1,985

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *and the Number of* MEN *and* BOYS *usually employed in Navigating the same, which belonged to the several Ports of* IRELAND, *on the 30th of September* 1816.

VESSELS.	TONS.	MEN and BOYS.
1,178	63,229	5,681

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *and the Number of* MEN *and* BOYS *employed in Navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages) that entered* INWARDS *and cleared* OUTWARDS, *in the several Ports of* IRELAND, *from or to all Parts of the World, in the Three Years ending 5th Jan.* 1817.

	INWARDS. IRISH.			BRITISH.			FOREIGN.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Years ending 5th January 1815....	2,066	142,690	9,282	7,880	707,232	40,379	296	54,755	2,990
1816....	2,314	157,283	10,175	7 984	693,107	39,921	501	92.474	5,037
1817....	2,016	143,687	9,377	7,864	690,165	39,696	323	68,674	3,441
	OUTWARDS.								
Years ending 5th January 1815....	1,937	139,302	9,118	7,690	693,422	40,130	274	50,708	2,617
1816....	2,187	153,354	9,917	7,782	684,179	39,259	514	98,115	5,107
1817....	1,931	139,827	9,058	7,200	641,205	36480	350	75,546	3,633

IV.—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE OF IRELAND,

IN THE YEAR ENDED FIFTH JANUARY 1817.

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
I. For Interest on the Funded Debt of Ireland, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years also £.1 per Cent. for the Reduction of the Capital, created by Loans since 1797	6,766,239 6 4½		
For Charge of Management thereon	- - -	30,305 5 8	
There was applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt...	67,649 1 0		
	6,833,888 7 4½		
Whereof was applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt.	2,434,427 13 1½		
Total on Account of Interest	4,399,460 14 2½		
Ditto for Charge of Management..	30,305 5 8		
Ditto on account of the Reduction of the National Debt	2,434,427 13 1½		
		.. - -	6,864,193 13 9½
II. For Interest on Exchequer Bills		- - -	126,500 0 0
III. Issues for the separate Service of Ireland		- - -	3,886,869 16 2½
IV. Issues from Appropriated Funds for Local Purposes..		- - -	43,590 12 2½
V. Civil List		217,878 9 7	
Pensions to the 25th March 1818		75 0 0	
Other Permanent Charges		366,113 5 10½	
			584,068 15 5½
VI. Payments in Anticipation of Exchequer Receipts; viz.			
Bounties from Customs 27,625 13 9			
Bounties from Excise 465 16 8			
		28,091 10 5	
Militia, Deserters' Warrants, &c. from Excise ..		7,432 5 2½	
			35,523 15 7½
VII. Ordnance		- - -	140,000 0 0
VIII. Army—Ordinary Services, viz.			
Regulars, Militia, and Volunteer Corps, &c. ..		1,398,681 3 11½	
Commissariat Establishment		206,052 8 3½	
Barracks		193,577 15 5½	
Staff Officers and Officers of Garrisons		71,205 4 1½	
Half-pay, Supernumerary, and Retired Officers.		41,135 17 8	
Officers' Widows		16,723 5 1½	
Royal Hospital, Kilmainham		121,043 4 5½	
Public Officers, their Deputies, Clerks, and contingent Expenses		10,785 1 9½	
Superannuated Officers'		5,306 15 11½	
Disembodied Militia		108,130 0 0	
		2,172,640 16 9½	
Extraordinary Services		196,186 18 7½	
			2,368,827 15 4½
IX. Miscellaneous Services		.. .. ..	592,626 8 6½
Lastly, Vote of Credit, Arrear of 1815		.. .. ..	20,261 9 9½
			14,612,560 6 4½

V.—PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT OF IRELAND,

AS THE SAME STOOD ON THE FIFTH JANUARY 1817.

	British Currency. £. s. d.	Irish Currency. £. s. d.
SUM Raised	100,639,833 9 7	—
PAYABLE IN DUBLIN.		
£.8. 10s. per Cent. per Annum	- - - -	15,149,058 17 1
4 per Cent per Annum	- - - -	835,600 0 0
5 per Cent. per Annum	- - - -	11,944,296 15 9
PAYABLE IN LONDON.		
5 per Cent. per Annum	- - - -	1,873,412 4 11
3 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities	42,087,625 0 0	45,594,927 1 8
3 per Cent. Reduced Annuities	52,768,750 0 0	57,166,145 16 8
4 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities	5,954,375 0 0	6,450,572 18 4
5 per Cent. Navy Annuities	2,220,000 0 0	2,407,166 13 4
ANNUAL CHARGE.		
Annual Interest	4,716,599 19 0½	
Annuities on Lives or Terms of Years	188,049 18 10	
Pursuant to Act 37 Geo. 3. for Redemption of Debt then existing	139,816 14 8	
By Acts providing £.1 per Cent. for redemption of Debts created since 1797	1,409,124 2 11	Total Principal:
Total of Annual Expense	6,453,530 15 5½	141,441,180 7 9

An Account of the Progress made in the REDEMPTION *of the* PUBLIC DEBT *of* IRELAND, *at the 5th January* 1817.

FUNDS.	CAPITALS. £. s. d.	Redeemed by the Commissioners, from 1st January 1797 to 5th January 1817. £. s. d.	TOTAL SUMS. Paid. £. s. d.	Average Price of Stocks. £. s. d.
5 per Cents.	15,569,797 18 4	1,862,472 18 11	1,665,648 7 4	89 8 7
4 per Cents.	1,097,100 0 0	471,450 0 0	447,759 2 10	88 12 8
3½ per Cents.	17,380,972 17 1	6,478,739 13 8	4,893,114 1 7	75 10 6
Deduct capitals cancelled per 56 Geo. 3, cap. 89, for defraying the Gross Charge of £.3,041,666. 13s. 4d. Treasury Bills raised in 1816.....	34,047,870 15 5 4,378,486 0 0	8,812,662 12 7 4,378,486 0 0	6,976,521 11 9	79 3 3
Actual State of Debt..	29,669,384 15 5	4,434,176 12 7		

Sums Annually applicable to the REDUCTION *of the* DEBT, *funded in Irish Securities.*

	Irish Currency. £.	s.	d.
Annual Charge, per Act 37 Geo. 3, for Redemption of £.5,829,156. 13s. 4d. the Debt then existing	67,649	1	0
Annuities for Years, which have expired	72,167	13	8
£.1 per Cent. on £.28,218,714. 2s. 1d. Capitals created from 1797 to 1815, inclusive	282,187	2	9
£.1 per Cent. on £ 2,705,000 Treasury Bills, outstanding 5th January 1816....	27,050	0	0
Annual Interest on £.1,862,472. 18s. 11d. Redeemed Capital at 5 per Cent.	93,123	12	11
....Ditto.... on £.471,450. ..... Ditto....Ditto.... at 4 per Cent.	18,858	0	0
....Ditto.... on £.6,478,739. 13s. 8d. Ditto....Ditto.... at 3½ per Cent.	226,755	17	9
	787,791	8	1
Chargeable on Sinking Fund, per 56 Geo. 3, cap. 89, for £.3,041,666 13s. 4d. Treasury Bills, raised in 1816 .... 182,500 11 9½			
Deduct £.1 per Cent. for Sinking Fund for said Bills 30,416 13 4			
	152,083	18	5½
Actual Sinking Fund, at 5th January 1817	635,707	9	7½

VI.—UNFUNDED DEBT OF IRELAND.

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *of* IRELAND, *and* DEMANDS OUTSTANDING *on the 5th of Day January* 1817.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
LOAN DEBENTURES.						
Residue of Debentures bearing £.4 per Cent. Interest, to the Year 1788, provided for by the 27 and 28 Geo. 3, but unclaimed by the Proprietors; viz.						
Old Loan	275	0	0			
Loan by Lottery 1780	1,220	0	0			
Loan by Lottery 1781	730	0	0			
				2,225	0	0
TREASURY BILLS.						
Outstanding Treasury Bills provided for by several Acts of Parliament, but unclaimed by the Proprietors; viz.						
Payable 24 June 1783	8	6	8			
24 June 1790	50	0	0			
24 June 1791	100	0	0			
24 June 1801	50	0	0			
25 March 1803	100	0	0			
25 March 1816	100	0	0			
TREASURY BILLS not in course of Payment.						
Issued pursuant to 53 Geo. 3, c.61. payable 25 March 1817	235,000	0	0	[406	6	8
56 Geo. 3, c. 41, payable 24 Dec. 1817	1,000,000	0	0			
56 Geo. 3, c. 41, payable 25 March 1818	300,000	0	0			
56 Geo. 3, c. 41, payable 9 Oct. 1818	574,166	13	4			
56 Geo. 3, c. 41, payable 4 Jan. 1817	595,833	6	8			
56 Geo. 3, c. 42, payable 4 July 1817	1,033,333	6	8			
56 Geo. 3, c. 42, payable 9 Oct. 1817	758,333	6	8			
56 Geo. 3, c. 47, payable 4 Jan. 1818	325,000	0	0			
56 Geo. 3, c. 47, payable 24 June 1818	875,000	0	0			
				5,746,666	13	4
LOTTERY PRIZES.						
Outstanding Lottery Prizes of the several Lotteries from 1782 to 1801.....				25,583	0	0
				5,774,883	0	0

REPORT FROM THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE POOR LAWS.

The select committee appointed to consider of the poor laws, and to report their observations thereupon from time to time to the house,—have, pursuant to the order of the house, considered the same accordingly, and agreed to the following report:

Your committee have forborne to avail themselves of the permission to report their observations from time to time to the house, from the persuasion that they could not do justice to so extensive and intricate a subject, by presenting it in detached parts, before they had the means of taking a deliberate view of the whole; and not seeing it probable that they could recommend any such alteration of the existing laws, as would afford immediate relief in those cases of severe and urgent pressure, which can scarcely be deemed to have arisen out of the ordinary operation of this system, they could not feel themselves justified in offering any suggestions hastily to the house, on questions of acknowledged difficulty, enhanced in a high degree by the circumstances of the times, and on which they cannot but recollect, that the remedial efforts of the most able and enlightened men have practically failed.

In bringing under the view of the house the whole of this system of laws, they feel it unnecessary to refer minutely to the statutes which passed antecedent to the reign of queen Elizabeth. It may be sufficient to state, that they were generally directed to the relief of the impotent poor, by the contributions of the church and the alms of the charitable, and to the suppression of vagrancy and idleness; for while permission to solicit support from private benevolence was given to those who were disabled by age or infirmity, it became probably extremely difficult to repress the same practice in others, who "as long as they might live by begging, did refuse to labour, giving themselves to idleness and vice," (23 Ed. 3.) Enactments the most harsh were therefore provided against "strong beggars, persons whole and mighty in body," and the relentless rigour of these laws, which was consummated in the first year of Edw. VI. visited the offence of vagrancy with the barbarous penalties of slavery, mutilation, and death. And although these severities were somewhat relaxed, even before the expiration of that short reign, yet they did not wholly give way to a milder system till the beginning of the last century, (12 Ann. st. 2. c. 23.)

The impotent poor, on the other hand, were permitted to beg within certain districts, and no means of exhortation were spared to excite the people "to be liberal, and bountifully to extend their good and charitable alms towards the comfort and relief of the poor, impotent, decrepit, indigent and needy people," (12 Ann. st. 2. c. 7. 11 H. 7. c. 2. 19 H. 7. c. 12. 22 H. 8. 27 H. 8. c. 25. 1 Ed. 6. c. 3. 3 & 4 Ed. 6. c. 16. 5 & 6 Ed. 6. c. 2. 5 Eliz. c. 3.) Subsequent statutes in the reign of Edw. VI. were directed to the same object, till at length, by the 5 Eliz. c. 3. upon the exhortation of the priest, bishop, and justices in sessions, having been directed in vain to those who were unwilling to contribute, the justices, after repeated admonition, were empowered with the churchwardens to assess such persons according to their dis-

discretion, for a weekly contribution. Thus gradually was established a general and compulsory provision for the maintenance of the impotent poor; it was modified and extended by various successive enactments, and at length matured and consolidated by the statute of the 43d of the same reign, which continues to this day the fundamental and operative law on this important subject, (14 Eliz. c. 5. 18 Eliz. c. 3. 39 Eliz. c. 3.)

This statute enacts, that "the churchwardens and overseers" shall take order from time to time (with the consent of two or more justices) for setting to work the children of all such whose parents shall not be thought able to keep and maintain their children; and also for setting to work all such persons, married or unmarried, having no means to maintain them, and using no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their living by; and also to raise by taxation, &c. "a convenient stock of flax, &c. to set the poor on work;" and also competent sums of money for and towards the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them, being poor and not able to work."

This new and important principle of compulsory provision for the impotent, and for setting to work the able, originated without doubt in motives of the purest humanity, and was directed to the equitable purpose of preventing this burthen falling exclusively upon the charitable. But such a compulsory contribution for the indigent, from the funds originally accumulated from the labour and industry of others, could not fail in process of time, with the increase of population which it was calculated to foster, to produce the unfortunate effect of abating those exertions on the part of the labouring classes, on which, according to the nature of things, the happiness and welfare of mankind has been made to rest. By diminishing this natural impulse by which men are instigated to industry and good conduct, by superseding the necessity of providing in the season of health and vigour for the wants of sickness and old age, and by making poverty and misery the conditions on which relief is to be obtained, your committee cannot but fear, from a reference to the increased numbers of the poor, and increased and increasing amount of the sums raised for their relief, that this system is perpetually encouraging and increasing the amount of misery it was designed to alleviate, creating at the same time an unlimited demand on funds which it cannot augment; and as every system of relief founded on compulsory enactments must be divested of the character of benevolence, so it is without its beneficial effects: as it proceeds from no impulse of charity, it creates no feelings of gratitude, and not unfrequently engenders dispositions and habits calculated to separate rather than unite the interests of the higher and lower orders of the community; even the obligations of natural affection are no longer left to their own impulse, but the mutual support of the nearest relations has been actually enjoined by a positive law, which the authority of magistrates is continually required to enforce. The progress of these evils, which are inherent in the system itself, appears to have been favoured by the circumstances of modern times, by an extension of the law in practice, and by some deviations from its most important provisions. How much of the complaints which have been referred to your committee may be attributable to one cause or

or the other, it is perhaps not easy to ascertain. The result however appears to have been highly prejudicial to the moral habits, and consequent happiness, of a great body of the people, who have been reduced to the degradation of a dependence upon parochial support; while the rest of the community, including the most industrious class, has been oppressed by a weight of contribution taken from those very means which would otherwise have been applied more beneficially to the supply of employment. And, as the funds which each person can expend in labour are limited, in proportion as the poor rate diminishes those funds, in the same proportion will the wages of labour be reduced, to the immediate and direct prejudice of the labouring classes; the system thus producing the very necessity which it is created to relieve. For whether the expenditure of individuals be applied directly to labour, or to the purchase of conveniences or superfluities, it is in each case employed immediately or ultimately in the maintenance of labour.

This system, it is also to be remarked, is peculiar to Great Britain; and even in Scotland, where a law similar in principle was about the same period enacted, the intelligent persons to whom the administration of it has been intrusted, appear, by a valuable report (for which your committee are lately indebted to the prompt exertions of the general assembly of the church of Scotland), to have possessed so much foresight and judgement as to its effects, that they have very generally and successfully endeavoured to avoid having recourse to its provisions for a compulsory assessment. Their funds, therefore, continue to be derived, except in comparatively few places, from charity, and are dispensed with that sound discrimination, which in the ordinary transactions of life belongs to real benevolence; and the committee of the general assembly state, "that it is clear to them, that in almost all the country parishes which have hitherto come under their notice, where a regular assessment has been established, the wants of the poor and the extent of the assessment have gradually and progressively increased from their commencement; and that it does appear to be a matter of very serious interest to the community at large, to prevent as far as possible this practice from being generally adopted—to limit the assessments as much as they can be limited, where the circumstances of particular parishes render them unavoidable, and whenever it is practicable to abandon them."

Under this impression, respecting the effect of a system, which having been in operation upwards of two centuries, has become interwoven with the habits and very existence of a large class of the community, your committee have anxiously endeavoured to devise such means as may be calculated, by their gradual operation, to revive, with habits of industry and frugality, those moral feelings in the people which are intimately connected with their self-support and independence; and further, to correct any such defects in the mode in which the law has been executed, as may have tended to create or aggravate the evils to which they have referred. With these views, they have felt it their duty to consider maturely every plan which has either suggested itself to your committee, or which has at various times been proposed by the most eminent persons, who have devoted their attention and efforts

forts to the amelioration of this part of our law; and such suggestions as may seem worthy, either of the adoption or consideration of the house, your committee will notice as they arise, on the consideration of the subject in detail, as it relates to the assessment and the purposes for which it is levied.

Before your committee proceed to these considerations, they must lament that it has yet been found impossible to reduce the returns made under the 55th of the king, to the shape in which they should be presented to parliament; even the abstract of the expenditure could only very recently be completed, from the tardiness with which the statute has been executed in no less than 854 parishes. From the want of the details of these returns, they have been deprived of a large mass of the most valuable, and for some purposes indispensable information; they have been compelled to make new and otherwise unnecessary inquiries, and they are still without the means of presenting to the house, any view of the comparative increase or diminution of this expenditure in different parts of the kingdom.

What might have been the amount of the assessments for the poor during the 17th or 18th centuries, the committee have no means of ascertaining; for although the preamble of 13 and 14 Charles II. (c. 12.) states "the necessity, number, and continual increase of the poor, to be very great and exceeding burthensome;" and in the year 1699, king William thus expressed himself in a speech from the throne; "The increase of the poor is become a burthen to the kingdom; and their loose and idle life does in some measure contribute to that depravation of manners which is complained of, I fear with too much reason; whether the ground of this evil be from defects in the laws already made, or in the execution of them, deserves your consideration;" and though complaints appear continually to have been since made of the increasing numbers of the poor, yet it was not till the present reign, in the year 1776, that authentic accounts of this expenditure were required under the authority of the legislature. From the returns made under acts passed in that and subsequent years, it appears that in 1776 the whole sum raised was 1,720,316*l.*, of which there was expended on the poor 1,556,804*l.* On the average of the years 1783, 1784 and 1785, the sum raised was 2,167,749*l.*, expended on the poor 2,004,238. In 1803 the sum raised was 5,348,205*l.*, expended on the poor 4,267,965*l.* In 1815, 7,068,999*l.*, expended on the poor 5,072,028*l.* The excess above the sum applied to the poor was expended in church rates, county rates, highway and militia; and it appears from the evidence before your committee, that the amount of the sums assessed is largely increased since those last returns; a part of which increase cannot fail to have arisen from the peculiar pressure and difficulty of the times, aggravated by the high prices incident to the calamity of a deficient harvest. But independent of the pressure of any temporary or accidental circumstances, and making every allowance for an increased population, the rise in the price of provisions and other necessaries of life, and a misapplication of part of these funds, it is apparent that both the number of paupers, and the amount of money levied by assessment, are progressively increasing; while the situation of the poor appears not to have been

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in a corresponding degree improved; and the committee is of opinion, that whilst the existing poor laws, and the system under which they are administered, remain unchanged, there does not exist any power of arresting the progress of this increase, till it shall no longer be found possible to augment the sums raised by assessment.

For if the means could be found to distribute the burthen more equally, by rendering the interest of money and the profits of stock, liable to the assessment; these funds being also in themselves limited, must finally be absorbed by the increasing and indefinite amount of the demand. It having, however, been strongly pressed upon the house and the committee, in petitions from various quarters, to devise some better means than now exist, of bringing the income derived from personal property in aid of this assessment, which is now nearly confined in practice to the revenue arising from land and houses, and bears undoubtedly with unequal pressure on the occupier of land, the committee have given their most attentive consideration to this subject. They find that the only enactment which regulates the description of persons and property subject to the rate, is the original clause in the 43 Eliz. which directs the churchwardens and overseers "to raise weekly or otherwise 'by taxation of every inhabitant, parson, vicar and others, and of every occupier of land, houses, tithes impropriate, proportions of tithes, coalmines, or saleable underwoods in the said parish, in such competent sum and sums of money as they shall think fit,' a convenient stock of flax, &c. to set the poor on work; and also competent sums for and towards the relief of the lame, impotent, &c. to be gathered out of the same parish, according to the ability of the same parish." Without troubling the house with the numerous, and in some instances contradictory decisions, of the courts of law upon this short enactment, it will be sufficient to state, that the intention of the statute to tax the inhabitants of the parish for their local and visible property, as well as the occupiers of land, has been recognised as indisputable; and if in practice the burthen has been imposed almost exclusively on land and houses, it has not arisen from the taxation of personal property being either illegal or unjust, but from the insurmountable difficulty of ascertaining legally the amount, or even existence, of a species of property, to which in truth the terms local and visible seem scarcely to apply. The intention of the legislature therefore to bring into equal contribution all species of income, has failed in this instance, as it has done subsequently under the original land tax act, which was designed in its first establishment as a tax on all income,—and from the same cause, namely, the difficulty of ascertaining with any reasonable precision, the amount of the contribution without the exercise of powers which the exigency of the state in time of war, has alone induced the legislature to grant. The committee conceive therefore that the house would deem the equalization of the poor rate, if practicable, purchased too dearly at such a price. There is however one species of income derived from personal property, the dividends payable to the public creditor, which, though it has been decided not to come within the existing law, as being neither local nor visible, is yet free certainly from the above difficulties, and, if it presented

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no others, would afford a facility of assessment which has naturally suggested it as a convenient source of contribution. But without considering in what proportions a sum raised by an assessment on such property should be distributed among all the parishes of England and Wales, to none of which it has any local relation, it is a far more important question for the consideration of the house, whether justice and good faith to the public creditor would permit the income derived from this one species of personal property alone to be taxed, in direct violation of the clause in every loan act, by which the payment of the dividends is secured, "free from all taxes, charges and impositions," when almost all other property of a similar description is practically exempted. In the case of the income tax, the profits from all personal property were brought into equal contribution for the general purposes of the empire; in this instance it is proposed to select one species of such property for taxation, which has been by law specially exempted, and to apply it in aid of the disbursement in local districts, in the control and administration of which this class of contributors would alone have no share. It must be recollected also, that even the general tax on income did not attach on the dividends due to a foreigner; and that the stockholders, inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland, must be considered, with reference to the poor rate, in the same light. Nor can the committee think, that either justice or policy would permit a tax to be imposed on money lent to the state, while sums at interest on other securities remain practically exempt.

If, therefore, it should be deemed neither practicable to provide the means for rating all personal property, nor wise or just to select one species of such property, so circumstanced, for taxation; it may still be considered, whether any other means could be devised of correcting the inequality of the assessment, in parishes in which the occupier of land now bears the principal part of the burthen. As each householder is likely to burthen the parish in proportion to the number of persons he employs in his service, it has been suggested, that it would be equitable that his contribution to the poor rate should bear some proportion to that number. An obvious objection, however, to any such arrangement presents itself, in the case of the numerous persons employed by manufacturers; and from the possibility of such a principle of assessment creating, in other cases also, some discouragement to employment. But if this or any other expedient on a similar principle could be adopted, which would bring other property in aid of the land, it would in that case become doubly necessary to provide effectually against the mischief of a practice, to which the committee must more particularly advert hereafter, of making up the deficiency of the wages of labour out of the poor rate. While that rate is derived chiefly from land, the occupier pays, in the shape of poor rate, what should be more properly paid in wages; he still, however, throws some share of the burthen of the maintenance of his labourers on other contributors, according to their share of the rate. But if personal property were brought effectually in aid, the mischief of this practice would become of intolerable magnitude, and would produce, perhaps, more injustice than the present inequality of the rate.

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In large towns little inequality in the mode of assessment might be expected to prevail; but various representations have been made to your committee, of a large proportion of property necessarily escaping its share of contribution, from tenements being of small value, rented for short periods, and the occupiers, who alone can be rated under the existing law, either quitting their residence before the rate can be collected, or being too poor to admit of the rate being levied; while, it is represented, the proprietors find no difficulty in securing a rent, which is increased in the exact proportion of the amount of the rate which is due, but impossible to collect. In these cases the deficiencies arising from this cause must be added to the succeeding rate, and paid by the more industrious class of occupiers. This complaint is not new to the house, their attention having been called to the subject by the application from the town of Birmingham, for relief from this alleged grievance; and though the house rejected a proposed bill, for rating the owners of such tenements in that town, in default of payment by the occupiers; yet as that vote might have proceeded from the provision being proposed to be local, which, if expedient, the house might have thought should be general, the committee feel it their duty to represent, that similar applications have been made to them from other quarters, from Bristol, Brighthelmstone, Hull, Manchester, Portsea, and Coventry, in each of which a large portion of the property of the town escapes contribution, from the poverty or transient residence of the tenant; while the landlord secures, on that very account, an increased rent. The objection to rating the owners, instead of the occupiers, which would at once equalize the burthen in such towns, is, that it would be introducing a new principle into this law, whereby persons would be made to contribute to the rates, who are not on the spot to control the expenditure. Such, at least, is the objection stated in the report of the committee, to whom the different provisions of various local acts for the management of the poor were referred in the year 1813; who, nevertheless, were of opinion, that in particular instances, some departure from the general law might be expedient. But your committee cannot wholly concur in the reasoning of that report, because they conceive that the occupiers of such tenements are much more likely to bring a burthen upon the parish than to control its expenditure; and they are diposed to think, that such beneficial control would more probably be produced by the owner having, in these instances, a more direct interest than at present in the disbursements of the parish. In the assessment of lands, it would undoubtedly, for obvious reasons, be far otherwise. In the case of houses, however, it seems of far more importance to preserve the principle of making all property contribute equally when it is practicable, than to adhere to the law of rating the occupier rather than the owner, by which, as in the case of Birmingham, nearly half the rental of the town, and above three-fourths of the houses, escape a burthen which it largely contributes to create. On this subject the committee can speak from experience, for the practice has been adopted with perfect success, and without a complaint, as it should seem, in the parishes of Christ Church, Spitalfields, Shadwell, Gravesend, and probably

probably others which have not come within the knowledge of your committee. In such cases the landlord, no doubt, makes his agreement with his tenant accordingly, and has no reasonable ground of complaint, if he is deprived of that part of his rent which should in justice have been paid to the parish fund. If it were possible to distinguish in any enactment between parishes in large towns and those in the country, your committee would recommend such an alteration in the persons rated, to be limited to parishes of the former description. But if that should be found, as they fear, impracticable, they would still recommend such a general provision, exempting cottages below a certain value, from its operation. By which exemption, such cottages as are not now rated, would be excluded from the assessment.

With the same view of making all property contribute to the relief of the poor, where it is practicable, the committee think that provision should be made to prevent extra-parochial places being exonerated from this burthen. Whether they should be made contributory to some other district, or compelled themselves to provide for their own poor, it is obviously most unjust, that burthens properly belonging to them should continue to be borne by others.

The committee are well aware, that however important and desirable it undoubtedly is to equalize this heavy burthen, yet if new funds are provided, it should at the same time be remembered, that a facility of expenditure will be also created. But whether the assessment be confined to land and houses, or other denominations of property be made practically liable to the same charge, your committee feel it their imperious duty to state to the house their opinion, that unless some efficacious check be interposed, there is every reason to think that the amount of the assessment will continue as it has done, to increase, till at a period more or less remote, according to the progress the evil has already made in different places, it shall have absorbed the profits of the property on which the rate may have been assessed, producing thereby the neglect and ruin of the land, and the waste or removal of other property, to the utter subversion of that happy order of society so long upheld in these kingdoms.

The gradual increase which has taken place both in the number of paupers, and in the assessments for their support, can hardly fail to have arisen from causes inherent in the system itself, as it does not appear to have depended entirely upon any temporary or local circumstance. Scarcity of provisions, and a diminished demand for particular manufactures, have occasioned, from time to time, an increased pressure in particular parishes, and at no former time in so great a degree as during the early part of the present year. But by comparing the assessments in the two counties in this kingdom, in which the largest portion of the population is employed in agriculture, namely Bedfordshire and Herefordshire, it will be seen that there has been the same progressive augmentation in the amount of the assessments, as may be observed to have taken place in the manufacturing counties.

	Money expended on Paupers, in the Year ending Easter 1776.	Medium Average of Annual Expenditure on account of Paupers, in Years ending Easter 1783, 1784, 1785	Expenditure on Paupers, in Year ending Easter 1803.	Expenditure on Paupers, in Year ending 25 March 1815.
County of	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
HEREFORD	10,593 7 2	16,727 18 2	48,067 8 10	59,255 19 0
BEDFORD.	16,662 17 1	20,977 0 11	38,070 3 8	50,370 10 11

What number of years, under the existing laws and management, would probably elapse, and to what amount the assessments might possibly be augmented, before the utmost limitation would be reached, cannot be accurately ascertained; but with regard to the first, your committee think it their duty to point out, that many circumstances which, in the early periods of the system, rendered its progress slow, are now unfortunately changed. The independent spirit of mind which induced individuals in the labouring classes to exert themselves to the utmost, before they submitted to become paupers, is much impaired; this order of persons therefore are every day becoming less and less unwilling to add themselves to the list of paupers. The workhouse system, though enacted with other views, yet for a long time acted very powerfully in deterring persons from throwing themselves on their parishes for relief; there were many who would struggle through their difficulties, rather than undergo the discipline of a workhouse; this effect however is no longer produced in the same degree, as by two modern statutes the justices have power under certain conditions to order relief to be given out of the workhouses, and the number of persons to whom relief is actually given, being now far more than any workhouses would contain, the system itself is from necessity, as well as by law, materially relaxed. (36 Geo. 3. c. 23. 54 Geo. 3. c. 170.)

In addition to these important considerations, it is also apparent, that in whatever degree the addition to the number of paupers depends upon their increase by birth, that addition will probably be greater than in past times, in the proportion in which the present number of paupers exceeds that which formerly existed; and it is almost needless to point out, that when the public undertakes to maintain all who may be born, without charge to the parents, that the number born will probably be greater than in the natural state. On these grounds, therefore, your committee are led to apprehend, that the rate at which the increase would take place under the existing laws, would be greater than it has heretofore been; but at whatever rate the increase might take place, it could not fail materially to depend on the general state of the country, whether it was in an improving, a stationary, or in a declining state, and it would also be affected by the recurrence of plentiful or deficient harvests.

With regard to the second point, namely, the probable amount beyond which the assessments cannot be augmented, your committee have again to lament, that the returns collected in 1816 are not yet before them in detail, and there are no means of ascertaining with sufficient accuracy, either the amount of the rates now assessed, or the gross rental of the property on which they are levied. Whatever indeed

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that may be, it appears to be certain that the land owners and the farmers would cease to have an adequate interest in continuing the cultivation of the land, long before the gross amount of the present rental could be transferred to the poor rate; for it is obvious, that a number of charges must be provided for out of the gross rental of land, without an adequate provision for which the land cannot be occupied; the general expenses of management, the construction and repairs of buildings, drains and other expensive works, to which the tenant's capital cannot reach, constitute the principal part of these charges, and the portion of the gross rent which is applied to these purposes, can never be applied to the augmentation of the poor rate.

Even if it can be thought possible that any landlord could suffer his land to be occupied and cultivated, or that he would continue to give to it the general superintendence of an owner, when the whole of the nett rental was transferred to the poor, it is perfectly clear that no tenant could hold a farm upon the condition of maintaining all the poor who might under any circumstances want relief; it would be as much impossible for a tenant to do so as to undertake to pay any rent which the wants of his landlord might induce him to desire, which condition could never be complied with. The apprehension however of being placed in such a situation as this, could not fail to deter persons from holding land long before they paid to the poor rate as much as they would otherwise pay in rent; and as under these circumstances, the land owner would still remain entitled to the soil, the paupers could not enter and cultivate for themselves; nor could it be occupied for any beneficial purpose, as whatever stock might be found on the land would be liable to distress for poor rate.

The consequences which are likely to result from this state of things, are clearly set forth in the petition from the parish of Wombridge in Salop, which is fast approaching to this state: the petitioners state, "that the annual value of land, mines and houses in this parish, is not sufficient to maintain the numerous and increasing poor, even if the same were to be set free of rent, and that these circumstances will inevitably compel the occupiers of lands and mines to relinquish them, and the poor will be without relief or any known mode of obtaining it, unless some assistance be speedily afforded them." And your committee apprehend, from the petitions before them, that this is one only of many parishes that are fast approaching to a state of dereliction.

By following the dictates of their own interests, land owners and farmers become, in the natural order of things, the best trustees and guardians for the public; when that order of things is destroyed, and a compulsory maintenance established for all who require it, the consequences cannot fail in the end to be equally ruinous to both parties. These impressions, upon subjects of such great importance, could not fail to induce your committee to take into their consideration whatever plans could be referred to or suggested, the object of which might be to check and modify the system itself, a duty to which they were the more strongly urged, by the view which had presented itself to their consideration of the state of society, created by an extensive system of pauperism, and which led them, for the sake of the paupers themselves, to seek for the means of setting again into action those motives which impel persons, by the

hope of bettering their condition on the one hand, and the fear of want on the other, so to exert and conduct themselves, as by frugality, temperance and industry, and by the practice of those other virtues on which human happiness has been made to depend, to ensure to themselves that condition of existence in which life can alone be otherwise than a miserable burthen. The temptations to idleness, to improvidence, and want of forethought, are under any circumstances so numerous and enticing, that nothing less than the dread of the evils, which are their natural consequence, appears to be sufficiently strong in any degree to control them. With the neglect and absence of those virtues, as long indeed as fresh funds can be found for their relief, those evils may in some degree be mitigated; but when such resources can no longer be found, then will these evils be felt in their full force; and as the gradual addition of fresh funds can only create an increased number of paupers, it is obvious that the amount of the misery which must be endured, when these funds can no longer be augmented, will be the greater (though the longer delayed) the greater the supplies are, which may be applied to the relief of pauperism, inasmuch as the sufferings to be endured must be increased with the number of sufferers.

Your committee forbear to expatiate on these considerations which have pressed themselves on their attention; they have said enough to show the grounds which induce them to think, that the labouring classes can only be plunged deeper and more hopelessly into the evils of pauperism, by the constant application of additional sums of money to be distributed by the poor rate. True benevolence and real charity point to other means, which your committee cannot so well express as in the emphatic language of Mr. Burke, "patience, labour, frugality, sobriety and religion, should be recommended to them; all the rest is downright fraud*."

With the view then of providing such a check as may lay the foundation for a better system, it may be worth the most serious consideration, whether a provision of various local acts by which the assessment itself was limited for the time to come, might not be applied to all other parishes or districts. Your committee are not aware, that such a provision would be less practicable as applied generally than locally; and it would obviously not only operate in aid of any other check to expenditure which might be devised, but would necessitate a degree of œconomy, which would probably be more effectual than any detailed regulations which could be prescribed by particular enactments, and render necessary such careful and just discrimination in selecting the properest objects of relief, as would contribute materially to put an end to numberless evils arising from the lax administration of the poor laws. The check, indeed, which is proposed, is perfectly consonant with the nature of things; not only individuals but states themselves are compelled to limit their expenditure according to their means; and the money raised for the poor being strictly a tax, is in no greater degree capable of unlimited extension, when applied to relieve the necessities of the poor, than for the purposes of the state. Whether the fu-

* Thoughts and details on scarcity. Burke's Works, vol. 7, p. 377.

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ture assessments should be limited in the first instance to the amount of any one year, or to an average of many, your committee think the amount in each succeeding year, not exceeding seven, ten, or even a greater number, should then afford an average, taken always from the last seven, ten, or greater number; by which means a diminution in the amount might be afforded, without the possibility, on the other hand, of an increase beyond the original limitation. It is fit, however, to apprise the house, that it was thought necessary by the legislature, in the year 1795, to relieve these parishes from the obligation of this clause, (23 Geo. 3. c. 10.) "by reason (as it is stated) of the late very great increase of the price of corn, and other necessary articles of life." They were, therefore, enabled to raise sums exceeding the amount of the limited assessment, whenever the average price of wheat in Mark-lane exceeded the average price at the same market during those years from which the average amount of the poor-rates was taken. But a new limitation was again imposed by the same act, providing, that after 1st of January 1798, no assessment should exceed double the sum raised in 1795. And your committee apprehend, that this limitation remains still in force. In case it was thought expedient to adopt this limitation of assessment generally, it appears to your committee, that provision might be made against such an emergency as that of the year 1795, without abandoning the principle, by providing, that in case of an urgent and unforeseen necessity, far exceeding any such average, the vestry of the parish might apply to the justices, in their quarter sessions, for an aid from the county to the amount of one moiety of such necessary excess, and for permission to raise the other moiety, by way of assessment within the parish, in addition to such average amount; and if the justices, or a committee of them appointed for that purpose, should, after examination on oath as to the necessity of such excess of expenditure, be of opinion that it was unavoidable, they might order the moiety of such excess required for the ensuing quarter to be paid out of the county rate (subject to exception in the case of a parish whose rate is below the average ratio of the county), and make an order, to permit the overseers, &c. to levy the other moiety, by way of assessment, on the parish. The necessity of the strictest œconomy, which would be created by the limitation of the rate, would not, it is hoped, be impaired under this strict scrutiny, in case of excess. For an interest would thus be given to the justices, to make the examination into the expenditure of such parish rigorous; and further, to regard continually the mode in which the poor are managed and maintained in the different parishes of their county. It would be necessary also to provide, that the power to levy the augmented rate should never be continued longer than the duration of the temporary exigency which gave occasion to it.

The house are aware, that by the statute of Elizabeth, the parishes of the hundred, and in some instances those of the county, might be rated in aid of every parish in which the inhabitants are not able to levy sufficient sums for the relief of their poor. Great difficulties however have occurred in practice, from the want of a clear definition of such inability; nor does it afford any sufficient security against the mis-

management or misapplication of the funds of one parish being rendered, against every principle of equity, a charge on others, who had no share or interest in such expenditure; and on these grounds your committee are not disposed to recommend any facility being granted for the execution of this provision of the law.

Your committee cannot close their observations on the subject of the assessment, without adverting to a suggestion which has been made to them from various and respectable quarters; that the maintenance of the poor should be made, by way of equalizing the burthen, national rather than parochial. To this proposal your committee feel one, among various other difficulties, which appears to them insuperable, and of such a nature and magnitude as to supersede the necessity of entering into the other considerations connected with such a measure. They refer to the impossibility of devising any adequate means to check the demands upon such a fund, when every excess in parochial disbursements would be merged in the general expenditure of the empire.

If your committee have been desirous to recommend some gradual but effectual check to the otherwise certain growth, and ultimately inevitable effects of the present system of poor laws, they have not been less attentive to the duty of suggesting every possible means of affording special encouragement and facility to meritorious industry, for rescuing itself from the evils of an habitual reliance on parochial relief: and they have looked to this part of the subject with the more anxiety, from the entire conviction, that in proportion to the aggregate number of persons who are reduced to this unfortunate dependence, must be not only the increase of misery to each individual, but also the moral deterioration of the people, and ultimately, from the concurrent tendency of these evils, the insecurity and danger of the state itself.

The encouragement of frugal habits would, in any state of society, be an object of importance; but your committee are strongly impressed with the opinion, that in the present situation of the poor in this country, it is chiefly by the gradual restoration of a feeling of reliance upon their own industry, rather than upon the parochial assessments, that the transition to a more wholesome system can be effected.

Your committee have the satisfaction of seeing, that institutions for the secure and profitable deposit of the earnings of the industrious, which was heretofore projected, are now, by the spontaneous exertions of individuals, in actual and successful operation; and from the growth of the system of saving banks, (57 Geo. 3. c. 130.) they are inclined to expect very beneficial results, not only in affording to the industrious poor a secure deposit for their savings, but in familiarizing them with a practice, of which the advantage will be daily more apparent.

Other institutions, founded upon a principle of mutual assurance, are familiar to the people, and as far as they provide for sickness and old age, and some other casualties, have received the sanction of parliament, under the name of friendly societies, (33 Geo. 3. c. 54. 35 Geo. 3. c. 111. 43 Geo. 3. c. 111. 49 Geo. 3. c. 145.) Your committee have reason to believe that these societies judiciously managed, have in some parishes tended

ed greatly to the melioration of the condition of the people; but they trust that they may be enabled to set before the people, in a way that they cannot misunderstand, the means of securing their own comfort and happiness, by holding out advantages exceeding in amount any that the existing establishments with which they are familiar can offer, with the certainty of the advantages offered, viz. relief in sickness, and an annuity in old age, being secured by the contribution of the parish. Your committee is therefore of opinion, that it will be expedient to enable parishes to establish parochial benefit societies, under the joint management of the contributors and the nominees of the parish, calculated to afford greater pecuniary advantages than could result from the unaided contributions of the subscribers. Your committee trust, that holding out to the people benefits somewhat superior in amount and security, to any which they can now obtain by the contribution of their earnings, and adding some which are not generally afforded by voluntary association, they may be enabled to render these institutions not less popular than advantageous. They are of opinion therefore, that parishes should be enabled to afford to the contributors a benefit rather greater than that which a table formed on mere calculation would yield; and in order to adapt their new system to the situation of the country, under the administration of the poor laws, your committee are of opinion, that at the outset of these institutions, parishes should be permitted to place, by contribution from the parochial funds, those who have advanced in years without having made any provision of this nature, on the footing of advantage on which they would have stood, if they had commenced their contributions at an earlier age.

Your committee is well aware, that under present circumstances the incapacity of individuals to make even the smallest deduction from their wages, may render this species of institution inapplicable in some parts of the country; but they conceive, that it may safely be left to each parish, under the inspection of the local magistracy, to determine upon the propriety of trying the experiment within itself.

The casualties however for which friendly societies generally provide, namely, those of sickness and old age, do not constitute the greater proportion of the demands upon the poors rate which have raised it to its present high amount; a much greater proportion, as they shall have occasion to observe, consists of the allowances distributed in most parts of England to the labouring poor, in addition to their wages, by reason of the number of their children.

Your committee are of opinion, that parochial benefit societies may furnish facilities for effecting the desired transition, from the present system of relief to one founded upon better principles; and that it would therefore be expedient under the present circumstances of the country, to enable parishes to increase the benefits of the institutions to an extent beyond the precise result of the contribution required; or, at least, to pay for the admission into those benefits of persons now having large families, and receiving relief on that account. Each parish, considering what it now pays for the maintenance of children, would be the best judge for itself of the policy of adopting this course.

In the view with which the committee suggest the expediency of affording this assistance from the parochial funds, it is essential that whatever may be the contribution in the first instance, the parish should have the power of reducing prospectively its proportion, without affecting the rights of existing contributors, so as gradually to render the people dependent upon their own contributions only; but in the mean time they may be used in destroying the familiarity with parish pay, which it is above all things desirable to eradicate.

Your committee have taken measures for ascertaining by calculation, the operation of societies formed upon the principle which they have recommended; and on this ground, as well as on account of the impracticability of framing any bill upon this subject in the present session, they forbear from entering into the detail of the arrangements which have occurred to them, as desirable for effectuating their recommendation.

But the house may perhaps think it reasonable, that persons who have the option of partaking in the advantages which it is thus proposed to secure to them, should be subjected to an administration of the laws of relief, rather less favourable than that which is applied to the community in general; and particularly that the benefits of the act 36 Geo. 3. cap. 23; and 54 Geo. 3. cap. 170, respecting workhouses should be withholden from such persons.

They cannot however quit this topic without observing, that a bill passed this house in the year 1789, having for its object much of what the committee have now recommended, and accompanied by tables which the committee have reason to hope may be found useful in arranging any similar measure.

Having submitted to the house such observations as have occurred to them, with respect to the assessment of the poor rate, your committee proceed to consider the purposes for which it is authorized to be levied, as they regard the persons entitled to relief, and the mode in which it should be administered. These will be found by a reference to the same part of the fundamental law of Elizabeth, to be directed to—

1st. Setting to work the children of all those whose parents shall not be thought able to maintain them.

2d. Setting to work all persons having no means to maintain them, and using no ordinary or daily trade to get their bread by.

3d. The necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them as are poor and not able to work, as well as for apprenticing such children as are before described.

And it appears to your committee, that the above description and classification of persons entitled to relief has not been intentionally altered by any subsequent statute; that the general term, "the poor," contained in all subsequent acts on this subject, has reference only to the poor as above classed and defined in the 43d of Elizabeth; and though the persons entitled to relief, and the sort of relief, seem to be pointed out with sufficient clearness, yet the practice has in many instances long been at variance with the law. The statute directs the children to be set to work; the almost general practice is to give money to the parents, without any provision for the setting the children to work. The course adopted requires,

requires, undoubtedly, less trouble and attention than the providing and superintending proper establishments for their moral instruction, employment and maintenance; and this deviation from the injunction of the statute obtained so early as to have attracted the attention of lord Hale and Mr. Locke; and the committee cannot but avail themselves of the high authority of a report of the board of trade in the year 1697, drawn up by Mr. Locke, and confirmed (if it needed confirmation) by the concurrence of the other commissioners, after an exercise of the full powers of inquiry conferred on them for this purpose by king William the Third, and which appears to your committee still more applicable to the present moment, than to the time at which it was written.

"The children of labouring people are an ordinary burthen to the parish, and are usually maintained in idleness, so that their labour also is generally lost to the public, till they are twelve or fourteen years old. The most effectual remedy for this, that we are able to conceive, and which we therefore humbly propose, is, that working schools be set up in each parish to which the children of all such as demand relief of the parish, above three and under fourteen years of age, whilst they live at home with their parents, and are not otherwise employed for their livelihood, by the allowance of the overseer of the poor, shall be obliged to come. By this means the mother will be eased of a great part of her trouble in looking after and providing for them at home, and so be at more liberty to work; the children will be kept in much better order, be better provided for, and from their infancy be inured to work, which is of no small consequence to the making of them sober and industrious all their lives after; and the parish will be either eased of this burthen, or at least of the misuse in the present management of it; for a great number of children giving a poor man a title to an allowance from the parish, this allowance is given once a week, or once a month, to the father in money, which he, not seldom, spends on himself at the alehouse, whilst his children (for whose sake he had it) are left to suffer, or perish under the want of necessaries, unless the charity of neighbours relieve them. We humbly conceive, that a man and his wife in health may be able by their ordinary labour to maintain themselves and two children; more than two children at one time under the age of three years will seldom happen in one family; if, therefore, all the children above three years old be taken off their hands, those who have never so many, whilst they remain themselves in health, will not need any allowance for them. We do not suppose that children of three years old will be able, at that age, to get their livelihoods at the working school; but we are sure, that what is necessary for their relief will more effectually have that use, if it be distributed to them in bread at that school, than if it be given to their fathers in money. What they have at home from their parents, is seldom more than bread and water, and that many of them, very scantily too; if, therefore, care be taken that they have each of them their bellyful of bread daily at school, they will be in no danger of famishing; but, on the contrary, they will be healthier and stronger than those who are bred otherwise. Nor will this practice cost the overseer any trouble, for a baker may be agreed with

with to furnish and bring into the school-house every day the allowance of bread necessary for all the scholars that are there. And to this may be added also, without any trouble, in cold weather, if it be thought needful, a little warm water-gruel; for the same fire that warms the room, may be made use of to boil a pot of it. From this method the children will not only reap the forementioned advantages, with far less charge to the parish than what is now done for them, but they will thereby be also the more obliged to come to school, and apply themselves to work, because otherwise they will have no victuals; and also the benefit thereby, both to themselves and the parish, will daily increase; for the earnings of their labour at school every day increasing, it may reasonably be concluded, that computing all the earnings of a child from three to fourteen years of age, the nourishment and teaching of such a child, during that whole time, will cost the parish nothing; whereas there is no child now which from its birth is maintained by the parish, but before the age of fourteen, costs the parish fifty or sixty pounds. Another advantage also of bringing poor children thus to a working-school, is, that by this means they may be obliged to come constantly to church every Sunday along with their schoolmasters or dames, whereby they may be brought into some sense of religion; whereas ordinarily now, in their loose and idle way of breeding up, they are as utter stangers both to religion and morality, as they are to industry. In order, therefore, to the more effectually carrying on this work to the advantage of this kingdom, we further humbly propose that these schools be generally for spinning or knitting, or some other part of the woollen manufacture, unless in countries where the place shall furnish some other materials fitter for the employment of such poor children; in which places the choice of those materials for their employment may be left to the prudence and direction of the guardians of the poor of that hundred; and that the teaching in these schools be paid out of the poor rates, as can be agreed.

"This, though at first setting up, it may cost the parish a little, yet we humbly conceive that the earnings of the children abating the charge of their maintenance, and as much work being required of each of them as they are reasonably able to perform, it will quickly pay its own charges, with an overplus.

"That where the number of the poor children of any parish is greater than for them all to be employed in one school, they be there divided into two, and the boys and girls, if thought convenient, taught and kept to work separately. That the handicraftsmen in each hundred be bound to take every other of their respective apprentices from amongst the boys in some one of the schools in the said hundred, without any money, which boys they may so take at what age they please, to be bound to them till the age of twenty-three years, that so the length of time may more than make amends for the usual sums that are given to handicraftsmen with such apprentices.

"That those also in the hundred who keep in their hands land of their own to the value of 25*l.* per annum, or upwards, may choose out of the schools of the said hundred what boy each of them pleases,

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to be his apprentice in husbandry upon the same condition.

"That whatever boys are not by this means bound out apprentices before they are full fourteen, shall, at the Easter meeting of the guardians of each hundred every year, be bound to such gentlemen, yeomen or farmers within the said hundred, as have the greatest number of acres of land in their hands, who shall be obliged to take them for their apprentices till the age of twenty-three, or bind them out at their own cost to some handicraftsmen; provided always, that no such gentleman, yeoman or farmer, shall be bound to have two such apprentices at a time."

There can have been no period at which the literal and faithful execution of the law so strongly recommended, and by such high authority, can have been more indispensable than at the present moment; and some facilities appear to offer themselves at this time, which have not existed at former periods; the institution of parochialor district schools for education, proposed some years since as the basis of an amended system, are now so generally established and supported by voluntary subscriptions, that they appear to afford the readiest means by which education and industry may be most advantageously united. And if the large sums of money now given to the parents were really betowed on the maintenance of their children in such schools, it would probably more than defray the expense of such an institution.

The committee would therefore recommend most earnestly a more faithful execution of the existing law by the establishment of schools for the above purposes; and they believe such institutions would be in all respects more beneficial, if the children were lodged where they would be employed and maintained: for in extensive parishes the daily attendance of the younger class would be impracticable; and where proper establishments for these purposes shall be adopted to the satisfaction of two justices, who shall certify the same, relief should no longer be given on account of such children as shall be of a fit age to be there instructed and maintained. And if it should be found that the 43d of Eliz. aided by the 9th Geo. 1. has not provided sufficient means for the accomplishment of its own purpose, new powers should be given to parishes for this end.

In such an execution of the directions of the 43d Eliz. to set to work the children of parents who cannot maintain them, your committee see, besides the advantages so forcibly above stated, the only remedy for that practice which has prevailed in the south of England particularly, of defraying what should be part of the wages of labour out of the poor-rates, according to an uniform scale of relief, to which an undeviating adherence is in some instances required, without reference to any other consideration than the numbers of the family of the claimant, and the amount of their actual present earnings, and the price of bread. Higher wages may have been squandered away, and the actual earnings may be far less than increased and reasonable industry might secure, and yet the amount of relief is unvaried. Such a practice, by placing the idle and industrious upon an equal footing, must necessarily destroy every human motive to exertion; nor does your committee conceive it to be strictly conso-

consonant to law; for an order of relief they apprehend to be invalid that does not adjudge the party to be "impotent" as well as "poor." It has familiarized the labourer to a dependence upon the parish, which he would formerly have considered as a degradation; has imposed upon those contributors to the rate who employ no labourers, a most unjust burthen; and has swelled the amount of the assessment to a degree that makes it impossible to ascertain how much should be considered as relief, properly speaking, and how much wages. This deviation from the provisions of the 43 Elizabeth, may perhaps have arisen not only from the neglect of providing proper places for setting to work such children, but from the necessity of abandoning the practice at that time enjoined by law, of regulating the wages of labour, by which it was attempted to bring to one standard the value of each man's labour, which must be in the nature of things unequal; and your committee would deeply lament, if the continuance of the present low price of labour, and of this practice growing out of it, should create a general wish throughout the kingdom to revive those laws, which have not only been abandoned in practice, but at length repealed by the legislature; whereas if such children were set to work and maintained as the law directs, this practice would scarcely continue in any great degree to prevail.

On this general head, however, your committee think it their duty, in pursuance of their wish, to suggest to the house such provisions as may tend to remove the general dependence on the poor rate; to submit for their consideration, whether, when the demand for labour may have revived, it may not safely be provided, that from and after a certain time, no relief shall be extended to any child whose father being living, is under years of age; a principle, which by altering the age from time to time, might, if it should be thought desirable, be carried still further into operation.

It may also be provided with a similar view, that from and after a specified time, no relief shall be provided for any child whose father being living, has not above children under years of age.

The next provision of the statute directs the overseers "in like manner, to take order for setting to work all such persons, married or unmarried, as have no means to maintain them, and use no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their bread by;" and it then prescribes the manner in which this is to be done, which is directed to be "by raising a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, or other necessary stuff or ware, to set the poor on work."

These plain and simple provisions continue to this day to be the rules and authority by which the overseers and magistrates are bound to govern themselves, in setting able-bodied poor to work.

The act of 9 Geo. 1. cap. 7, which enables parishes to establish workhouses, was designed to limit, rather than enlarge, the powers above recited; by providing that the work, as above prescribed, should be carried on under the superintendence of the overseers, in houses to be provided for the purpose.

What class of persons it is who are described as "using no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their living by," it cannot at any time have been very easy correctly to ascertain; the words were probably, in the first instance, to apply to such persons

persons as appear to have been the object of all the old statutes to which your committee have before alluded. Your committee, however, think it extremely doubtful, whether persons who may from time to time be out of work, but who for the most part occupy themselves in a daily trade, ought to be comprehended within the description of the statute.

But whatever may be the class of persons to which the description of the statute applies, it is clear, that the powers of the overseer as to setting them to work, are, by the existing law, confined within narrow limits; they are to be employed in working "flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, or any other ware or stuff."

Your committee have already explained the manner in which they think provision should be made for such children as it may be necessary to maintain and employ; it is their duty now to state to the house, their opinions on the subject of providing work for all such persons as may require it. If the object of the statute was merely to set to hard labour such idle wandering persons as might be found in a state nearly approaching to that of vagrancy, such an object might possibly be carried into effect, with a fair hope of beneficial consequences; but if the object of the statute was (as it is now interpreted) that the state is to find work for all, who in the present and in all succeeding time may require it, your committee are of opinion, that this is a condition which it is not in the power of any law to fulfil. What number of persons can be employed in labour, must depend absolutely upon the amount of the funds which alone are applicable to the maintenance of labour.

In whatever way these funds may be applied or expended, the quantity of labour maintained by them in the first instance, would be very nearly the same. The immediate effect of a compulsory application of the whole or a part of these funds, is to change the application, not to alter the amount of them. Whatever portion is applied under the provisions of the law, would have been applied to some other object had the money been left to the distribution of the original owner; whoever therefore is maintained by the law as a labouring pauper, is maintained only instead of some other individual, who would otherwise have earned by his own industry, the money bestowed on the pauper; as long as the amount of the funds remains the same, the effect of a compulsory distribution would not be such as materially to alter the total number of labourers employed; but there are many modes by which the compulsory application under the provisions of a statute, of the funds which provide the maintenance of labour, would tend most materially to place the labouring classes in a much worse condition than that in which they would otherwise be situated.

1st. An increased demand for labour is the only means by which the wages of labour can ever be raised; and there is nothing which can increase the demand, but the increase of the wealth by which labour is supported: if therefore the compulsory application of any part of this wealth, tends (as it always must tend) to employ the portion it distributes less profitably than it would have been, if left to the interested superintendence of its owners, it cannot fail, by thus diminishing the funds which would otherwise have been applicable to the maintenance of labour, to place the whole body of

of labourers in a worse situation than that in which they would otherwise have been placed.

2dly. The effects of holding out to the labouring community, that all who require it shall be provided with work at adequate wages, is such as to lead them to form false views of the circumstances in which they are likely to be placed; as the demand for labour depends absolutely on the amount of the wealth which constitutes its support, so the rate of wages can only be adjusted by the proportion that demand bears to the supply. Now it is on the greater or less degree of nicety in which that supply is adjusted to the demand, that the happiness of the labouring classes absolutely depends.

If the demand for labour increases faster than the supply, high wages are the natural result; labourers are enabled to provide better for their children; a larger proportion of those born are reared; the burthen, too, of a large family is rendered lighter; and in this manner the marriage and multiplication of labourers are encouraged, and an increasing supply is enabled to follow an increased demand. If, on the contrary, the waste or diminution of wealth should reduce the demand for labour, wages must inevitably fall, and the comforts of the labourer will be diminished, the marriage and multiplication discouraged until the supply is gradually adapted to the reduced demand. It is obvious, that the condition of a country, whilst this latter course is in progress, must be painful; but it is more or less so according to the degree in which the foresight of the industrious classes might have prepared them for such a reverse. The habits and customs of the labouring classes in different countries must in a great degree depend on the circumstances which, by affecting the demand for labour, regulate the condition in which they are content to exist. But where prudent habits are established, they avail themselves of a high rate of wages, to better their condition, rather than greatly increase their numbers. In England a labourer would not, formerly, have thought himself justified in marrying unless he had the means of providing himself with many things which in other countries would have been deemed unnecessary luxuries. In a state similar to this, if the labouring classes are met by a fall in wages, they will always have something to spare, which will assist in mitigating any difficulties to which they may be exposed.

Though it is by contemplating the possibility of a reverse that they can alone be stimulated to prepare for it, it is, unfortunately, far less difficult to induce men to neglect all such preparation: by holding out to the labouring classes, that they shall at all times be provided with adequate employment, they are led to believe they have nothing to dread while they are willing to labour. The supply of labour, therefore, which they alone have the power to regulate, is left constantly to increase, without any reference to the demand, or to the funds on which it depends. Under these circumstances, if the demand for labour suddenly decreases, the provisions of the poor law alone are looked to, to supply the place of all those circumstances which result only from vigilance and caution; the powers of law, whilst they profess to compel both labour and wages to be provided, under these circumstances, in reality effect nothing but a more wasteful application of the diminished capital than would

would otherwise take place; they tend thereby materially to reduce the real wages of free labour, and thus essentially to injure the labouring classes. In this situation of things, not only the labourers, who have hitherto maintained themselves, are reduced, by the perversion of the funds of their employers, to seek assistance from the rate, but the smaller capitalists themselves are gradually reduced, by the burthen of the assessments, to take refuge in the same resource. The effect of these compulsory distributions is to pull down what is above, not to raise what is low; and they depress high and low together, beneath the level of what was originally lowest.

If these views of the effect of undertaking to provide employment for all who want it are founded in truth, there results from them an obvious necessity of abandoning gradually the impossible condition, that all who require it shall be provided with work, which, whether or not it be the real object of the statute, has by many been held to be so. On this head, your committee submit, that if the provision which they have pointed out be made for children whose parents cannot maintain them, and the provision also for such as are of the class of poor and impotent be continued, the labouring classes will continue to be relieved from the heaviest part of their necessities. But if any portion of the general and indiscriminate relief which is now given, must of necessity be withheld, your committee think, it can be withheld from none by whom the privation could so well be borne, as by those who are in the full vigour of health and strength. It may therefore be worthy of consideration, whether, if under favourable circumstances of the country, the demand for labour should again be materially enlarged, it might not be enacted, that no person should be provided with work by the parish, other than those who are already so provided, and who might be permitted to continue until they could provide for themselves. But if the change by this provision might be thought too rapid, limitations might still be provided, the effect of which would render it more gradual, as by enacting, that none shall be provided with employment who are between the ages of eighteen and thirty; and then after a certain lapse of time, that none between sixteen and thirty-five, forty and so on, until the object shall be gradually effected.

As whatever money would have been applied to the maintenance of these persons by the means of the poor rate, cannot fail to be employed in some such way as to put other labour in motion, the money thus restored to its natural channel cannot fail to assist in increasing the natural demand for labour; and if the wages of agricultural labour, which are now in so great a proportion paid through the poor rate, were left to adjust themselves by the operation of the market, it could hardly fail to have the effect of gradually raising the wages of labour; for it is the obvious interest of the farmer that his work should be done with effect and celerity, which can hardly take place unless the labourer is provided according to his habits, with such necessaries of life as may keep his body in full vigour, and his mind gay and cheerful.

If, however, it should be thought wise or even practicable to persevere in endeavouring to provide work for

for all who want it, fresh powers must certainly be devised for that purpose; the narrow limits and the strict specifications by which the existing authority to set to work is confined, have made your committee somewhat at a loss to ascertain on what legal provision the practices of making up the wages of labour, according to a certain scale, of sending roundsmen, &c. have been imagined to depend. But if labour is to be continued, it would be idle to attempt to prescribe to every parish the means which they should respectively adopt, in order to comply as far as it be possible with such an injunction of the law; and your committee can only recommend all possible facility of providing employment being given, not so much with a view to the profit to be derived from it, as from the necessity of withholding from idleness the wages that should be due to industry alone. Care however should be taken, with a view to the interests of industrious persons, that the local work to be supplied, should be such as will least sensibly interfere with existing occupations and trades. In country parishes, agriculture affords the most obvious and useful source of employment; for though the whole stock of subsistence be thereby increased, yet the cultivator of the land would be more than compensated for any diminution in the value of his produce, by the corresponding diminution of the expense of maintaining his family and labourers, and the more important reduction of the poor rate. Your committee find, that in the county of Kent it has been thought expedient, in two instances, to carry this practice so far as to establish parochial farms in the parishes of Benenden and Cranbrooke; an account of them has been communicated to your committee.

If it should be found impracticable or inexpedient, as from the difficulty of providing a careful and œconomical superintendent over such a concern, it probably may be in the generality of agricultural parishes, to make such an experiment on so large a scale, yet great benefit might, in the opinion of your committee, be derived from some parishes being enabled to possess themselves of as much land as might produce at least an adequate supply of provisions for those whom they are bound to maintain, and would afford the means, which otherwise might be wanting, of bringing to the test the willingness to work of some of the applicants for employment; but it would operate still more beneficially, if it enabled parishes collectively, under proper restrictions, to follow the example of those individual proprietors of land, who have been in the practice of letting very small portions of land, on reasonable terms, to industrious labourers, to cultivate on their own account. The instances to which your committee allude they cannot too earnestly recommend to the practice and imitation of those who have similar opportunities. Where the means of providing a supply of productive labour are wanting, the repair of the roads has been found to afford a useful occupation, and it might be expedient to make the duty of the surveyor of the highways more available to the overseer for the purpose of providing employment.

A practice has long prevailed in agricultural parishes in different parts of the kingdom, of sending men out of work to the inhabitants

of

of the parish, in rotation, according to their share of the rate; and this usage has naturally increased as the demand for labour is diminished; as it appears to afford the means of securing some return for the sums paid. It has been generally, and perhaps wisely, arranged in those cases, that the remuneration for such service should be less than the ordinary wages of labour in the parish, that an inducement might remain to such persons to seek employment for themselves. A proportion of the sum has also been usually paid by the overseers out of the rate. This latter practice has been subject to such abuse, as to have rendered this mode of setting persons to work highly objectionable; for the occupiers of land are supposed in many instances to get their work thus performed, and paid for in a great part out of the parish fund.

With respect to large towns, in the present state of this kingdom, your committee fear the difficulty of fulfilling the obligation of this part of the law must be almost insuperable, notwithstanding all the exertions which can be made to provide useful, if not profitable, employment. Your committee therefore feel, that all obstacles to seeking employment wherever it can be found, even out of the realm, should be removed; and every facility that is reasonable afforded to those who may wish to resort to some of our own colonies.

The sums to be raised for the relief of the lame, impotent, &c. your committee apprehend can be applied, according to the letter of the law, to the relief of such persons only as the justices can conscientiously adjudge to be not only poor, but impotent. For this appears not only by reference to the 43d Eliz. and the adjudged cases, (1 Bott 222 and 223.) but the 8th and 9th W. 3. c. 30. imposes on those receiving relief as such, the necessity of wearing a badge (since repealed), "to the end that the money raised only for the relief of such as are as well impotent as poor, may not be misapplied, or consumed by the idle, sturdy, and disorderly beggars." Notwithstanding which, chiefly from the want of proper means to set to work their children, and the difficulty of finding employment for those out of work, persons who are avowedly not impotent, have, by a long course of practice, received pecuniary relief on account of the number of their family. Your committee must therefore again state, in how great a degree the faithful execution of the law respecting children, would remedy the abuses which have prevailed respecting the administration of pecuniary relief: on this head, therefore, it remains only to consider the mode of giving the relief granted to persons more properly belonging to this class. Whether they should receive the necessary assistance in money, or by a supply of the articles wanted; whether at their own houses, or in workhouses; are questions which it is conceived would be best left to the uncontrolled discretion of their respective parishes.

Your committee are aware how very frequently workhouses have been condemned, as little corresponding with the denomination they have received; and being rather in truth, in many instances, houses of idleness and vice. Yet in some parishes, from the want of habitations, such establishments seem to be indispensable, to avoid the greater evils of granting pensions to outlying parishioners. If, by the means which your committee are about to sug-

suggest, an improved administration of parochial affairs should be produced, these establishments would undoubtedly derive the immediate benefit of a constant and active superintendence. The proper separation of the respective inmates of such houses, can and ought to be regulated at present by the vestry and parish officers, without minute instructions from the legislature; and whether it be or be not expedient to incorporate different parishes, under Mr. Gilbert's or local acts, must depend entirely on the circumstances of such parishes and the adjoining districts. (22 Geo. 3.) As far as your committee can judge, from the imperfect materials before them, they believe that great benefit has been derived from such institutions, in every case in which they have been superintended by the principal inhabitants of the united district; and that their success and advantage depend almost wholly on that circumstance. Under such an impression, they think every facility should be given to render that act available for the purpose; thereby saving the expense which has in various instances been incurred, of resorting to the legislature in particular cases.

It is obviously of the last importance, that this enactment respecting the impotent, which was humanely intended to secure the indigent and helpless from actual want, should not be made equally available to the idle and the dissolute. For it is to be recollected, that there will always be a class of persons, and among them the most industrious, who find it difficult, with their utmost labour and exertion, to maintain their families, after having contributed their quota to the assessment. Such is the cultivator of a small farm; of whom it has been said, forcibly and truly, that he "rises early, and it is late before he can retire to rest; he works hard and fares hard, yet with all his labour and his care, he can scarcely provide subsistence for his numerous family. He would feed them better, but the prodigal must *first* be fed; he would purchase warmer clothing for his children, but the children of the prostitute must *first* be clothed *." There are others, whose contribution could only be levied by the seizure of that part of their property which the pauper himself is humanely and properly allowed to retain; till by a late statute (54 Geo. 3. c. 170, s. 11.) such persons may be, by magistrates, legally exonerated from the charge.

Your committee feel, that it is in the execution of this part of the law that a discriminating power has, in practice at least, been chiefly wanting; such a discrimination as would direct voluntary benevolence in the distribution of its bounty, not excluding wholly from its care even the victims of their own vices, as in some of the numerous charitable institutions by which this kingdom is distinguished.

That such discrimination may be found practicable, your committee cannot doubt, after the experience afforded by Scotland: the provisions of the law in England and Scotland were almost coeval with each other, and in principle nearly the same; but the results are so different, that they must be ascribed chiefly to the different modes in which relief, from

* Dissertation on the Poor Laws, by the reverend Joseph Townsend. Written in 1786; republished in 1817.

whatever

whatever fund it may have been provided, has been administered. This has arisen perhaps, in a considerable degree, from the different description of persons in whom the raising, managing and distributing the parochial funds is respectively vested; the heritors and kirk session (*i. e.* the land owners and ministers and elders of the church) being selected in the one case, the churchwardens, and four, three, or two substantial householders (overseers) to be nominated yearly in the other. Instead therefore of having, in this part of the kingdom, persons the most educated, enlightened, and interested in the welfare of the parish, intrusted with the administration of its affairs, we have doubtless a respectable, but less enlightened, class of persons, appointed annually for the purpose; and however fit for the duty annual officers of this description may have been in the reign of Elizabeth, it is obvious that the task which now devolves upon them, is of such disproportionate magnitude as to require qualifications to be found only in well educated persons, and a degree of knowledge and experience which is incompatible with an annual appointment, together with a sacrifice of time which it is unreasonable to expect, when it is inconsistent with the attention due from such persons to their own affairs; and though your committee feel that no enactments can secure a correct judgement and discrimination in the execution of any law, yet they think it not difficult to correct so much of the evil as results from the office being annual, and its duties without remuneration. With this view, therefore, they think it expedient to enable every parish or township, maintaining their own poor, at any legal meeting called for that purpose, to appoint an officer or officers, with such salary as they shall think fit, to assist the overseers in the execution of their duty, and that two or more parishes or townships might unite for the appointment of such officer, and apply such proportion of their respective rates, for the payment of his salary, as shall be agreed upon between them. Such an officer, properly selected and remunerated, may be expected so to devote his time and attention to his duty, as to make himself fully acquainted with the character and circumstances of each applicant.

In recommending such an arrangement, your committee proceed on grounds of experience rather than theory, the practice having been long beneficially adopted in many populous parishes, either under a provision in local acts, or with the unanimous consent of the parishioners. And it would be sufficient strongly to recommend such a practice, if it were not necessary to legalize the payment of the salary; for, according to the present law, the objection of an individual, however unreasonable, may control, in this respect, the wishes of the rest of the parish. Your committee are also of opinion, that it might in many cases tend to an improved management in parishes, where no such officer with a salary might be appointed, if the present law was so far altered as to admit of any individual rated to a parish, being eligible to fill the office of overseer in such parish, although not actually residing therein, provided the place of his habitual residence should not be distant more than three miles from the church of such parish. It is not, however, proposed to make such an appointment of an overseer with

a salary, compulsory, because in many small parishes it may be unnecessary; and your committee take this opportunity of observing, that they have felt it their duty in other instances to recommend enabling rather than compulsory provisions, from the obvious consideration, that the most judicious measures cannot be equally adapted to the town and country, to an agricultural and manufacturing population.

Having thus attempted to correct the defective execution, arising from the duration of the office of overseer being only annual, your committee are of opinion, that the relief and maintenance of the poor might be better administered, if more important assistance could be required from the vestry of each parish, than is usually derived from that quarter. The legislature has indeed contemplated their interference; but having left it to the body at large, which is not perhaps in populous parishes very conveniently constituted for that purpose, their interposition has in most places been discontinued. Your committee think it expedient, therefore, to enable parishes, either singly or in union with others, to establish select vestries, for the purpose of managing the parochial concerns; and that such select vestries should be annually chosen at a general vestry, and should consist of the minister, or in his absence the resident curate (being assessed to the poor rate), the churchwardens, overseers, and as many other substantial householders, not exceeding a limited number, as the majority of such general vestry shall think proper to elect; provided that the amount of the property for which such majority shall be assessed to the poor rate, shall be equal to at least two-third parts of the property for which the whole of the persons attending such general vestry are assessed; and the appointment of such select vestry should be made under the hands and seals of two justices of the peace, in the same manner as the appointment of overseers of the poor has heretofore been made; that such select vestry should meet once in each fortnight, or oftener if necessary, and at such meeting should examine into the state of the poor, determine upon the nature and quantity of relief required, superintend the collection and administration of all funds arising in and belonging to such parishes, as well as the execution of all laws relating to the poor, and which have been heretofore executed by the overseer; and in all cases relative to the poor, except in those of urgent necessity, the interference of justices of the peace, acting in that capacity, shall not be admitted, either directly or indirectly, until reference has been made to such select vestry; but that in cases of extreme necessity the overseers of the poor shall have power to furnish temporary relief, or to take such other steps as the urgency of the case may require; and in all such urgent cases in which the overseers of the poor shall have refused or neglected to take cognisance thereof, any justice of the peace acting for the division should, upon complaint, to be verified by oath, inquire into such case; and if he shall find matter which he shall deem of sufficient importance to call for the immediate consideration of the select vestry, he shall have power so require such select vestry to assemble forthwith, and to take such case into consideration; and if such select vestry shall refuse or neglect so to assemble and to consider such case,

case, such magistrate should then have power to make such an order as he would have been impowered to make, had the case been previously considered and determined upon by the select vestry; and where the parties shall not be satisfied with the decisions of such select vestry, they should have a right to apply to two or more justices of the peace, in petty sessions assembled, who, upon the complaint being verified by oath, shall have power to summon the overseers to inquire into and decide upon the merits of the case, and to make such order as they may think proper, stating the grounds upon which they make their adjudication; and in all parishes in which the select vestry shall be established, general vestries shall in future be held within one week after Easter, and within one week after Michaelmas, in each year, for the purpose of consulting and determining upon parochial matters, before which general vestries shall be laid for consideration and approval, the proceedings and accounts of such select vestry, according to the practice of Scotland. It might also be expedient that the accounts of the parish should be kept in a prescribed form.

In such a body, acquainted as they must be with the situation, character and habits of the applicants, might well be vested that discretion which is so much wanted to discriminate between the claims of the idle and the industrious; and their decisions may, it is hoped, supersede the necessity of those appeals to the magistrates, which have been so numerous as to preclude frequently that attention being given to each particular case, which it might otherwise have received, and perhaps suggested the adoption of that scale of relief, which has been applied indiscriminately to those whose earnings, so measured, were found insufficient for their maintenance.

The frequent application to magistrates originated, perhaps, in a proviso of the 3d and 4th William and Mary, c. 11, that no persons, but those registered in a book directed to be kept in each parish, should "receive collection," but by the authority of a justice or the justices in sessions. If any neglect therefore occurred in keeping such register, recourse would naturally and properly be had to the justices; but without such neglect, a probability was afforded of procuring from the justices, that which was refused by the parish officer, insomuch that it should seem from the 9th Geo. 1. c. 7, that it had become necessary to check such applications; for it recites "that many persons have applied to some justice of the peace, without the knowledge of any officers of the parish, and thereby upon untrue suggestions, and sometimes upon false and frivolous pretences, have obtained relief." It therefore provided, that no poor person should be relieved till oath made of a reasonable cause for such relief; and that application had been made in vain to the parish; and the justice is ordered to summon two of the overseers to show cause why such relief should not be given. But under this statute, every person who is dissatisfied with the decision of the overseer, of course applies to the justice, to whom his wants and habits must generally be less known; and in default of the attendance of the officers, which, constituted as the office of overseer is, frequently happens, either from the distance of the magistrate, or from the pressure of other business,

an order or recommendation is given on the statement of the applicant. This preventive provision of the 9th Geo. I. appearing therefore to have wholly failed, it is hoped that the intervention of such a select vestry would be more effectual, especially if they were aided by the establishment of the parochial benefit fund, which would afford, after some time, the surest criterion of the industry and providence of each parishioner.

The efficacy however of this as well as of any other expedient which can be suggested, must depend upon some of those who are most interested in the welfare of a parish taking an active share in the administration of its concerns. Without this, the committee are convinced no benefit will be derived from any amendment that can be made in the details of the system; and with it, even under the existing law, much may be effected, as it has been, both in single and in incorporated parishes, where such superintendence prevails; and they think no means are so likely to lead to this desirable practice, as giving to such a part of the vestry as may bear some analogy to the heritors and kirk-session of Scotland, a practical and efficient discriminating power in granting relief, still leaving an appeal to the petty sessions open, if the judgement of such a body should be thought erroneous. The heritors and kirk session continue to perform the duty of adjusting the list of the poor; and though by 8 and 4 Will. III. c. 11. the same duty has been enjoined upon the parishioners generally, and none but those in such list are permitted to a share of the assessment, except by order of a justice, your committee believe that this provision has been so generally neglected as to be almost forgotten.

One of the cases in which such a discriminating power may be exercised with the greatest justice, occurs not unfrequently where the party is in present want, from having squandered away earnings that would have afforded ample means for the support of a family: in such instances, in conformity with this principle, it might be expedient that there should be a power to advance such sums as may be necessary for the immediate support of the family, by way of loan only, to be repaid by instalments, according to the discretion of the select vestry or magistrates; such a practice would at least be attended with the advantage of securing inquiry and discrimination. The application of the same principle to the wants of persons who are in the receipt of allowances from Chelsea and Greenwich hospitals, leads the committee to think it expedient to recommend, that where any person entitled to a pension or other allowance from Chelsea or Greenwich hospital shall apply for parish relief, the parish officers may require, and any magistrate may authorize and direct, the assignment of such pension or allowance for the reimbursement of the parish, such assignment to be made in a short form to be prescribed, to be of one or more quarterly payments, as the magistrate may think fit, regard being had to the amount of the relief ordered. The parish officers should be required to give immediate notice to the revenue officer of the district who is authorized to pay such pensions, and the parish officers, or their successors, should be authorized to receive the payments when due, according to the tenor of the assignments, subject to account with the pauper before a magistrate.

And as it might contribute materially to the comfort of the persons entitled

entitled to such allowances, and tend to prevent the necessity for such applications on their part for relief, if they were enabled to receive the sums due to them weekly, instead of quarterly, it is recommended that authority should be given by law to any person entitled to a pension, or other provision from Chelsea or Greenwich hospital, to assign such pension to the overseer of the parish in which he may reside, and to provide that upon such assignment being made with the approbation of a magistrate, and registered at Greenwich or Chelsea, it shall be lawful for the overseer to pay to such person out of the poor rates a weekly allowance corresponding to the rate of such pension; and the directors and governors of Chelsea and Greenwich respectively should direct the quarterly issue of any pension so assigned to be paid to such overseer, in reimbursement of the weekly advance, under proper regulations to be made for that purpose. In the one case, the parish will be reimbursed the sums advanced, as in justice it ought to be, and in the other, the temptation to extravagance being removed, the want perhaps will not be created.

Having thus considered the description of persons to be relieved, either by employment or pecuniary assistance, it remains to your committee to direct the attention of the house to the place in which such persons were respectively to be so relieved or set to work, embracing what is termed the law of settlement; which, if not the most important branch of the subject in other respects, yet, as it affects the comforts, the happiness, and even the liberty of the great mass of our population, is of the highest interest.

From the reign of Richard 2. (12 R. 2. c. 7. 11 H. 7. c. 2. 19 H. 7. c. 12) impotent beggars were directed to repair to the place of their birth; afterwards, to the place where they had last dwelled or were best known, or were born, or had "made last their abode by the space of three years." And such continued to be the law at that period, when funds for the relief of the poor were first raised by a compulsory assessment; a provision, which rendered it still more important to define correctly, what persons were locally entitled to partake of this local fund; and the 14 Eliz. c. 5. consequently authorized the removal of persons "to the place where they were born, or most conversant for the space of three years next before." And this enactment appears to have remained unaltered by any act of the legislature, except in the case of rogues and vagabonds, (39 Eliz. c. 4. 1 J. c. 7.) who were to be sent to their last dwelling, if they had any; if not, to the place where they last dwelt by the space of one year; though decisions of the courts of law seem to have considered a month's abode, or a residence of forty days, in some cases sufficient to gain a settlement. The doubts which, however, existed on this subject were removed by 13 & 14 Car. 2. c. 12, which established a new system, imposing a restraint on the circulation of labour, essentially affecting the domestic comforts and happiness of the poor, and giving rise to various subsequent provisions, which have become the fruitful source of litigation.

The statute enacts, that "whereas by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to an-

other, and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy; and when they have consumed it, then to another parish, and at last become rogues and vagabonds, to the great discouragement of parishes to provide stocks, when it is liable to be devoured by strangers: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful, upon complaint made by the churchwardens or overseers of the poor of any parish, to any justice of the peace, within forty days after any such person or persons coming to settle, as aforesaid, in any tenement under the yearly value of 10*l.* for any two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum, at the division where any person or persons that are likely to be chargeable to the parish shall come to inhabit, by their warrant to remove and convey such person or persons to such parish where he or they were last legally settled, either as a native householder, sojourner, apprentice or servant, for the space of forty days at least, unless he or they give sufficient security for the discharge of the said parish, to be allowed of by the said justices:"

But as a settlement would be thus gained by forty days residence, and that residence might not be matter of notoriety, when such a natural inducement would exist to conceal it, by a subsequent act, (1 J. 2. c. 17.) the forty days residence is to be reckoned not from the day of the person coming to inhabit, but from the time at which he gives a notice in writing to one of the parish officers of his abode, and the number of his family. But even this precaution against a clandestine residence was not enough to prevent such notice being defeated by the inattention and misconduct of the officers; and it was therefore further provided, (3 W. 3. c. 11.) that such notice should be published in the church and registered; it was felt necessary, however, to provide that the following persons should be deemed to have a legal settlement in the parish, though no such notice in writing be delivered or published:

1st. Any person executing a public annual office in the parish, or paying parish taxes.

2d. Any unmarried person, without child or children, hired for one year.

3d. Any person bound an apprentice by indenture.

Notwithstanding these exceptions, the mischief of making the labouring classes thus stationary appears to have been soon felt, and the expedient was adopted of granting certificates by the major part of the parish officers, (8 & 9 W. 3. c. 30) and allowed by two justices, acknowledging the persons removing to belong to their parish, undertaking to provide for them whenever they may be forced to ask relief of the parish to which such certificate is brought: in that case they were irremovable till actually chargeable; but in that event they might be conveyed to their place of settlement. By these means, it was hoped, that those who were in want of work in one parish might be enabled to seek it in another, notwithstanding the provisions of the 13 & 14 Ch. 2. which restrained them from carrying their labour to the best market.

By a subsequent act, (9 & 10 W. 3.) care was taken that no settlement should be gained by a residence under such certificate, unless the party

party took a lease of a tenement of the annual value of 10*l.*, or executed some annual office, being legally placed therein. And by the 12th Anne, c. 18, an apprentice or a hired servant to a certificated person, could not by virtue of the apprenticeship, or hiring and service, gain any settlement in such parish. Another act also was passed to ensure the regular execution of such certificate, by the attestation of witnesses, and again for the more certain reimbursement, by the certifying parish, of the expenses attending the removal of the certificated person (3 Geo. 2. c. 29.). After all, it was solemnly decided, that the granting these certificates was quite discretionary both with regard to the parish officers and the magistrates. And such continued to be the only means by which this restraint on the free circulation of labour could be avoided, till in the thirty-fifth year of the present reign, the privilege of persons not being removed till actually chargeable, which had been recently conferred on members of friendly societies, was extended by a law which deserves perhaps more notice and applause than it has received, and the liberty of removing from place to place was made no longer to depend upon the will and judgement neither of parish officers or magistrates, but the removal of poor persons was prevented till they were actually chargeable.

No materal alteration has been made in the law of settlement since this act; and the result of the various enactments on this subject now is, that every poor person when entitled to parochial relief, can claim it only (except in cases of sudden accident or calamity) in that parish in which he has resided during forty days, either on an estate of his own, if purchased of the value of 30*l.*, or in a tenement rented by him of the annual value of 10*l.*, or under indentures of apprenticeship, or having served a year under a yearly hiring, as an unmarried man, without a child, or by executing a public annual office during the year. If a settlement has been acquired by neither of these means, the father's settlement becomes that of his issue; if that be unknown, the mother's; and if that also should not be ascertained, recourse must be had to the place of birth, which is also (with certain exceptions) the place of settlement of illegitimate children, till they have acquired another by one of the modes described by the statutes above enumerated. Persons not born within the kingdom, and who have acquired no settlement by either of the above means, are by the humane interpretation of the law to be relieved, in case of necessity, in the parish in which they are found.

These various provisions have given rise to a course of expensive and embarrassing litigation, of which a very inadequate measure would be formed by reference to the cases, numerous as they are, which have been reported in the superior court; for supposing all that have been there decided, to have been reported, still they are decisions of such questions of law only, as were thought doubtful by the magistrates and courts below, exclusive of the infinitely greater number of questions of fact, on which it is the peculiar province of the justices alone to decide, either in the first instance, or by way of appeal; and it may perhaps be added, that on no branch of the law have the judgements of the superior court been so contradictory. A

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better judgement may perhaps be formed by a reference to the sums expended in litigation, and the removal of paupers at different periods. These sums amounted in 1776, to 35,072*l.*; in 1786, to 85,791*l.*; in 1803, 190,072*l.*; in 1815, 287,000*l.* And it appears that the appeals against orders of removal, entered at the four last quarter sessions, amount to about 4,700. Great however as the inconvenience confessedly is of this constant and increasing litigation, there are still other effects of the law of settlement, which it is yet more important to correct; such are the frauds so frequently committed by those who are intrusted to prevent even the probability of a burthen being brought on their parish; and such are the measures, justifiable undoubtedly in point of law, which are adopted very generally in many parts of the kingdom, to defeat the obtaining a settlement; the most common of these latter practices is that of hiring labourers for a less period than a year; from whence it naturally and necessarily follows, that a labourer may spend the season of his health and industry in one parish, and be transferred in the decline of life to a distant part of the kingdom. If the means cannot be found of wholly removing both the mischief of litigation, and the hardship that in particular and not unfrequent instances attends the operation of this part of the law, still the committee hope much may be done to mitigate both. The entire abrogation of the law of settlement has indeed been suggested, and the suggestion has generally been accompanied with a proposal to maintain the poor from a national fund, in order to relieve particular places from the pressure which might in that case arise from an accumulated number of paupers. But believing, for reasons which have been stated in a former part of this report, to which it more properly belongs, that transferring these funds from parishes to the government, would be on various grounds in the highest degree inexpedient, the committee cannot but feel, that as long as a provision for the poor is raised by compulsory parochial assessments, some means must continue to exist of assigning them to their respective parochial limits; and they are satisfied, that something short of a total repeal of the law of settlement, yet going further than all the various minor alterations which have been suggested from different parts of the kingdom, would simplify the law so much, as to reduce the subject of ligitation to a very few questions of fact, place the maintenance of those who want relief upon a far more just and equitable footing, and at the same time consult in the greatest degree the comfort and happiness of the poor themselves. With these views, your committee recommend, that in future any person residing three years in a parish, without being absent more than months in each year, and without being in any manner chargeable, should obtain a settlement in such parish; and to prevent as far as possible this fact becoming the source of such litigation as frequently arises, from the difficulty of ascertaining the most simple facts, by the evidence of the paupers themselves, it might be permitted that after such residence was completed, a deposition of the fact might be made by the party before two justices, after notice given to the overseers. Your committee are persuaded, that if service was required to be combined with residence, it would

would not only render the provision complicated, but would prevent a settlement being acquired within either of the parishes in which the person serves or resides. And it is recommended, that no person, from a day to be named, shall acquire a settlement, by renting a tenement, serving an office, hiring and service for a year, apprenticeship or estate. With respect to such poor persons who not being natives of England, may be without a settlement, the influx of them to particular places has been so great and oppressive, that the committee think provision should be made for passing such persons, upon their application for parochial relief, to the nearest ports or places, from which they may return to their native country; but that any native of the British empire shall acquire a settlement in any parish in which he may have resided five years without being chargeable.

It is not to be supposed that such an abrogation in future of the 13 & 14 Car. 2. and all that has been built upon that statute, can be wholly exempt from inconvenience; but the only objection that has appeared entitled to serious consideration, is founded on an apprehension that it might tend to the reduction of the number of cottages, a consequence which would be undoubtedly much to be lamented; but the inconvenience of driving labourers to a distance from the farms which they cultivate, would tend, it is hoped, to counteract the evil; for it is chiefly from motives of this sort, that such tenements are in many instances at present upheld. It will, however, be for the house to consider, whether the advantages resulting from such a change are not calculated to counterbalance this, which the committee deem the only substantial objection to the alteration; recollecting always, that inconveniences must be inseparable from such a compulsory provision for the poor, as exists in this part of the United Kingdom alone.

Your committee, however, may cite in support of their opinion, the authority of the accurate and judicious author of the History of the poor laws, who says, "It must be owned, the statute of the 13th and 14th Ch. 2. hath exceeded, perhaps, the due bounds. If alterations should be thought requisite, it is submitted, whether it might not be reasonable to reduce the settlement to where it was before that statute, to wit, to the place of birth, or of inhabitancy for one or more years. For so long as this was the plain simple settlement, there were very few disputes in the courts of law about settlements. It was the easy method of obtaining a settlement by a residency of forty days, that brought parishes into a state of war against the poor, and against one another; and caused the subsequent restrictive statutes to be made, all which would fall of course, by reducing the settlement to its ancient (and indeed most natural) standard."

To state the advantages attending the alteration fairly, it is necessary to direct the attention of the house to the sort of questions which arise out of each of the heads of settlement proposed to be abrogated.

In the case, for instance, of a settlement being supposed to be acquired by renting a tenement of the annual value of 10*l*., the question in dispute generally respects the value. If it may be really not far from that sum, and the family of the pauper be numerous, the interests of the contending parishes, supported by the conflicting opinion of their respective

spective surveyors, leads to the utmost expense and extremity of litigation.

But this question of fact has not been the only subject of dispute. The kind of tenement, and the nature of the tenure, will be found by a reference to the reports of the King's Bench, to have given rise to the most difficult and numerous questions; the same reference will afford a still greater variety of intricate questions, and of conflicting decisions, respecting hiring and service; as to who may be hired, as servants, what the contract of hiring, whether general, special, customary, retrospective, conditional, personal; hiring, service in different places, with different masters, of marriage during the service, and absence from service.

The settlement by serving an apprenticeship has also its various decisions, arising out of the nature of the binding, the time of the service, the place of the service, the discharging the indentures, and the service with different masters, the execution of indentures, and stamps. The last head of settlement by estate, it is obvious, besides the question of value, which, in case of purchase, must amount *bonâ fide* to 30*l.*, involves necessarily some of the most intricate questions respecting real property and testamentary bequests and devises. The committee are persuaded they need do no more than refer to these several heads of litigation to show its extent; and that minor alterations in any of these, while each head of settlement is retained, would only lead to new questions. It has, for instance, been suggested, that the rent of the tenement should be substituted for its value; but the question would then be shifted, and every agreement for a rent a little above or a little below 10*l.* would be impugned as collusive. Raising the sum from 10*l.* to 20*l.* has been also suggested, and would have its advantages by diminishing litigation; but it would at the same time increase the difficulty of charging a settlement, and, consequently, of permitting skill and labour to find its best market. It has been proposed also to the committee from various quarters, that under the head of hiring and service, a contract of hiring should be dispensed with, and service for a year confer a settlement. But your committee fear, that the same means which are now successfully adopted to prevent a settlement from being obtained under this head, would in that case operate more prejudicially to the labourer, by preventing his remaining a year in one place; at present he can do so, under successive hirings, for a shorter period. If these apprehensions are well founded, the change would be most prejudicial to him, and so impolitic in its effects, as to counteract any advantage which could be derived from such diminution of litigation. These are among the reasons for which the committee suppose that no alteration, short of that which they venture to propose, would have the effect of removing the evil of litigation incident to the present law of settlement. But it is to the labouring class of the community that they conceive this great alteration would be most beneficial. It would insure their being maintained, where they had maintained themselves, where they would be more likely, if meritorious persons, to experience in case of need the kindness of real benevolence. It is hoped also that it might operate as an inducement to active and faithful service on the

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one hand, and on the other to prevent such service being interrupted by an interested consideration for parochial funds. And they propose this alteration with the more confidence, because they thereby recommend the restoration of that law, which was coeval with parochial contributions, whether voluntary or compulsory; and because it is still the existing law in that part of the United Kingdom, Scotland, where the local management and maintenance of the poor have been best conducted.

There are some other suggestions of inferior importance, which have not found a place in the foregoing part of the report, to which your committee would refer before they conclude their observations.

It appears desirable, that justices out of sessions should have the power, which they can now only execute in sessions, of making orders of maintenance on near relations.

That a power should also be given to enable overseers to recover by a summary process, the possession of tenements which they may have rented and used for the accommodation of the poor, without being driven to the tedious and expensive proceeding by way of ejectment.

Your committee moreover think, that the vexation and expense of removals might in some instances be saved, by an arrangement for postponing the execution of the order, till after a final decision in case of appeal.

It is also suggested, that the power given by the Mutiny Act (vide 56 Geo. 3. cap. 10. sect. 70,) "to any justice of the peace, where any soldier shall be quartered, in case such soldier have either wife, child or children, to examine such soldier as to the place of his last legal settlement, and which requires him to give an attested copy to such soldier, of any affidavit made by him in this respect, in order to be produced when required; and which provides that such attested copy shall be at any time admitted in evidence, as to such last legal settlement," be extended to any person confined in any gaol or place of safe custody in Great Britain, provided that such copy of the examination shall not be admitted in evidence after the discharge of such prisoner.

By the act 23 Geo. 3. cap. 88, it is provided, that when any application shall be made to a justice of the peace for relief, such justice shall not summon the guardian, unless application shall have been first made by the applicant to the guardian, and, if he refuses redress to the visitor. In incorporated parishes, the visitor is frequently from ten to fifteen miles distant from the residence of the pauper, and frequently absent from home. Some alteration in the law appears necessary to obviate this inconvenience.

Your committee have thus stated to the house the result of a laborious investigation, which has been protracted to a period of the session which precludes their proposing at present such legislative enactments as it might be thought fit to adopt. They cannot, however, regret this circumstance; for conceiving that the house expected at their hands a general revision of the whole system of our poor laws, in which, though it be not difficult to point out inconveniences and mischiefs, yet the task of providing practical remedies is so arduous, that your committee is persuaded, that even more time and labour would not have been misspent in considering further the various provisions of the law,

law, and the numerous proposals which from different quarters have been submitted to their judgement. The house also will not be called upon to adopt any of the suggestions of this report, till an ample opportunity will have been afforded to correct any errors in the judgement of your committee, or to confirm their opinions; and this delay will above all be salutary, if the lapse of time, aided by a more favourable season, should restore the kingdom in some degree to its wonted and healthful state. For, though a period of depression and distress may bring out more prominently the weak and unsound parts of the system, it is obvious that the application of the most effectual remedies, is at such a moment of more than ordinary difficulty. And if it should be the pleasure of the house, that the consideration of this subject should be resumed in the next session of parliament, no inconsiderable advantage will be derived from that mass of information contained in the returns of 1815, to which they have not yet had access; and from a further valuable accession of detailed accounts of the admirable practice of Scotland.

4th July, 1817.

Report of the committee of the general assembly, Edinburgh; on the letter to the moderator by the right honourable William Sturges Bourne.

Edinburgh, 17th June, 1817.

Sir,

I duly communicated to the general assembly of the church of Scotland the letter of the 29th of May, with which you, as chairman of the committee of the house of commons, have been pleased to honour me.

In answer to this letter, I have it now in my power to transmit to you such a report as the committee of the assembly, expressly appointed for the purpose, has been enabled to draw up from information to which it had immediate access; but I have, at the same time, the honour of informing you, that the assembly has directed its committee to collect information more generally throughout the church, which will enable me hereafter to transmit to you a fuller account of the management of the poor in Scotland.

I have the honour to be respectfully, your most faithful and obedient servant,

GAVEN GIBB, moderator.

W. Sturges Bourne, esq.
chairman of the committee
of the house of commons.

The committee report, that with the assistance of the returns made to Mr. Kennedy's inquiries, they have been able to prepare a statement of the management of the poor in upwards of one hundred parishes in Scotland, which is ready to be laid before the assembly; that there are still a very considerable number of additional returns, amounting nearly, perhaps, to another hundred parishes, which it has not been possible within the time allowed them to arrange; and that the committee take the liberty of suggesting the following remarks, which have occurred to them, on the returns which they have already arranged.—They remark,

1. That the Scotch have uniformly proceeded on the principle, that every individual is bound to provide for himself by his own labour, as long as he is able to do so; and that his parish is only bound to make up that portion of the necessaries

saries of life, which he cannot earn or obtain by other lawful means.

2. That even in cases of extreme poverty, the relations and neighbours of the paupers have a pride in providing for their necessities, either in whole or in part.—That this circumstance will account for the small number of paupers in some very populous parishes; and serves at the same time to explain a fact, which is obvious in so many of the returns in the country districts, that the sums given to the paupers appear to be so disproportioned to what their real necessities require. A small sum, given to aid their other resources, affords them the relief which is necessary; and it would be both against the true interest and the moral habits of the people, if a more ample provision were made for them by their parishes.

3. That the distinction made in a great proportion of the returns between the poor *in* the regular parish roll, and the *industrious* poor who receive only occasional supply, is of equal importance to the morals and the best interests of the country. Those of the first class receive a constant supply from the parish funds; those of the second are only assisted when they are laid aside from work by sickness or accidental causes; and especially during that season of the year which chiefly affects their health or suspends their usual labours. They receive at that time such assistance as their immediate necessities demand, for the limited period when they are in this situation; but when the cause which occasioned their demand ceases to operate, the parish assistance is withdrawn, and they return to their labour, under a conviction, which they never relinquish, that both their subsistence and their comfort must ultimately depend on their personal industry.

4. That it appears from the returns which have yet been examined, that in a great proportion of the country parishes in which legal assessments have been introduced, they have been afterwards abandoned; either because it has been found by experience that whatever addition the ordinary funds required might be found at much less expense by means of voluntary contributions, when any urgent pressure on the poor should render it necessary; or because a regular assessment in those parishes has very generally been observed to produce an influx of paupers from other parishes, who in three years (by the decisions of the courts of law for the last forty years) can acquire a legal settlement, if during that time they have supported themselves by their own industry; aggravating in this way the parochial burthen beyond all reasonable proportion. It is clear, from the returns examined, and the remarks contained in them, that this observation applies to no inconsiderable number of parishes, though the experience may be different in other situations which have not yet fallen under the view of the committee; and that the voluntary contributions which are substituted in place of legal assessments, though in some instances they are unequal and partial, from the inattention or disinclination of individuals, have in general been found to answer the purpose, relieving those parishes of a much greater and more permanent burden, and as effectually providing for the real necessities of the poor.

5. That it appears to the committee, that in those districts to which the reports they have considered relate, the weekly collections

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at the churches, in parishes in which there are few dissenters, go far to provide for the support of the poor; that collections at the churches have been in use from the earliest periods of the Scotch ecclesiastical establishment, and are recognised in the acts of parliament both as an ancient and *legal* resource for the maintenance of the poor.—That every encouragement ought to be given to the continuance of the weekly collections; and that those parishes have not judged wisely, who appear to have abandoned them to make way for regular assessments.—That though it is true, that where there are legal assessments established, an unequal burden is laid on the inhabitants who attend the parish church, and give their weekly contributions there, independent of what they pay to the assessment; it is also true, that the apostolical rule of making such collections on the first day of the week, adopted by our church, and sanctioned by the legislature, should not be hastily departed from; and that the discontinuance of such collections has obviously a most pernicious influence to render poors rates both oppressive and perpetual.

6. That it is clear to the committee, that in almost all the country parishes which have hitherto come under their notice, where a regular assessment has been established, the wants of the poor, and the extent of the assessments, have gradually and progressively increased from their commencement; and that it does appear to be a matter of very serious interest to the community at large, to prevent as far as possible this practice from being generally adopted; to limit the assessments as much as they can be limited, where the circumstances of particular parishes render them unavoidable; and whenever it is practicable, to abandon them.

7. That it appears to the committee from the returns before them, that the weekly collections at the churches are a very efficient resource for the parochial poor, in every case in which there are few dissenters, or persons who absent themselves from their parish church; it is equally clear, on the other hand, that in those parishes in which the accommodation provided for the inhabitants in the parish churches bears no proportion to the population, a legal assessment seems to be inevitable, as long as this continues to be the situation of those parishes; that in such of these cases as have fallen under the view of the committee, it is manifestly the ultimate interest, both of the landholders and the parishioners, to have their respective parishes divided, and a sufficient number of churches provided, equal to the number of inhabitants; and that if this were done to the full extent, it is certain that the poor might be supported without any necessity of having recourse to parochial assessments.—That at present the gradual increase of property in some of those parishes, by adding to the funds from which the assessments are raised, serves to keep down the amount of the charge on the parish at large; and that from this circumstance the amount of the assessments there has increased in a much less proportion, than the assessments in parishes in which the funds for assessment, or the property assessed, has remained in a great measure stationary.

8. That where legal assessments are resorted to in Scotland, the provisions in the law which regulates the manner of imposing them are uniformly and strictly observed; that the law has given the power to

to assess a parish to a joint meeting, consisting of the minister, the heritors, and the elders of the parish, who are authorized to meet for the purpose on the first Tuesday of February and the first Tuesday of August in each year, when the assessment is imposed *half-yearly*; or on either of those days, when it is fixed for a whole year.—That the practice in general is, to hold this meeting only once in the year, and most frequently on the first Tuesday of August, and at that time to assess for a whole year.—That the heritors in general, who are the persons chiefly interested, are accustomed to attend this meeting, and having the chief influence in determining the amount of the assessment, have it always in their power to keep it within reasonable bounds.—That in former times it was, and in parishes chiefly landward it still is, imposed according to the *valued* rent of the lands; but that where a great part of the most valuable property consists in houses, this has been found to be an unequal rule, as it evidently lays on landed estates a very disproportioned part of the burthen; that in these situations, therefore, the practice which prevails, and has been sanctioned by the decisions in the courts of law, is to impose the assessments according to the *real* rents of property both in houses and lands.—That the assessments thus imposed are laid on heritors and tenants by equal portions, the heritor paying one half of the assessment and the tenant the other, and both proportions being paid by an heritor who occupies his own property; with this exception, that a deduction is given of one fourth or the half of the assessment laid on the heritor of houses in name of reparations.—That at the annual meeting, at which such assessments are imposed, the heritors are accustomed to attend, and have always the power of determining what is done; so that it rests in a great measure with themselves to prevent the assessment imposed from rising beyond what the fair necessities of the parish require.

9. That the statements on the management of the poor within the city of Edinburgh and the parish of Saint Cuthbert's, show in what manner the poor are provided for in the parishes of the largest population; in the first, where there is a legal assessment, which has been but very lately resorted to, and at the same time a parish workhouse; and in the second, which comprehends the suburbs of Edinburgh, and a larger population still, where there has been a legal assessment for upwards of fifty years, and also a parish workhouse.

10. That in the schedules taken from the returns of the country parishes, in order to render their statements uniform, the committee have in general satisfied themselves with inserting an average of ten years, both with regard to the number of paupers, and the funds which are employed in supporting them.

With these remarks the committee conclude this report; humbly submitting it to the assembly, to be transmitted, if it shall be approved of, to Mr. Sturges Bourne.

MONCRIEFF WELLWOOD,
for the Sub-committee.

LITERARY RETROSPECT

AND

SELECTIONS.

LITERARY RETROSPECT

AND

Selections.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

IN the preface to the present Volume of the New Annual Register, we have stated, generally and briefly, the alterations which are made in the plan, arrangement, and object, of the present or Literary portion of it, and the reasons which induced us to make those alterations. It seems, however, proper, and may be expected, that in this introductory chapter to the Literary part of the Register, we should enter more fully and particularly into the nature and object of these alterations, and give more at length the reasons from which they sprung, and the objects which they have in view.

According to the original plan of this work, it consisted, in fact, of two parts: one part professed to give an annual retrospect of the political events of the past year; this part was subdivided into two portions. In the first and principal portion, all those events, which, from the dignity of their character and nature, the wide field on which they were displayed, the connexion which they possessed with events gone by, or to come, of similar importance, and the public character of those who were principally concerned in them, were entitled to the denomination of History, were comprised: in the second portion of the first part, subordinate events, or events of a local and temporary character and importance,—many of which were indeed interesting from the circumstances of which they were composed, from the insight which they gave into individual or national character, or from other causes,—were detailed. To this portion was appended a selection of State papers;—such documents as might authenticate, or illustrate the facts and events about which the first portion of the first part was occupied.

The second grand division of the New Annual Register, according to the original plan, was Literary; but the arrangement of this part does not appear to have been most happily or judiciously formed; for the greatest portion of it was placed entirely after the whole of the first, or political division of the volume; whereas that part of the Literary division, which, though of comparatively small extent, was far before the larger portion in originality, importance, and interest—was placed in the beginning of the volume,

at a distance from the Literary Selections and Retrospect.

The first alteration, therefore, which suggested itself,—and which, after mature and cool deliberation, it was resolved to make,—related to the throwing entirely together whatever of the New Annual Register should treat of Literature. This alteration has accordingly been made in the present volume: the whole of the first part is Political or Historical; the whole of the second part is Literary.

This, however, is an alteration only so far as regards the arrangement: it has been deemed proper, and for the advantage and improvement of the work, to make other alterations, of a more extensive and important nature. According to the original plan, the Literary division of the New Annual Register consisted of Literary Selections, and a Literary Retrospect. That Literary Selections, that is, Selections from such works published during the currency of the past year, as contained information new and instructive, or interesting, or as exhibited fair and characteristic specimens of the genius and acquirements of that year,—especially, if such works were, from the expensive manner in which they were published, of rare and difficult access,—that such Selections should be gratifying and acceptable to all classes and descriptions of readers,—if made with care, impartiality, and judgment,—there can be no doubt. Hence, we believe, that these Selections were always read with peculiar interest and pleasure, and, not unfrequently, with much instruction; and that they introduced the readers of the New Annual Register to facts in science, or in the history of man, or to literary pleasures, to which they, otherwise, would have been strangers. With this impression of the interest and value of the Literary Selections, it has been determined to continue them on the same plan, and to the same extent, as they have hitherto been given. But the determination with regard to the Literary Retrospect, has been otherwise. This Retrospect consisted of a professed Review of Domestic and Foreign Literature. Could this professed object have been accomplished within the limits, or on the plan, necessarily assigned it, there can be no doubt, that it would have formed by far the most valuable portion of the Register: but a view of the subjects which this Retrospect professed to embrace, will prove that they were far beyond the compass, and, in fact, foreign to the character of an Annual Register. That part of the Retrospect which related to Domestic Literature, comprised Biblical Criticism, Christian Ethics, Polemics, Discourses, and single Sermons; Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, Chemistry, Mineralogy, and the different branches of pure and mixed Mathematics; History, Voyages, Travels, Politics, and Political Economy; Biography, Antiquities, Poetry, Belles Lettres, and Novels. The Retrospect of Foreign Literature comprised the literature and science of the principal nations of Europe and America. A Retrospect, thus extensive, professing to embrace such a variety of important topics, was necessarily confined to seven or eight sheets at the utmost: hence it will be evident, that it must merely skim over the various topics, and leave on the minds and recollections of the readers very vague, general, and feeble impressions. In fact, thus limited

limited in extent, it could neither give an adequate character of the various publications which were brought under review, nor exhibit a general, distinct, and clear idea of the state and progress of literature and science during the currency of the year over which it professed to throw a retrospect. The latter object, indeed, might more fully and satisfactorily be accomplished by the literary selections, if impartially and judiciously made; while the former object—that of a Review of scientific and literary publications,—seemed, as was before observed, to be equally foreign to the nature and object, and beyond the limits, of an Annual Register.

Such are briefly the considerations that have induced us to alter the character and arrangement of this portion of the New Annual Register. In this Volume, the Review of Domestic and Foreign Literature is entirely omitted; but the Selections are continued: there is, however, still a Literary Retrospect.

It seemed, indeed, proper that an Annual Register should introduce its readers, not only to the historical and political events that might have occurred during the currency of the past year, but also to the literature and science of that year: we have endeavoured to prove, that the Review portion of the volume was inadequate to the accomplishment of this latter object, because it professed to follow the example of the regular Reviews, while, at the same time, its space was much less, and the number of publications which came within its range, much greater. It has, therefore, been determined to prefix to the Literary Selections a Review, not of books, but of the general, literary, and scientific character of the past year; or, to explain the object we have in view more fully and distinctly, it has been determined, in the first place, to point out and mark, in the Literary Retrospect, not only the progress and changes which may have taken place in literature and science during the currency of the past year, but also its peculiar character; and, in the second place, to prefix to the Selections from each particular work a sketch of the object, plan, arrangement, and leading contents, of the work (if its nature admit of it) as well as a very brief Review of the manner in which it is executed.

It is hoped and believed, that this alteration in the literary department of the New Annual Register will enable us to render that department more consonant to its appellation, and more conducive to the object which it ought always to have had in view. It seemed proper, however, to introduce this alteration by a general and brief retrospect of the state and progress of literature and science in Britain, from that period when they first began to assume a distinct and characteristic form, to the present time, in order that our readers might be able, in some measure, to trace the causes which had placed them on their present footing, and the gradual steps by which they had arrived at the perfection in which they now exist. We are well aware of the difficulties of the object which we thus proposed to ourselves; and that, even with infinitely greater talents, acquirements, industry, research, and leisure, than we possess, this object could not be attained in a complete and satisfactory manner; but we hope that something may be done,

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even with our limited means, and within the narrow space to which we must confine ourselves, by which the great and leading eras of our literature and science may be marked out; and some, at least, of the circumstances and causes developed, and traced, which have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the formation of the peculiar literary character of the British nation.

One other object we have in view, and that little inferior, either in difficulty or importance, to that which we have just explained. All must acknowledge, that it would be highly desirable and instructive, if it were practicable, to investigate, thoroughly and clearly, the changes which have taken place in the intellectual habits and pursuits of any people; especially of that people, of whom we ourselves form a part, and who are so strongly marked as the British nation, in their intellectual, not less than in their political character. It has been observed, with regard to the morals and manners of a nation, that they are in some measure, and in some respects, the effect of the political institutions under which they live; and, in other respects, the cause of those institutions. A similar remark may be made with regard to the characteristics of the intellectual powers and pursuits of any nation: in some degree, they are moulded by the peculiar character of its literature; and, in some degree, they give the bent and character to that literature. In short, if we contemplate man, in his moral, political, and literary character, in connexion with the moral, political, and literary circumstances in which he is placed, we shall, on close and continued examination, be convinced, that they are mutually the cause and effect of one another; that circumstances operate upon the moral, political, and literary condition of man; and that, on the other hand, the moral, political, and literary condition of man operates upon circumstances. If these observations be correct, a sketch of the state and progress of literature and science in any country, would be incomplete and unsatisfactory if it were not accompanied with a sketch of the changes in the intellectual habits and pursuits of the people.

Having thus explained the nature and object of the alterations which it has been deemed proper to make in the literary department of the New Annual Register, and the reasons which lead to these alterations, we shall leave it to our readers to judge of their propriety; only bespeaking their candour and indulgence towards an attempt, of the difficulties of which, those who are the best informed must be most sensible.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the state and progress of Literature and Science in Britain, from the age of Elizabeth to the commencement of the reign of George III; and of the changes in the intellectual habits and pursuits of the people during that period.

IF we are not much mistaken, a very striking similitude, by no means fanciful or unfounded, and certainly highly instructive and interesting, may be traced between those peculiarities of temper, feelings, habits, manners, and modes of thinking and action, which constitute the character of a nation, and those peculiarities by which its literature is distinguished. If we pass rapidly in review those nations of Europe which are most forcibly distinguished by peculiarity of character and of literature, we shall be convinced, that this opinion rests on the basis of truth. The French national character is deeply marked; and the peculiarities of its literature and science are not less striking. Vivacity, and quickness of feeling and penetration, rather than permanency and profoundness, are among the most obvious and marked features of the French national character: its literature is easy, elegant, and vivacious; all the fine and evanescent feelings of the heart are skilfully pourtrayed, and laid bare, by many of its writers; but they seem neither disposed nor able, to develope or analyse the more manly, and deep-seated passions of the human breast. Its poetry equally resembles many of the features of the national character; it is characterised by taste and correctness; it never offends; but it seldom or never partakes of the real essence of poetry, by making the reader forget the realities of life, and hurrying him into the midst of a world, and human beings, created by the poet. Similar remarks might be applied to the metaphysics, the political writings, and the scientific acquirements of the French. As the effect produced by the action of one body upon another, depends partly on the weight, and partly on the impetus of the acting body; so the effect produced by the mental powers on any department of literature or science, depends partly on the solidity of those powers, and partly on their quickness and vivacity. The French possess powers of mind more distinguished for the latter, than the former qualities; they pierce through a subject by their subtlety, rather than make their way slowly and regularly, by their weight.

It would lead us too far from the immediate purpose and object of this Chapter, to extend and apply these remarks to the other European nations, who may, properly speaking, be said to possess a peculiar national character, and a peculiar literary character: but whoever will take the trouble of instituting a comparison, similar to that into which we have briefly entered,

concerns of the State;—in these circumstances we may distinctly trace the formation of some of those features of mind and character that are now regarded as most characteristic of the British nation.

With reference to the more immediate object of our present Chapter, it may be remarked, that the literature of this age is principally distinguished by its advancing far before the age. Of course, we do not mean to apply this remark to the writers of the age of Elizabeth, and her immediate successor, generally: indeed, we mean to confine it to those writers who would immediately be named by all who were called upon to point out the master intellects of this period of our literary history. Thus confined and qualified, our remark will be admitted to be strictly just, when the names of Shakespeare and of Bacon are announced. It may, however, be drawn as an inference from what we have just said, that as these writers advanced so far beyond the age in which they lived, they cannot be cited as fair specimens of the literary state or acquirements of that age; nor can their genius and talents be ascribed to the circumstances of the times in which they lived. Still we are of opinion, that both Shakespeare and Bacon are British intellects: that is, intellects formed (so far as they were formed, and not immediately framed, by the hand of nature) by the same circumstances which produced the national character; and specimens, in kind, though infinitely far excelling in degree, of all those literary men, on whom we should fix, if we were called upon, to prove by examples, that the literary character of our country was peculiar, and distinctly different from the literary character of every other nation. Let us briefly consider what are the peculiar features of the genius of Shakespeare and Bacon. In one respect they both agree; and that illustrates and confirms what we laid down as the most striking feature in the intellectual character of the British nation. They are both profound; and are both conversant, either with the deeper seated feelings and passions of the human breast, or the more abstruse faculties and workings of the human intellect.

With respect to Shakespeare, the stronger marked, and more peculiar features of his intellectual character, are, in some degree, participated by dramatic writers, contemporary, or nearly so, with him. These writers have only within these few years, had their genius brought into the cognizance of modern times; but now, justice is done to them. By far the most powerful in the delineation of bold and appalling characters,—in the painting of the fiercer and more ungovernable passions,—and in the attainment, and regular sustaining of the moral sublime,—is Marlow. Whoever has read his Doctor Faustus, must, if he had no other evidence, rise from its perusal under the firm conviction, that the author was a countryman of Shakespeare—that he was a Briton—and that in him must have existed all the most striking characteristics of British intellect.

It was otherwise with respect to Bacon: he had no equal; there was none who approached near him in his mental career: it is true, indeed, that his precept and his example were at variance: he chalked out in a plain and masterly manner the line, by pursuing which, the most

most hidden secrets of nature might become accessible to the intellect of man, and even, in some cases, under his control, and subservient to his pleasure or interest; but he seldom followed himself the line he thus chalked out. We are astonished and mortified to perceive the man, whose intellectual eye had pierced and laid open the path to almost every species of knowledge, himself the slave of credulity and superstition, and in his own attempts to discover the secrets of nature, or the causes of material or intellectual phenomena, adhering to that mode of philosophizing, the futility of which he had so clearly and ably exposed.

The traces of the state and progress of British literature and science during the greater part of the seventeenth century are slight and unconnected. There can be little doubt that the agitation of the civil wars formed, or called into action, a large portion of intellect, and that it left an impression on the intellectual character and pursuits of the British nation of a deep and durable nature. Indeed the origin and object of the long and arduous struggle between Charles and his Parliament, were well calculated to strengthen and improve more generally and deeply, not only the peculiar features of national character, which had begun to unfold themselves in the age of Elizabeth, but also the corresponding and concomitant features of the intellectual character of Britain, which had also first risen into view during the same period. Perhaps it would not be possible to select a more complete and striking instance both of the national character and national literature of Britain, as moulded by the events of the civil wars, than Milton exhibits. If we compare the character of his intellect, as displayed by his conduct and writings, with that of Shakespeare or Bacon, we shall be enabled to trace the operation of those causes which had been in existence the greater part of the period that intervened between the eras of these great men. If we compare Milton and Shakespeare we perceive in the former a much more pure and correct taste, derived, doubtlessly, in a great measure, from the influence and inducement of classical learning, and a more dignified, sedate, and correct style. And if we compare them in the higher excellencies of their respective writings—in their delineation of character—in their painting of the workings and effects of the passions—in their calling forth in the minds of their readers feelings of the moral sublime, and in their descriptions of the beauties or awful wonders of nature—we may still trace a difference, evidently arising, in a great measure, from the different circumstances in which they were placed, though in the essential qualities of intellect they were not very unlike, and both truly British.

If we compare Milton and Bacon, the influence of those circumstances which took place between their respective eras, and which undoubtedly gave a higher cast to the British national character at the era of the former, will be much more conspicuous and instructive. Milton is not, perhaps, so profound or comprehensive as Bacon, but he is more bold and daring, and he much more consistently adheres, in his endeavours to attain truth, to the rules he lays down for that purpose, than Bacon does. There is yet another striking difference between the intellectual characters of these two great men; the object of Milton in most

most of his prose writings, seems to be to raise the intellectual character of his species, not so much that thus truth may be elicited, as that thus intellectual liberty might be acquired and preserved. Whereas Bacon lays down rules for philosophizing, principally with a view to their application to the discovery of the operations and laws of inanimate matter, and even when he extends their application to the intellectual faculties, he does not seem to have in view the same grand object which Milton proposed to himself. Indeed, if we consider that Bacon lived at a time when the doctrine of passive obedience was undisputed, and the mass of the people were scarcely recognized as having a political existence, or allowed to exercise any political rights; and that Milton had not only witnessed an arduous and successful struggle between the sovereign and the people, but had himself been a sharer in it, we shall not be surprised that the intellectual powers of each, though, undoubtedly, of the very highest class, being nurtured by very different circumstances, assumed a very different character.

The national character of England, as well as its literary character, was much changed by the Restoration; before that event took place nothing foreign had mixed up with either; the national character and the literature of England possessed a genuine and most palpable raciness; they both smacked of the soil on which they grew. But the Restoration most deeply adulterated the national character and literature: it introduced the grace, the levity, the ease, the polish, and with these agreeable qualities, many of the foibles and vices of the French national character; and on the literature of England its effects were nearly similar. If we attend to the characteristics of the writers of the reign of Charles II. we shall find them, with a few exceptions, superficial, but concealing their superficialness by a polish which dazzled the mental eye; we shall find them gay, witty, and elegant; no offences against a pure and correct taste, but seldom any attempts to warm the heart, or deeply interest the affections of their readers. The prevalent, fashionable, and cherished doctrine of the day was, that the end and object of life was enjoyment; that, in comparison with this enjoyment, intellectual dignity and freedom, as well as religious and political liberty, were of trivial importance. This doctrine gave the tone to the literature of the age; in vain in it shall we seek for those traits of British feeling and independence, for those displays of profound thought, for those pictures of strong emotion, or for those specimens of impressive and dignified style, which are scattered so copiously in the writings of the period immediately preceding. We may find indeed a more lively imagination, a more active fancy, a more elegant and chastened taste, and a more polished and grammatical style; but in none of these can we perceive what is truly and peculiarly British.

Even, however, in the midst of the influence of this unnatural spirit, thus acting on the literature of Britain, there may be found that vigour, originality, and profoundness of intellect which our older writers display; and it is worthy of remark and reflection, that in many of the writings of Dryden—than whom there was scarcely an author more disposed, from a concatenation of various circumstances, to yield himself

himself up without struggle, and utterly to the torrent of foreign innovation—even in his writings there are mines of genuine British ore—of sterling sense—of acute and comprehensive observation of character—of dignified and nervous eloquence in behalf of the best interests of man—and, what is still more extraordinary, of that moral sublime, which was most at variance, not only with Dryden's own character, but also with the fashionable and applauded character of the age.

It was long before the literature of England completely shook off the trammels imposed upon it at the Restoration; its grossness and licentiousness, indeed, as well as a large portion of its frivolity, was soon worked off by the natural soundness of the intellectual constitution of our countrymen: but we are of opinion, that the influence of the example of French literature may be distinctly traced, even in the writers of what is called the Augustan age of England; we mean the era of Pope, Addison, Swift, and Arbuthnot. The merits of these writers we are by no means disposed to deny or call in question, but the qualities in which we think those merits are displayed, are not of genuine British growth and rearing. In all of those whom we have enumerated, and particularly in Addison and Arbuthnot, there is much elegance and correctness of taste, incomparable humour, a quick insight into the peculiarities of the human character, a practical tendency to correct the foibles and purify the morals of their readers, and an easy and flowing style: but in none of these qualities, with the exception of that of humour, do we discover any thing resembling our national character, or those writers whose works most closely resemble that character. The thoughts of Addison on most subjects are obvious, scarcely penetrating the surface of things. He possessed a clear insight into the manners and peculiarities of temper of mankind, but he does not display a knowledge, at all intimate or profound, of the more secret or complicated springs of action, or of those strong passions which work to great ends on the character and fate either of the individual in whom they exist, or of those who are the objects of them. In short, Addison, and the writers of his age, are proofs that English literature had advanced from the period of Elizabeth in elegance, ease, humour, and taste, but by no means instances that it had made any progress in the more rare and characteristic qualities of vigour, depth, comprehension, and intimate knowledge of the human heart and passions, and boldness and originality of views.

From the age of Addison to the commencement of the age of George III. (the limit we have assigned to this Chapter) the character of English literature (with few exceptions) does not vary in any material degree. In fact, the influence of Addison in prose, and of Pope in poetry, had been so great and impressive, that imitations of them may be traced, more or less, in nearly all our principal writers that intervene between their era and the age of George III.

We have already endeavoured to prove, that Addison does not display any of the grander and more characteristic features of the national literature of this country: and if we contrast Pope with Shakespeare and Milton, we shall be convinced that that poet, and the school of poetry which

which he formed, are still less like the genuine poetry of England. There is in all the poetry of Pope a great deal of good sense, an acquaintance, by no means superficial, with the manners of mankind, and those slighter and surface passions (if one may use the word) of the human heart, which break out in manners and temper and petty actions, but never give birth to any grand and overwhelming events, or lay bare the anatomy of the heart; there is also a considerable share of wit and understanding, great terseness and polish of language. But these are not the distinguishing qualities of the poetry of Shakespeare or Milton; these are qualities which foreign poets possess nearly in an equal degree with Pope; consequently they are not qualities that mark him out and set him apart as an English poet, possessing the grandest and most peculiar features of the nation to which he belonged.

Pope also introduced another change into our national poetry, which still farther removed it from its genuine national character, and rendered a return to that character extremely difficult; we allude to his having been the first poet, or, at least, the first poet of great influence, who regularly made use of what may be termed poetical terms and phrases, in lieu of those terms and phrases which, whether poetical or not, gave the poetical idea or feeling in all its warmth and vigour. From the time of Pope till very lately poetry has generally been considered to consist in, or, at least to be incapable of existing, without a peculiar language; and even if that language clothed ideas remote from genuine poetry, he who employed it was deemed a poet. Hence poetry was indeed reduced to an art, in order to acquire a mastery in which it was necessary to study a particular phraseology, abundantly scattered in all the writers of what, by courtesy, was denominated poetry. If our observations regarding the essential difference between the British national character, and the character of other nations, be correct and just; and if we were also just in what we have laid down regarding the resemblance of our sterling British poets to that character, we need not prove, that the substitution of a peculiar language, however brilliant, metaphysical, or remote from the language of prose and common life, in the stead of the essence of poetry, as it shone forth in Shakespeare and Milton, must have most materially contributed to strip British poetry of its peculiar character, and to have stamped it with a resemblance to the poetry of other nations much less richly gifted.

From this brief and rapid sketch of our Literature (so far as it appeared in those writers, who, treating of human manners, habits, and passions, wrote for the great mass of mankind) it will be seen, that though it improved with respect to taste, correct judgment, and elegance, it fell off with respect to vigour, comprehension, and boldness of views, as well as with respect to the living delineation of human passions.

We have purposely left for separate consideration that portion of our literature which was occupied with subjects suited only to particular classes of readers. We allude to the state of political science, of political economy, and of science strictly so called. Our observations on these, however, must be very brief and general. Political science, or that science which treats of the origin,

origin, nature, duties, and rights of government, could hardly be expected to assume a regular and noticed existence till the wars between Charles and his Parliament called it into life. Even here, however, we meet with much less regarding the principles of government than might be expected: the political writers of that period are almost exclusively occupied with discussing the points in dispute between the sovereign and his parliament; and though those who advocated the cause of the latter, almost necessarily referred to liberal principles of government in support of their positions, they by no means seem to have known or recognized those principles in all their bearings or purity. The fact is, indeed, that many of the most zealous opposers of Charles were not in the least inclined to extend to the great mass of the people those political rights and privileges which they claimed for themselves, and in defence of which they put to risk not only their own lives and fortunes, but the peace and prosperity of the nation at large. It was not till the period of the Revolution that the great mass of the people were represented by writers on government, and especially by Locke, as being parties in the reciprocal rights of sovereigns and subjects. This author swept away the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and of non-resistance and passive obedience, and substituted the doctrine of a contract between the sovereign and the people—a doctrine which seems to have maintained its ground till the period of the American Revolution.

Political economy was still less a science, during the period of which we are treating, than politics; the particular circumstances of the times, indeed, especially the establishment of the Bank of England, —the state of the coin—the establishment of the funding system—and the South-Sea scheme—gave rise to many ingenious and some profound treatises on different branches of political economy. But in none of these treatises can we trace even the outline of general principles. Towards the close of the period of which we are treating, Hume published his Essays: in some of these there is displayed a surprising degree of acuteness and comprehension on particular topics of political economy; while, in others, there are predictions which have been so completely falsified as to prove, that his mind did not embrace political economy as a science, nor take in all the elements of which it is composed.

In science, strictly so called, England shone most while Newton lived; before his time, and since it, this country has not been particularly distinguished for the higher departments of pure science. In a succeeding Chapter we shall have occasion to prove that the mere mathematical sciences are not so congenial to the developement and growth of intellect, or to the intellectual character of the British nation, as those sciences which depend more on experiments, and on deductions from those experiments; at present we shall merely remark, that while all would agree that Shakspeare, Bacon, and Milton, in the character of their intellect, as displayed in their writings, were purely British, no one, however justly proud of Newton, could point him out as characteristically British in his genius.

With regard to the changes in the intellectual habits and pursuits of the people during the period of which

which we have been treating, it is difficult to find evidence by which it could be ascertained. There are, however, some circumstances which seem to prove, that a habit for reading was created during the Reformation, and that it grew, but very slowly and by no means extensively, during the seventeenth century, and the first half of the eighteenth century. The great change in this respect has undoubtedly taken place since the accession of his present Majesty: prior to that period, the ignorance, superstition, and imbecility, as well as the indifference, of the great mass of the people to public affairs, was most striking. Very few of them comparatively could read; and it is probable their reading was confined to Fox's Book of Martyrs, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, and works of a similar description. Even those in the middling ranks of life possessed few intellectual habits or pursuits, and these underwent no material change, certainly, till within the latter half of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER II.

State and Character of Literature in Great Britain, from the Accession of George III. to the beginning of the French Revolution.

AS the object of this part of our work is merely to give a slight and general sketch, neither the nature of that object, nor our limits, will permit us to dwell at any length on the topics which that object embraces: we must barely touch upon the most prominent parts connected with literature and science; or rather, by drawing their character in a few words, depend upon our readers seeking out evidence of the justice of that character in other works.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the real state of any nation, at any particular period, even though not very remote; we mean its state with respect to the portion of intelligence and information to which it had attained at that period, the comforts which it enjoyed, and the various advantages which it possessed. We who live in the present times (with the exception of those who are near the usual limits of human life—threescore years and ten) can form only a very imperfect idea of what was the state of this kingdom and its inhabitants at the accession of the present Sovereign. We know, generally, that with respect to improvements of all kinds, England was then in a very rude state; there were comparatively few turnpike roads, the modes of travelling were very uncomfortable, and the rate of travelling extremely slow and precarious; consequently the communication among the different parts of the kingdom was not nearly so frequent, easy, and general, as it is at present.

Another circumstance which distinguished those times from the present, was, the paucity of newspapers, and other publications intended for general perusal and information. We particularize these two points of difference, because they are not remotely or slightly connected with the immediate and proper topic of this Chapter. It is often asserted, that literature and science were at a higher pitch at some past period than they are at the present time: but though the talents and information of literary and scientific men may have been superior at that period, it may well be doubted, whether literary and scientific knowledge was at any previous time so widely or speedily diffused as it is at present, and indeed has been during the greatest part of the reign of George III.

The early part of the present reign was illuminated by several men of superior talents and information; but few of them, in any line of literature, were distinguished for that particular description of intellect, to which we have given the name of British, and of which

Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton, are such shining specimens: we do not mean to say that few of the literary men, who flourished in the early part of the reign of George III. were equal in genius to Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton; for that would be laying down a position, which none would be disposed to dispute, or call in question; but we mean that the character of intellect was not then decidedly British. Indeed, a variety of circumstances are always in operation, which tend to assimilate the literary character of any particular nation, to the general literary character of the age, though there always must remain some strong and peculiar marks by which it may be distinguished.

In several of the great literary men of the period to which we allude, there were, however, individual circumstances which removed their intellectual character, and the character of their tone of thought and style, farther from the national literary character, than the general circumstances to which we have alluded could, of themselves, have done.

The truth of this remark will appear, if we consider some of the most eminent of those men —Johnson, Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, and Burke. The intellectual character, as well as the tone of thought in Johnson, indeed, is undoubtedly British, except so far as regards his taste and judgment in Poetry. To such foreigners as were ignorant of our great and unparalleled poets,—of Shakespeare and of Milton,—but who well knew the cold temperament of the British nation, its reflecting disposition, its habits of reasoning on almost every topic, and the little animation or fancy which are displayed in the common intercourses of life,—it would most probably appear, that Johnson (except so far as regarded his style) was a fair and striking specimen of British intellect. Of those features in our national character, to which we have just alluded, he undoubtedly is; but he certainly is not British in his taste and judgment; and his style is far removed from the native vigour, compactness, and precision of that style, of which the English language is capable. It would be doing great injustice, however, to Johnson, not to admit, that so far as he was British in his intellect and tone of thought, he was so in a very high degree. In fact, his reflections on human life, on the circumstances which form and indicate human character,—his penetration into the recesses of the human heart,—his talent in stripping actions bare of their assumed disguise,—his exposure of vice, and his powerful recommendations of virtue,—most distinctly and unequivocally distinguish him from the morality of every other nation, particularly the French. Of this we shall be sensible, if we compare his writings with those of the most distinguished French moralists; in them we shall in vain look for such deep penetration into the human character, and the motives of man; they are, indeed, expert in dissecting the lighter parts of the human character,—the superficies, as it were, of the human heart,—but they do not pierce into those parts of it which are essential to the formation and circulation of that blood on which the moral health and vigour of man depend. So far Johnson is a favourable specimen of that species of intellectual character which we have called British; the progress and state of which, at various

rious periods of our history, it is more particularly our object to trace and point out. But in so far as regards taste and judgment in poetry or style, Johnson has no claims to rank high in the scale of British literature.

Hume is still less entitled to this distinction, however great his merits undoubtedly are: of this we shall be convinced, if we examine into the nature and foundation of those merits. They consist, in the first place, in an uncommon facility of exhibiting such characters of the celebrated men who fall under his notice, as immediately strike the reader, not merely as being consistent in all their parts, but as endowed with animation and expression in every feature, even in those cases in which he is disposed to question their justice. The same powers of mind, which enabled him to draw such characters, are displayed in many of what may be called the descriptive parts of his history: he places us in the midst of the action or scene which he is describing; we forget that we are far removed from it, in respect both to time and place; the objects around us may strike our eyes, but they no longer convey any impression to the mind, so completely is it occupied with the magic scene which the historian has created. Nor is it merely the circumstances of the action which interest us; Hume has higher powers; he, in many cases, creates such an interest for the persons of his history, that even in despite of prejudiced or sound objections to their character, we seem, not only to live and act, but also to sympathize with them.

Hume's intellectual powers are displayed in his Essays, though of a different kind from those which his History unfolds. The subjects of nearly all of them are intricate—far removed from the reading or train of thought commonly pursued, or, on the other hand, such as Prejudice has long seized upon as her own: yet how uncommonly simple and perspicuous are his statements of the subject on which he means to treat; how willingly and imperceptibly does the mind of the reader follow, and even acquiesce in his train of reasoning; nor is it till Reflection lends her assistance, that the error and mischief of many of his opinions are detected. In his most sophistical and sceptical essays, he does not entangle the mind; he does not aim at his object by obscuring and perplexing his doctrines; all is clear, straight forward, and simple. But it is in those Essays which relate to political economy (to which we very briefly adverted at the close of the last Chapter) that Hume, in our opinion, ought to be indebted for his highest intellectual praise; the peculiar powers of his mind—powers which, perhaps, may justly be defined to consist not so much in very deep penetration, or very extensive comprehension, as in clearing away every obstruction and impediment as far as he did penetrate, and seeing every thing clear and in its due proportion, within the range of his intellectual vision,—were well calculated to discussion in political economy.

Such, in our opinion, are the distinguishing features of Hume's intellectual character; but if our picture and estimate of him be correct and just, they do not strongly resemble those features which we have described as the peculiar features of the intellectual character of the British nation; and the tone of his mind was certainly not British. It may even be doubted, whether his

judgment on literary subjects was very sound; at least, his estimation of the talents of Bacon and Shakespeare would seem to warrant such a doubt. His style, though uncommonly pleasing, from its flow and elegance, is decidedly not genuine English, neither in its phrases, nor its structure; and yet it possesses qualities that the French style, from which it is borrowed, is destitute of: perhaps it may be characterized as the style of a writer, who unconsciously expressed French modes of thought in the English language.

Gibbon is a name that will always rank high in the annals of English literature; yet it would be difficult to point out one feature in his intellectual character, which, if he had not written in the English language, would have discriminated him as an English author. If Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Johnson, or even Hume, were to pass through a double translation, each doing injustice to their thoughts,—still any one conversant with British literature, or we may assert, even with the intellectual character of the British nation, would pronounce that they were British authors. In all of them there is a sterlingness of thought (if the expression may be permitted) which marks the country to which they belong:—but we believe it would puzzle the most acute and experienced judge of the literature of all European nations, to fix upon the particular nation to which Gibbon belonged, if he read his History in a language he was informed was not that in which it was written.

We are by no means unwilling to give Gibbon his due praise as an historian. When we reflect on the portion of history which forms the subject of his volumes—that it is bare of events of great moment,—that it is in a great measure filled with the petty squabbles of obscure nations,—that there are very few men of high fame actors in it; and that, besides all these disadvantages, the historian was obliged to become his own pioneer, and clear away, at every step, immense piles of rubbish,—that the materials were to be sought for in an infinite number of authors, who, besides being uncommonly dull and uninteresting, probably, after much labour and time, supplied only a short or vague notion, which must be amplified, or illustrated and confirmed by the perusal of other works equally heavy and tiresome, we shall be able to form some estimate of the merit of Gibbon, in producing his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

In some respects, Robertson approaches nearest of all the celebrated authors of this period, to the character which we have drawn, as that of a truly British writer. There is, indeed, occasionally an approach to feebleness in his thoughts, and to diffuseness in his style, which takes away from the resemblance; but, on the other hand, there are qualities in him which, if we are not much mistaken, will in vain be sought for in any author not British. The wide range of reflection, into which his mind frequently expands, the vigour and boldness which he stamps on his delineations of character, as well as the penetration into human motives which he often displays, united with the original practical principles both of common and political life, that are amply scattered, but by no means obtrusively or awkwardly, through his writings, must have proceeded from that frame and constitution of mind which are peculiarly the growth

growth of the circumstances in which a native of Britain is placed.

Of Burke it is difficult to speak in terms that will convey a just and clear idea of his talents and literary character. Indeed as a native of Ireland, he was most broadly and palpably distinguished from all the authors respecting whom we have already treated: for Ireland, more perhaps than any other country, gives birth to men, distinguished, if we may use the expression, for idiosyncrasy; a ready wit, wonderful and striking combinations of ideas; an imagination sometimes rich, sometimes powerful, and sometimes both; an eloquence untaught, as well as unshackled by art,—which pours forth with the most exuberant luxuriance, all the ideas which flow from this imagination; or from feelings, wishes, and sympathies, scarcely, if at all, controlled by sober reflection, cool calculation of consequences or propriety, or even by the dictates of judgment. Such is the picture of Irish genius, when viewed on its favourable side; but on the reverse, there appears a violation of taste, often very gross and offensive; and an extravagance of imagination which often passes the bounds, not only of common sense, but of all comprehension of its object or meaning.

In the writings of Burke are displayed all the excellencies of his country's genius; and with them are united a profoundness and comprehension of view—a knowledge of human nature minute, accurate, and extensive, and a penetration not only into human motives, but into the consequences of actions and events which come upon the reader most unexpectedly, in the midst of passages that seem to indicate an imagination too vivid and creative, and feelings too powerful and absorbing, to admit of the exercise, or even the existence of the more sober faculties of the mind.

From the writings of Burke may be selected passages which, if taken by themselves, would mark him out as most decidedly and characteristically a British author; in these passages are embodied the most original and instructive maxims, applicable either to the purposes and conduct of common life,—to situations of extreme difficulty and delicacy, or to the management, duties, and interests of States. When Burke gave loose to his imagination and feelings, he was not unfrequently extravagant, erroneous, and even palpably absurd in his political notions; but even in the midst of passages of this description, there are gleams of propriety, and profoundness of thought, which almost atone, even in the opinion of those who most widely differ from him on political subjects, for the rant and extravagance of those parts of his writings in which his feelings and imagination overpowered his judgment.

If we turn from these great writers in prose, to the most distinguished poets that intervened between the time of Pope and his immediate followers and imitators, and the French Revolution, we shall be able to select some names on whom Britain may fix as her legitimate sons. Of these we would select Young, Thomson, Akenside, Gray, Collins, and Goldsmith, as all containing within them a greater or less portion of the stamina of British intellect.

We are well aware that some of these poets, strictly speaking, do not belong to the period of which we are now treating: but as they are all of a school, very different from that

that of Pope, we have preferred noticing them in this Chapter, they being more characteristic of the period of which we now treat, than of that in which Pope lived.

The character of Young's genius and talents is singular; and it is extremely difficult to form a just and impartial estimate of them. To those persons who are not penetrated by any very deep sense of religion, or whose religion is rather a matter of cool reflection than of powerful feelings, Young must appear a forbidding, as well as an extravagant writer; whereas by those whose religious principles and feelings strike the same chord as runs through his writings, he will be deemed a poet of most wonderful powers; and even the most extravagant passages in his writings, and the most gross and palpable violations of good sense and correct taste, will be set down as beauties. The judgment which we form respecting all poetry depends, in a very great degree, on the associations of our minds: to him, in whose mind there are no pleasing and interesting associations, with descriptions of rural scenery, rural life, or domestic life, poems on these subjects must be dull and uninteresting, if not repulsive. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the poetry of Young; and therefore it is either an object of great interest and high praise, or of strong dislike and contempt;—it is a species of poetry which cannot be read by any person, whatever his associations may be, with cool and languid indifference.

Different and opposite, however, as the judgments respecting Young as a poet must be, it will, we apprehend, be admitted by all, that his poetry bears strong and unequivocal marks of being the product of a British mind. This observation applies both to his most glaring defects, and to his most striking beauties and excellencies; in all these may be traced that peculiar structure of mind which is generated by the circumstances in which a native of this country is placed. Thoughtfulness, or a propensity to prefer communion with what is passing in one's own mind, to the occupation of the senses by external objects; and that thoughtfulness sober, serious, melancholy, and not unfrequently sad and gloomy; —reflections on human nature and character, and on the future life of man, partaking of the same cast,— a fondness for the scenery of nature, not so much perhaps on account of its real and intrinsic beauty or sublimity, as on account of the associations with which it is connected, and the images and reflections which it calls up;—a soul wrapt up in the duties, interests, pleasures, and even the apprehensions of domestic life, and which turns away with weariness or loathing from the bustle, gaiety, thoughtlessness, and heartlessness, with which the world abounds, to repose in the quiet of that life; these are the peculiarities of character that distinguish our most genuine British poets; and some of these may most distinctly be traced in the writings of Young.

A fondness for the beauties of nature,—a soul that enters into the perception and enjoyment of those beauties,—are among the distinguishing and most pleasing features of the British character; accordingly we find in the poetical literature of Britain, most exquisite and faithful descriptions of natural scenery, and a most powerful calling forth of all those feelings and associations that are connected with that

that scenery. In vain shall we look in most of the continental poetry for such powerful descriptions of nature. And in the poets of France more especially,—not even with the exception of De Lisle,—there is, in all their attempts to paint natural scenery, or the occupations and pleasures of a country life, a tameness or an affectation,—or an ignoarnce most provoking and disgusting to those who are conversant with the writings which Britain has produced on the same topics.

Thomson is generally regarded as one of the most perfect and enchanting of our descriptive poets: but we must confess that, in our opinion, there is a luxuriance of thought, and a prolixity of language in his Seasons, not exactly in complete unison with his subject. At the same time he must be regarded as a charming poet, and one whose Seasons will always be pointed out, as indicating and proceeding from truly British feelings, and as illustrative of the British literary character.

The poetry of Akenside is of a much loftier character, and assimilates to the more rare and dignified features of the British intellect; with the exception of some parts of Milton, we know of no poetry in our language similar to the Pleasures of the Imagination of Akenside, or that can be compared to it. They are chiefly conversant with the moral sublime; they contain most exquisite and faithful paintings of those grand pleasures which result from the exercise of the intellectual powers; not those powers which are necessary to, or conversant with abstract reasoning; but such as are employed in objects of taste and imagination. Or, perhaps, the poetry of Akenside may be described more aptly and justly, as unfolding and depicting, with the utmost faithfulness and effect, those grand emotions of the heart, which neither spring from nor are connected with passion, but are the result of a frame of mind of deep sensibility, —most pure taste,—ardent feeling, and an attachment to what is beautiful and good in the creation, almost rising to enthusiasm. The blank verse of this poet is fully worthy of his subject; there is a richness about it, which is so mixed up with fulness and grandeur, that it never cloys or tires. But the poetry of Akenside, to be relished, must be read by minds not organized in the every-day manner, whose feelings and habits are in unison with those of the poet. The lover of the beauties of nature, or of the occupations and pleasures of a country life, will relish the poetry of Thomson; but unless he sees more in these beauties and pleasures than Thomson points out, he cannot enter into the spirit of the poetry of Akenside: the same observation may be made with respect to those who are admirers of domestic poetry, or that poetry which describes the feelings, habits, and pleasures, of domestic life: unless their minds and imaginations are framed in such a manner that they can penetrate deeper into these feelings, habits, and pleasures, than the poets who generally describe them, penetrate, they will not understand the poetry of Akenside, when he treats on the same topics.

Gray and Collins are poets, in some respects and degree, of the same school; but, at the same time, they differ from each other so much, that they ought to be considered separately. From the life of Gray we learn that he had about him a good many of the habits which distinguish

distinguish Britons from foreigners: he was grave and thoughtful, but also, at times, full of dry humour; he was attached to a retired life; not very fond of society, but more disposed to commune with his own thoughts. It appears to us, that if we reflect on these features in the character of Gray, and, moreover, recollect that he was a man of very great learning,—and that his taste and intellectual habits were almost entirely formed by the classical writers of Greece and Rome,—we shall discover the sources of his poetry, and the causes which stampt upon it its peculiar character. With the exception of his Elegy in a Country Church Yard,—one or two small pieces published in his Life by Mason,—and his pieces of humour,—the sternness (if the expression may be used) of his classical taste seems to have borne down the original and innate bent of his mind, and feelings of his heart; but in his Elegy he shines forth a truly British poet, with that pensiveness and melancholy which, to those who do not permit them to gain the mastery over them, afford most exquisite delight, and which are among the most sacred parts of the British moral character.

The poetry of Collins is evidently of two species: in his Dirge there is the same tone of feeling which is displayed in Gray's Elegy; and considering the circumstances of Collins's life, and the melancholy close of it, we are surprised at not finding more poetry of this description in his writings. His Odes take a much more lofty flight; but, like all poetry of this very high cast, they rather raise astonishment and admiration, than excite those feelings which, by filling the soul completely, leave no room for astonishment or admiration, or even the recollection either of the poet or ourselves. In his Odes he certainly is superior to Gray: his painting of the passions is executed with much more ease, and brings forth the objects on the canvass much more like life: we are also disposed to think, that in his Dirge he excels the Elegy of Gray, in warming the heart more completely, and bringing forth its emotions more pure, and unmixed with gross and vulgar feelings.

Both these poets are highly illustrative of the British character, and confirm, we apprehend, the truth and justice of the remarks that we offered in the first Chapter of this retrospect. The classical learning and taste of Gray, and the application necessary to acquire them, as well as the habits, which during their acquisition must have been formed,—were not powerful enough to root out his thoughtfulness, and the other qualities characteristic of the British intellectual and moral character, which he naturally possessed; the same remark may be made with regard to Collins. But with the exception of the Elegy of the former, and the Dirge of the latter, and a few other pieces of each, their writings cannot become popular, even in that nation of whose essential character they partook so largely; for in them, this character is affected by causes which, not operating on their readers in general, preclude them from understanding in their full sense, or relishing in all their exquisiteness, the more elaborate, refined, and classical pieces of these poets.

It is far otherwise with Goldsmith; all the warmth and magic of home,—all those feelings which attach us to our nearest relations—to our dearest friends—to the spot

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on which we were born, or where our earliest associations were formed, —or to our native land,—are depicted in the most exquisite and alluring manner by this poet. In his poetry there is nothing grand or sublime: his thoughts are distinguished by unadorned simplicity;—his descriptions of natural scenery, and his delineations of the feelings and emotions of the human breast, are so unaffected, and come forth to our view in so easy and familiar a manner, that we almost forget that we are reading; the scenery rises before our eyes; the feelings and emotions fill our breasts. Hence Goldsmith must always be one of the most popular of our poets. His verse too is admirably suited to the subjects of his poetry; and his language is sufficiently adorned, without being adorned so much as to draw off the attention from the matter to it.

We have thus attempted to draw the character, and to sketch the state of British Literature, during what may be called the middle of the eighteenth century: our plan admits, our object only requires, that we should point out those writers who, as it were, from their eminence, stand forth the most prominent figures in this period.

From the remarks which we have made, as well as from the reflections and recollections to which, we trust, these remarks will give rise in the minds of our readers, it will appear, that both the prose writers and the poets of this period differed very materially from those of the period immediately preceding. It is hardly necessary, we should imagine, to point out the principal marks of this difference;—in the period immediately preceding that of which we have just treated, Britain has no historian of whom she can boast; and her other writers in prose are more distinguished for the taste, ease, and elegance of their compositions, than for their vigour, comprehension, and depth. With respect to poetry, Pope, as we have already remarked, introduced an artificial species of it, which prevailed even beyond the period of which we have just been treating, with the exception of the great poets whose character we have attempted to draw. Those poets, however, constituted a most decided and glorious exception: their writings almost bring back poetry to the state in which it existed in the age of Shakespeare, the older Dramatists, and Milton.

There is one circumstance connected with the history of the intellectual state of the middle of the eighteenth century, which ought not to be passed over; we mean the wonderful correctness, purity, and even elegance of style, which began to spring up very generally in almost all writers, soon after George III. came to the Throne, and which, at the close of the period of which we have been treating, were visible even in the writers for the daily press, and other fugitive publications. In the early part of the eighteenth century, there are few authors whose mode of composition or style will bear close investigation; the former, then, was often destitute of method and arrangement, and the latter was still more frequently ungrammatical, prolix, involved, colloquial, and vulgar. Perhaps no circumstance indicates more clearly or unequivocally the progress which had been made in the culture of intellectual habits and pursuits. Education must have been more generally and carefully attended to;—

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reading must have been a more favourite employment; and, moreover, the thoughts must have been more frequently and closely directed to literary topics,—before such a favourable change could have taken place, even in the mere act of composition. But that it was not confined to the mere act of composition, will be apparent, if we examine the observations, reflections, and arguments, contained even in the mere ephemeral productions of the period of which we have been treating, and contrast them with those which appear in the writings of the preceding period: from this examination and comparison, it will, if we mistake not, be seen, that common-place thoughts, and very obvious arguments, are not so frequent as they used to be. At the same time, we are well aware of the remark, that when literature is spread over a greater surface than formerly, it must be more superficial; but we do not admit its truth, at least, in its full and intended sense. In the early periods of our literature, there were a few master minds, far surpassing, in compass of intellect, all who have succeeded; but, except these, intellect and information were at a low ebb. In the succeeding period, the quantity of intellect and information was much increased,—but it was divided among a much greater number.

CHAPTER III.

Effects of the French Revolution on Moral and Political Philosophy, and on Literature in general.

IT is a just and well grounded remark, that the opinions of mankind on the most important subjects, and especially such opinions as influence their practice, are so interwoven with one another, that whatever cause or circumstance displaces or weakens one of them, shakes the foundation of them all. This must necessarily be the case, whether those opinions are the result of investigation and inquiry, and depend on obvious and well digested first principles; or whether they are merely the effects of prejudice, or of the circumstances in which we have been placed, the education that we have received, and the example which has been set before us.

In the first instance, the soundness of the principle, or general truth, on which any set of opinions rests, must lose its hold on our judgment and belief, if any of those opinions are found to be erroneous: and in the second instance, where opinions proceed rather from circumstances acting upon us, than from investigation and inquiry;—if one link of the association is broken, the chain must necessarily be weakened.

Hence arises the advantage, or rather the necessity, of keeping the mind as free as possible from all erroneous opinions which are in the remotest degree influential on the conduct, lest, if their unsoundness be discovered, not only they may be rejected, but also others that are actually accurate and just.

The truth of these remarks will be rendered sufficiently obvious, if we attend to the effects of the French Revolution on the moral and political philosophy of the age. Into both these species of philosophy, ignorance and prejudice had introduced many articles of faith, which were not only erroneous, but also detrimental to the highest interests of mankind. Interwoven with these erroneous and hurtful opinions, were others that were sound and beneficial. But the French Revolution, by the violence of its action on the human mind, shook not only the former, but also the latter to an equal degree. The truth of the above remarks may be still further illustrated and confirmed by what is known frequently to have taken place among Catholics, as soon as they discovered the falsehood of any one of their peculiar articles of faith; in such a case they most frequently pass from the extreme of belief, to the extreme of unbelief. The belief which, from their infancy, they were accustomed to give to the most absurd doctrines

doctrines of their religion,—and that belief which they gave to the truth of Christianity in general, resting on the same foundation, and both being equally the result of prepossession,—whenever their understanding becomes open to the absurdity and falsehood of the former, it is too frequently hurried on to reject the latter also.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the French Revolution acted so powerfully on those branches of human knowledge which relate more directly to the duties of man, and to the principles of government, as for a time, to change their whole character;—nor is it matter of greater wonder that, in the reaction which took place, after the effects of the Revolution had in a great measure passed away, the opinions on these points should become more rigid and orthodox than they even were before this event took place.

Long before the French Revolution, writers on morals had entered into discussions regarding the nature of moral obligation, and the foundation of moral duty; but these discussions were purely speculative; and indeed, if examined to the bottom, and stript of the obscure and ill-defined language in which they were generally expressed, they might be shewn to be all of them nearly of the same purport. But the discussions on the nature of moral obligation,—the foundation of moral duty,—and other connected topics, which sprung either from the French Revolution, or from the same causes that gave birth to it, were of a much bolder and more audacious character and bearing.

Many of our readers must recollect the impression which was made, not merely on the literary and thinking world, by Godwin's Political Justice, but even on those classes who previously had never ventured to hint a doubt to themselves on the topics agitated in that work: it shook the ancient faith most powerfully; and though reflection pointed out the untenable nature of the principle on which all its doctrines and arguments proceeded, it was long before the ancient faith resumed its influence on those who had once been induced to deviate from it by the perusal of the Political Justice. The effects of the scepticism or heterodoxy thus generated by this and similar works, may, in our opinion, still be traced: but these effects are of a very opposite nature; in some writings they are displayed by a more cherished and stubborn adherence to the ancient faith, in all its articles, sound or unsound, just or erroneous; whilst in others, they are made manifest by such an amalgamation of the articles of the ancient and modern faith, as, being not the result of prejudice, but the work of minds at once patient, enlightened, bold, and cautious, may fairly be supposed to contain a larger portion of truth than is to be found either in the ancient faith, or in that which for a time supplanted it.

The effects of the French Revolution, or, to speak with more philosophical precision, of those causes and circumstances which generated that event,—on the science of politics, in all its branches and bearings, were still more decided and unequivocal. With respect to the origin of government, the doctrines entertained by writers on that most important subject, have undergone various and extraordinary changes. In a preceding Chapter, we have adverted to the notions that were broached

broached on this topic previous to the æra of Locke, and by that author in his Essay on Government; and perhaps there is no one subject, the revolutions in the opinions of mankind respecting which, have been so directly and plainly influenced by the same events, as those which have combined to form or alter national character.

During the civil wars between Charles and his Parliament, as has been already remarked, there was much doubt regarding the principles of those doctrines, which it might naturally have been thought, lying at the very heart of the cause of these wars, would have been well and fully understood. But though the divine right of kings, and passive obedience, were no longer regarded with their wonted reverence, and the object and end of Government were no longer believed to be the pleasure of Sovereigns, yet it certainly was not acknowledged,—probably not perceived, that the only legitimate end of all government was the happiness of the people,—and that neither Sovereigns, nor any classes of their subjects, could, in a truly philosophical point of view, possess any privileges or rights incompatible with, or destructive of this happiness.

Locke, in his Essay on Government, broached and supported a new doctrine on this subject; he supposed that all government was virtually founded on a contract between those who governed, and those who were governed; and that, on the failure of the terms of the contract by either party, the obligation of the other party ceased. It is not the object of this Retrospect to examine the validity of the opinions formed on any topic; but merely to state them briefly, and the causes that lead to them, that thus the state and progress of the various branches of science (in its most enlarged sense) on which the human faculties can be employed, may be distinctly traced and understood.

Although Locke's doctrine does not appear to have given satisfaction, or to have produced conviction, and there was in the minds of most writers on the subject of government, a lurking suspicion that it was illusory and unfounded, yet no other doctrine was directly brought forward till about the period of the French Revolution. Then, as on many other topics, the notions on this subject divided into an opposite extreme from that in which they were placed previous to the time of Locke; for, whereas, before Locke, the favourite doctrine was, that government was of divine origin, and that the powers and rights of Sovereigns were unlimited, and not to be questioned, and, consequently, that obedience to them ought to be passive,—the period of the French Revolution gave birth to the doctrine, that all government was not so much *for* the people, as *of* the people; or in other words, a renewal of the old doctrine, vox populi vox Dei. If we examine the principal writers on the science of government about this time, we shall find that this is in fact their doctrine, however it may be disguised; they do not content themselves with attempting to prove that the only lawful object of civil government is the good of the people governed; but taking it for granted, that the will of the people and the good of the people must in all cases be the same;—or, in other words, that the expression of the public will must always point out, not only the

the best form of government, but the wisest and most beneficial acts of government, when formed,—and that the consent of the people towards any form of government, or its acts, is of more importance and efficacy towards the general good, than the inherent tendency of that form, or those acts to produce the general good;—taking all these things for granted, they, in reality, advocated the absurd doctrine, that the voice of the people is the voice of the Deity.

This passing from one extreme to another, in the science of government, was, however, beneficial, in the result, in the same manner as the science of morals, though mixed up for a time with much that was unsound and absurd, was ultimately benefitted, by the thorough and fearless discussion which it received during the æra of the French Revolution. At all events, this good must be acknowledged to have proceeded from the thorough and fearless discussion which the sciences of morals and of government were exposed to at this period; that the foundations of these sciences were more closely investigated, and that which stood the discussion was proved to be sound and vigorous. There was also, however, one evil consequence resulting; for so much mischief having arisen to society from the absurd extreme, into which the opinions on morals and government were forced during the French Revolution, many well meaning men became so timid as no longer to dare to investigate what was established, and generally received; and those who were interested in existing errors and abuses, gladly took advantage of this timidity, and enforced the danger of shaking the foundations of what was received and established. On the whole, however, the French Revolution has been of advantage to mankind, so far as the sciences of morals and government are concerned; for, in the first place, it has impressed most deeply upon them the dreadful consequences arising from sudden and rash changes of opinions on these subjects; and in the second place, by banishing from these sciences much of what was erroneous, and introducing into them a more clear and simple exposition of the general principles on which they are founded, it has strengthened their hold on the public mind and conduct.

There is one branch of the general science of politics that has derived great advantages from the discussions relating to it, which were produced during the French Revolution; we allude to political economy.

Previously to the time of Adam Smith, the facts and principles of political economy were not bound together, so as to form them into any thing resembling a system; he was the first author who endeavoured to give them a regular and systematic form, and to trace the subject from its first and most simple principles, through all its parts and bearings, to its most complicated state. And when we consider what he has done,—the difficulties and disadvantages which he was obliged to remove or surmount,—the little assistance he could derive either from previous writers on the subject, or from any attempt to collect facts as they existed in the practice of governments with respect to finance, or the dealings and operations of commercial men,—and, moreover, the strong prejudices which he must have had to encounter,

encounter, not only in the minds of his readers, but also in his own mind,—for, at that time, there was no subject so exposed to prejudice, and so obscured by a mixture of popular, with what were called practical, and scientific opinions;—when we consider all these things, we shall be disposed to look upon the work of Adam Smith on the Wealth of Nations, as one of very high merit and utility.

Indeed it appears to us, that it is such a work as we could alone look for from a British writer; to convince ourselves of the truth of this opinion, we need only compare it with what was done then, and has been done since, by continental writers on the subject of political economy. Through the work of Smith, there runs a vein of calm, sound sense, highly characteristic of a British writer; some of his doctrines may be regarded as too speculative, as having been formed with too little reference to, or dependance upon, facts; but this is seldom the case, much seldomer, indeed, than might have been expected, when the infancy of the science, at the period when he wrote, is taken into the account. In the writings of the French economists, on the contrary, there is much subtlety, and an extreme fineness of speculation, and a total inattention, both to what facts proclaim, and to what is actually practicable; the French philosophers on this, as on all other abstruse subjects on which they treat, seem not to have been aware of the essential difference between subtlety and profoundness.—Smith is profound, though there is scarcely any part of his work which is not translucently clear; he goes deep for his reasonings and principles, but he brings them closely to the understanding of his readers. In the writings of the French economists, on the contrary, the mind of the reader is bewildered; and even when the understanding is disposed, or rather thinks itself compelled, to admit their positions and reasonings, it is sensible that there is some sophism in the case, and that what it has assented to, if expressed in simple and clear terms, would be found to be either erroneous, or very common-place. The later French writers on political economy have profited by the work of Smith, and, accordingly, have thrown off, in a great measure, the subtlety and impracticability that are so much and closely interwoven in the writings of the economists. The German writers on political economy are more useful as collectors of facts, than as expounders of the science. Thus we perceive that Adam Smith, like all the great characteristic British authors, steered the middle course between bare and insulated facts, and abstract and subtle reasonings, unsupported by facts; and that he brought to bear upon his subject, a fund of good sense, a calm, comprehensive, and philosophic mind, and a constant recollection, that the real instruction and wise guidance of mankind were the only objects which a writer in any department of human knowledge ought to have in view.

From the comparative infancy of the science of political economy, however, as well as from the difficulties in which, from its very nature and object, it must be involved, Adam Smith was not able to advance all the parts of his great work to the same degree of perfection. The events of the French Revolution, or rather the extraordinary state, with respect to finance, manufactures,

manufactures, and commerce, into which that event plunged France, and most of the other countries of Europe that were opposed to her during her revolutionary career, threw great light on some of the most obscure branches of political economy, and removed many of the difficulties that hitherto had beset that important science, and rendered its study, in some degree, unsatisfactory and unprofitable. Writers on this science have taken advantage of this; and it may safely be affirmed, that the doctrines respecting money, especially paper money,—the sources of taxation,—the funding system, and many parts of commerce,—are more fully and clearly explained by writers on political economy now, than they ever were before.

The influence of the French Revolution also extended over many parts of literature, besides those on which we have just treated; and, as we have already observed, its influence at first was prejudicial, not only to the particular branch over which it spread, but also to the faculties of the human mind, more especially brought into action, in the investigation and study of that branch; the ultimate and lasting consequence, however, on the whole, has been advantageous, both to literature and to the human faculties.

In our subsequent Chapter it will be our object to draw the character, and point out the state of the literature of the present day, in its various branches; but it may be proper, as an introductory discussion to those Chapters, to exhibit, very briefly and generally, in what remains of this, the influence which the French Revolution produced on those departments of literature which we have not already considered.

The prevalent notions at the period of the French Revolution, regarding the inherent and unavoidable evils (as they were termed) not merely of government, but of all civilized society,—the praise bestowed on rude and almost savage life, and on the innocence and virtues of the populace, contrasted with the vice of all in higher ranks,—as well as the doctrines, that the passions ought to have full sway, and that the end justified the means; or more generally, the grand doctrine, that whatever was established was erroneous and prejudicial, and whatever was new and untried must be true and advantageous;—all these notions shed their influence, in a more especial manner, over the poetry and dramatic literature of Europe, for a considerable time, during the existence of the French Revolutionary Empire.

But the evil even here was not unmixed with, or unproductive of good: these branches of literature, indeed, to which we have just adverted, were for a time filled with extravagant and dangerous doctrines, and were calculated to feed a most morbid and selfish sensibility, as well as to check the progress of the human heart in real, active benevolence, and of the human mind, in the acquirement of knowledge;—but so admirably has the Author of nature constituted the human heart and mind, that though for a short period they may feed on what is prejudicial to them, yet they soon begin to loathe it, and return to wholesome nutriment with increased relish, as well as increased powers to digest it, and draw from it what will strengthen the

the best feelings of the heart, and the highest powers of the mind. The beauties and pleasures of real simplicity and true nature have been introduced into poetry with more effect, and to a greater degree, than they probably would have been if the French Revolution had not generated the extravagant notions to which we have alluded; and from the laying bare the human heart, with such anatomical minuteness and detail as to create disgust, has originated, in our opinion, a more thorough insight into its structure and workings, so far as they can serve the legitimate and highest objects of poetry.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of the Political Philosophy—Political Economy—Moral Philosophy—Metaphysics—and Philosophy of Criticism, of the present age—Character of the Periodical Criticism.

THE changes which the Political Philosophy of Great Britain has undergone, from the period when it first attracted the attention, and employed the researches and investigation of men of talent in this Island, to the present, are full of instruction and interest, as they point out, in a most palpable and satisfactory manner, the bent and influence of the national character, acted upon and modified occasionally by particular circumstances and causes. The doctrines of the divine rights of kings, and of passive obedience and non-resistance, as has been already shewn, lingered in Britain, certainly, after the Revolution; soon after this event, Mr. Locke's doctrine of a contract, implied at least, between the sovereign and the people, gained ground. The American Revolution, and subsequently, as we have also shewn, the French Revolution, led men to a bolder idea; and the doctrines of the divine right of the people, and passive obedience and non-resistance to them (if the expressions may be allowed), became popular, and were embraced, even by many men of clear views, profound investigation, and real lovers of their species.

The dreadful consequences which either actually flowed from the practical application of these doctrines, or were supposed to proceed from them, drove men back almost to the ancient and exploded doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine right of kings:—some from prudence, however, and others from conviction, modified and softened these doctrines in a considerable degree.

At present, Political Philosophy, strictly and properly so called, is not a favourite study in Great Britain; nor, since the fervor of the French Revolution passed away, are we aware of any treatises of high character or importance, that have been published on this subject, by our countrymen. We are rather to look for the exact state of this science, and the opinions held regarding it, in the debates of Parliament, in the newspapers (as they respectively hold forth and support the doctrines of the political parties to which they adhere), in such of our Reviews as enter into discussions on political and other subjects, and in fugitive and short pamphlets, which confine their pages to a cursory and general view of particular branches of it.

One grand and most important principle, however, seems to be adopted and to prevail in this science,

science, amongst all parties, however they may be at variance on other points; and the prevalence of this principle is of itself a most pleasing and decisive proof, that for all practical purposes, this science has greatly advanced, and must hereafter shed a beneficial influence over the interests of mankind. We allude to the principle, that the real good of the people is the only solid right of all governments (however they may be classed into monarchies, aristocracies, and republics) to the powers and privileges with which they are invested. There is also another leading principle of great importance, though more liable to be mistaken, or to be urged in favour of measures, which, in its most enlarged and philosophical character, it will not befriend: we mean, the principle, that the forms of government must vary according to the peculiar character, manners, habits, and intelligence of the people; and that unless these are sufficiently advanced, the most liberal constitution, however guaranteed by the laws, will be merely a dead letter. This implies, that the best safeguard to the liberties of any nation consists in the intelligence, love, and knowledge of freedom, and moral character of the nation itself, and not in charters or constitutions. So far it is a sound and instructive doctrine, and one, by which governments may excuse themselves for not giving a greater portion of civil and political liberty to their subjects, so long as they are intellectually and morally unfitted for it. But it is also a doctrine that is liable to much misrepresentation and abuse; for though it may and does justify governments for withholding civil and political liberty, so long as the people are not fit to receive it, from being either totally indifferent about it, or in such a state that they would unavoidably abuse it, so as to bring upon themselves a deeper despotism and greater misery than they previously laboured under, yet it cannot justify them for withholding those measures which will remove this unfitness, and still less can it justify them for continuing or adopting measures that manifestly tend to continue or increase that unfitness.

Such are the state and character of the Political Philosophy of the present age: it is certainly more liberal in its doctrines, and much more practical, than it was; and it is to be hoped, that as it has purged itself of the extravagant opinions regarding the divine right both of sovereigns and the people, which formerly prevailed, it will settle into a sound, healthy, and vigorous condition. The good of the people being now made the polar star by which the researches of political writers, as well as the conduct of most European governments are, at least avowedly, directed and governed, we may reasonably expect, that from the former we shall derive more useful and practical information, and less abstract, speculative, and inapplicable reasoning than formerly; and that the latter will not venture upon any measures, without deeming themselves bound to shew that they are not inimical to the interests of their subjects, and that the adoption of them rests not merely on the will or privileges of the sovereign.

The state and progress of the science of Political Economy, from the period of the publication of the Wealth of Nations, till the events of the French Revolution had produced their full operation upon it,

has been already detailed. The importance as well as the difficulty of this science are gradually becoming more and more apparent. The embarrassed state of the finances of most European countries, as well as the unsound condition of their circulation, necessarily directed the attention and investigation of political economists to those branches of the science which related to these topics; while the singular and unprecedented state into which commerce was thrown during the greater part of the French Revolution, caused this branch of political economy also to be particularly studied and explored. Yet such seems the difficulties enveloping the very elements of this science, that the most acute and well-informed political economists are not agreed among themselves regarding these important topics; and practical men, that is men whose concerns lie in the funds, in banking, in the money market, or in the various branches of commerce, agree on very few points with those who are merely speculative political economists. That this account of the state of this science is not inaccurate, must be evident to all who are acquainted with the discussions on the state of the currency, and on the corn trade, as they appeared, not only in the parliamentary debates, but in the publications on those subjects. It is foreign to our purpose (and if it were not, it would be a very difficult task) to assign the causes which thus retard the advancement of this most important science: that it does not advance nearly at the same rate with other sciences, is sufficiently evident from the undoubted facts, that the very first principles of the science are very differently laid down by different writers; that even the definitions of the most common terms of the science are not agreed upon; and that, upon some of its most practically important topics, on which there is abundance of facts and experience, accessible to all, there is still great and irreconcilable diversity of opinion.

The Moral Philosophy of the present age may be classed into that which is abstract and speculative, and that which is practical: on the former, there are few writings of any considerable merit or character; this division of moral philosophy has indeed been much less cultivated during the last half century, than it was during the first portion of the eighteenth century; and the discussions on the abstruse and undeterminable points, whether moral obligation is founded on the fitness of things, the will of God, a moral sense, utility or happiness, have been wisely abandoned for more approachable and profitable discussions. The former discussions, like all those which relate to mind, were involved in much doubt and difficulty, from the various or the ambiguous meanings attached to the words employed in carrying them on; and it is no small proof of the real and beneficial advancement of the human intellect, in this country more especially, that verbal disputes,—not merely those that were palpably and almost avowedly verbal,—but also those which seemed to relate to things, whereas they related merely to words,—have in a great measure, and on most topics, given way to discussions of a solid and tangible character, as well as of practicable solution and application to the concerns and actions of life.

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The practical Moral Philosophy of the present age, in Britain, is deservedly of a very high character for its soundness and simplicity, and for the knowledge of mankind on which it is grounded. The instructive lessons for the regulation and government of the temper and passions, for the formation of the manners, and for the discharge both of the greater and lesser duties, which all the various relative connexions of society impose and require,—as they are given in a most pleasing and attractive form in some of our best works of fiction,—will be afterwards noticed with more propriety: at present we shall confine ourselves to the state and character of the Moral Philosophy of the present age in Britain, as they appear in the most celebrated of those writings which treat expressly of it as a science, or of particular branches of that science.

On all these writings are decidedly and deeply stamped the most characteristic features of British intellect, as well as of the British national character. The most celebrated are those of Paley and Gisborne: but the writings of the former, not only on Moral Philosophy, but also on the evidences of Natural Theology, are, in our opinion, distinguished by much more undoubted and decided marks of British intellect, than those of the latter, or indeed of any other author on the evidences and duties of either Natural or Revealed Religion, in the English language. We cannot help regarding Paley, notwithstanding the laxity and casuistry of some of his doctrines on the subject of Moral Philosophy, as an author of whom this country ought to be proud, on account of the powers of intellect, and the mode of applying them, which all his works, and especially his Natural Theology, display. He forces his way into the very heart of an argument by the very strength and directness of his understanding:—topics which have been often discussed before in such a manner as apparently to have left them nearly exhausted, he exhibits in lights not only new, but which flash conviction on the mental eye by the steady and clear illumination which they throw round them. If an objection is to be met and repelled, he first meets it face to face; he gives it every advantage, sensible that if overcome, under these circumstances, his triumph will be the more complete and lasting.

The writings of Gisborne, and of other celebrated authors on the duties of man in society, are not marked by the acuteness of Paley, but they excel them in the mild and domestic tone in which those duties are explained and enforced. They are all practical; intended and calculated for real life; and removed at once from laxity, and a rigid and impracticable enforcement of a line of conduct which neither the feelings and habits of individuals, nor the state of society, admit or require.

Metaphysics, or that study which relates to the developement and explanation of the faculties of the mind, and in general to the nature of mind itself, has latterly, like the speculative and abstruse parts of Moral Philosophy, gone much into disuse: several causes have probably operated to produce this effect. In the first place, great and not unreasonable doubts have been started regarding the utility of such speculations as Metaphysics embraces.

braces and pursues; and in the second place, it seems to be suspected that these speculations either turn on the meaning of words, or are beyond the faculties of man.

There are, however, still some metaphysical writers of note; these may be arranged under three divisions. The Scotch metaphysicians;—the English metaphysicians, who embrace, in whole or in part, the doctrines of Hartley;—and such British writers as are advocates for the Metaphysics of Kant, or other teachers of the German school.

The character of the Scotch Metaphyiscs presents rather a singular and unaccountable phenomenon; there can be no doubt that the distinguishing features of Scotch intellect are acuteness,—a tendency to scepticism, and to take for granted and believe rather too little than too much, and a fondness for subtlety, system, and pushing things to the fewest and simplest possible principles; and an examination of the writings of Scotch authors, of the greatest celebrity, and who display the features of the national intellect in the most pure and marked manner, will (if we except their metaphysical authors) fully bear out and illustrate the picture we have drawn.

In Metaphysics, however, it is quite the reverse; the mode of philosophizing, which, assisted by their national acuteness, has enabled them to extend the limits of most branches of physical science, and to give even to Political Economy more of the dignity and simplicity of a science than it previously possessed, seems to be utterly abandoned when they enter the field of metaphysical inquiry. The writings of Reid, Beattie, and even of Dugald Stewart, sufficiently bear out the truth and justice of this observation: in direct opposition to the principle which guides the authors of this nation in their researches on other subjects, and which principle is every day more and more confirmed, in proportion as science advances,—viz. that nature always works by the simplest and fewest means, and that her elements are not nearly so numerous as in the infancy of knowledge and experience they were believed to be,—the Scotch writers on the subject of mind seem to delight in multiplying causes, and to be afraid to draw the veil from the operations of nature, so far as the moral and intellectual structure of man is concerned. Such, all must allow, is the doctrine of common sense, or that doctrine which teaches inquirers to rest content with the discovery of moral and mental phenomena, and to regard them as ultimate and inexplainable principles in the constitution of man. That such a mode of philosophizing is at variance with the notions that all acquainted with other branches of Scotch science and literature, must form of the features of Scotch intellect, is undoubted:—it is, as we have already remarked, a curious circumstance, and therefore deserving, in our opinion, of being pointed out, in connexion with this short sketch of Scotch Metaphysics.

Between the doctrines of the Scotch metaphysical writers, and those of such of the English metaphycians as are followers of Hartley, there is an intermediate class: according to this class of doctrines, the former do not push their inquiries far enough, and the latter push theirs too far. There are, however, no very celebrated writers of this description. With respect to Hartley and his followers, it appears to

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me, that they, and especially Hartley himself, are distinguished by several of the characteristics of British intellect. English Metaphysics, indeed, if we trace them in Hobbes, Locke, and Hartley, three of the most celebrated authors on this subject, will give us a very favourable and just idea of some of the most peculiar features of the national intellect. There is, in the metaphysical writings of all these authors (with a few exceptions) a fine vein of good sense, which almost invariably keeps their inquiries in that line that leads to sound and practical conclusions; while, at the same time, there is a degree of penetration and comprehension of mind,—a rising above mere words, and a grappling with things that enables them to push their inquiries and investigations beyond the limit, which, to feebler intellects, and intellects that work entirely by means of words, seems the impassable boundary of human investigation on the subject of Metaphysics.

Of the practical tendency and benefit of the metaphysical truths which these writers, and more particularly Locke and Hartley, have explained and defended, there will remain no doubt, when we reflect that by the former the doctrine of innate ideas has been exploded, and by the latter, the doctrine of the association of ideas has been most thoroughly investigated and enforced. In fact, whether we regard Metaphysics as a science merely fit to sharpen the powers of the mind, or as one capable of practical application, we shall be equally sensible of the benefit which Locke and Hartley have conferred on it by their writings: for, if ideas are innate, inquiries into their nature, origin, and combinations, are utterly unnecessary and useless; and till the doctrine of the association of ideas was established on a firm footing, it was impossible to take advantage of Locke's discovery, and to pursue any satisfactory inquiry into the structure of the human mind. With respect to the practical inferences and applications of these doctrines, there seems hardly any necessity to point them out. Education, taken in its most comprehensive and philosophical meaning, cannot be conducted on any regular and systematic plan, or with much hope of forming the character and instructing the mind, so long as ideas are believed to be innate, or so long as (though this doctrine is given up) the doctrine of their association is not understood and practically applied.

As the German Metaphysics of Kant, &c. never gained any extensive or firm footing in this country, it seems not necessary to dwell upon them; indeed, we must confess, that to us they appear either totally unintelligible, or, where intelligible, only wrapping commonplace, or long exploded ideas, in the most mystic jargon imaginable. It is a circumstance well worthy of remark and consideration, that though the national character of the German and the British, as well as their intellectual and literary character, resemble each other very strongly in many respects; yet there are two or three points in which they widely differ. In the first place, among the Germans there are stronger proofs of imperfect civilization than among the English; these break out, in a most peculiar and striking manner, in their outrageous display of the strongest feelings and passions of the human breast, to the utter violation of all good

good taste, and in a manner shocking and disgusting to all who are desirous of banishing from their feelings and passions all extravagance, and all morbid and selfish passiveness. The truth of this remark is sufficiently established by the German plays and novels; and though these were popular in Britain, yet their popularity was short lived, and was happily and successfully destroyed by our national good sense and good taste. In the second place, the imperfect civilization of the Germans, compared with the British, is further displayed by the favour, countenance, and belief which are shewn in Germany to the doctrines of animal magnetism, &c. In Britain, these doctrines were at one time partially received; but more through a love of novelty and fashion than from real conviction; the reverse seems the case in Germany. Lastly, as we have already remarked, the Metaphysics of Germany are very different from those of Britain, and equally with the other two points of difference just noted, prove, in our opinion, that not only with respect to civilization, but also with respect to the cultivation and progress of intellect, the Germans are much behind the British. Perhaps the principal cause of this state and character of the German intellect may be traced in the comparatively late period at which the Germans devoted themselves to the cultivation of literature and science: they have not proceeded in a regular, cautious, and systematic manner; the consequences are, that, while on some topics they have overleaped the boundary of human knowledge, and thus have plunged into intellectual darkness,—on other topics, they have not advanced so far as to free themselves from that darkness. Hence Germany, at this time, displays the curious, and by no means uninstructive spectacle of a people with strong and cultivated intellects, and much just and accurate information, so far as some topics are concerned; while on other topics, their depraved rather than their uninformed intellects seek for food which, in most other European countries, is utterly rejected, and was never, at any period, sought for and relished, except while ignorance and credulity overshadowed and benumbed the mind.

But to return from this digression.—The next subject which calls for our notice in this Chapter, is the state and character of the Philosophy of Criticism of the present age.

On this branch of literature, Metaphysics have been brought to bear with considerable effect and success; and, indeed, whatever difference of opinion regarding the practical utility of metaphysical researches in other respects may be entertained, none, we should imagine, will be disposed to deny, that when applied to elucidate the origin and nature of intellectual pleasures, they may be of great utility. In proof of the truth of this remark, we need only notice the doctrine of the association of ideas, which, even by the Scotch writers, has been applied with success and considerable ingenuity to the Philosophy of Criticism.

The most celebrated writers on this topic are Kaimes, Campbell, Alison, Knight, and Dugald Stewart. The writings of the first were formerly very popular, and regarded as having made great discoveries in this branch of literature; but their real merits are now more fairly and justly appreciated. Indeed, in Lord Kaimes's Essays there

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is a singular intermixture of the peculiar Metaphysics of his country, which lead him often to solve a difficulty by a reference to original and innate principles or feelings, with a fondness for subtlety and refinement, that, when analyzed, will, in most instances, be discovered to resolve itself into mere words. Thus, after stating the fact he wishes and proposes to explain and account for, and entering on a long and apparently profound investigation into its nature and causes, the reader who is not perplexed or led astray by words, will be satisfied, on comparing the statement of the fact with the explanation of it, that they are both in reality the same; and that the author, though he has been always in motion, yet, by moving in a circle, has not advanced, but only reached the spot from which he set out.

The writings of Campbell, Alison, Knight, and Stewart, as well as the occasional but valuable glimpses of philosophical criticism which are interspersed in Johnson's Lives of the Poets, and in other works, are much more valuable and instructive than Lord Kaimes's Elements of Criticism; and, in fact, from them may be gleaned a greater number of the real Elements of Criticism than are to be found in that work.

The treatise of Blair on the Belles Lettres seems hardly to fall within the scope of our present Chapter; for though there are in it some good illustrations of the Philosophy of Criticism, yet for the most part it is occupied with a practical and detached application of that Philosophy to the different branches of literature, and some of the most celebrated writers in those branches. Besides, Blair in this work has been too much indebted to French Authors, where he does treat of the Philosophy of Criticism, to be entitled to a particular notice here.

On the whole, the Philosophy of Criticism is still in a rude and imperfect state (compared with many other branches of science and literature) in Britain;—it is a rich mine, but it requires to be worked carefully and deeply before its riches can be fully procured: much rubbish must be removed from the surface. A most intimate and profound knowledge of mankind, of all that forms their character, and of the inmost recesses of the human mind and heart, are indispensable in him who is ambitious of enlarging the boundaries of the Philosophy of Criticism.

Closely connected with this subject is the consideration of the state and character of the periodical Criticism of Britain in the present age.

Since the publication of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, these have been very striking; before they appeared, there were occasionally in the Monthly Reviews articles which displayed not only strong powers of mind, and an intimate acquaintance with the subject of the work reviewed, but which also were written with great command of language: but these were rare. The Edinburgh Review first led the way to a new style of Criticism: on its appearance, it attracted notice by the elaborate and regular dissertations which it contained,—especially on topics of general Politics, and Political Economy, into which former Reviews had scarcely ever entered;—by the polish and elegance of its style, and by the contemptuous, sarcastic, and severe manner, in which it treated many authors, who had met with respect

spect and admiration from the other Reviews, and through their means, from the world in general. The Edinburgh Review preserved its high and unparalleled popularity till its political predictions were proved to be false, and till it was opposed and rivalled by the Quarterly Review. The plan on which the latter is conducted, is exactly similar to that of the Edinburgh Review;—in politics, and with respect to the merits of many authors, where no political bias can be supposed to operate, they differ widely. At first, the Quarterly Review was rather heavily written;—at present, it approaches very near its rival with respect to talent and information, and the manner in which they are conveyed: its antipathies, however, are expressed in a much heavier and coarser manner than those of the Edinburgh Review; and, occasionally, with a very indefensible and unmanly malignity. Yet in the very same Numbers which are thus disgraced, there will appear articles rich and warm with the admiration of all that is good and lovely in nature and in man, and written with stronger impressions of the importance of truth, and more genuine and ardent aspirations after the happiness and well-being of man, than any articles which the Edinburgh Review contains.

CHAPTER V.

State and character of the Poetry of the present age—Burns—Cowper—Wordsworth, &c.—Scott—Moore—Byron—Campbell.

HOWEVER delicate and subtle the essence of Poetry may be, and however difficult to detect and define it, there are few, we apprehend, who will be disposed to deny, that in the writings of those authors whose names are placed at the head of this Chapter, it exists in a greater or less degree, though they may differ with respect to that degree, as well as with respect to the strength and purity of the essence. We may likewise add, without much fear of contradiction, that some at least of the characteristic features of British intellect and British Poetry may be distinctly traced in the works of these authors, and that their mental and moral powers, so far as they may be deduced from their poetry, are of that description which we have emphatically denominated British.

In briefly pointing out what we regard as the most distinguishing, as well as the most discriminating beauties of these poets, we shall not attempt to class them: or to assign to each the place which he ought to hold in the scale of poetical merit: that is not our object; but rather so to hold them up to the critical eye, as will most easily and effectually exhibit their prevalent and peculiar beauties and blemishes.

We are disposed to rate the merits of Burns as a poet very high. In his poetry we think we can trace, very distinctly, nearly all that strength and vividness of colouring which gives such interest and effect to our elder poets, and to our national ballads of the highest character, united to much more warmth of feeling, and overflowing sympathy for his fellow-creatures, than they display. Indeed, the peculiar merits of Burns, as a poet, spring from his ardent feelings, either of contempt, anger, friendship, or love; and from the sympathy which his mind and heart hold with the joys and sufferings of those with whom he was connected. He was a man (if we may use rather a homely expression, but an expression pregnant with meaning) full of flesh and blood; a man to whom society, and especially the society of his friends, or of those who were bound to his heart by still closer ties,—was essentially necessary; who was keenly alive to all that was amiable, and all that was contemptible and mean in his fellow-creatures; and whose powers of thought enabled him to embody all that he saw and felt with regard to them. He knew the worth of the peasantry of Scotland; he knew the sources of their domestic comfort and happiness; their warm, sincere, and at the same time, reflecting and rational sense of religion; their kind but considerate attachment to one another; and their quick and ardent love of their Country's glory and honour,

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and interests; he knew these well, for he felt them exquisitely: and these he has depicted with such vividness, and accuracy of colouring, as not only enables his readers to deduce the character of the Scotch peasantry, but also carries him, in spite of himself, into their presence, and makes him feel and think, for the moment, as they are represented by the poet to have felt and thought.

But the richest and most exquisite pieces of the poetry of Burns, are those in which he pours forth his own personal feelings, especially his feelings of deep and solemn love. There is in these pieces a sublimity and holiness, as well as an ardent and touching warmth of feeling, which, in our opinion, are not to be found in the writings of any other poet. What can be more exquisitely beautiful—what can raise the thoughts and feelings of the reader higher above earth and all its vanities,—what poetry can enter so deeply into the soul, and fill it so completely, as the little piece of Burns, "To Mary in heaven?" We are disposed to place this piece in the highest rank of poetry, because it unfolds and depicts what all must have felt, whose hearts are organized in a manner best fitted to discharge the duties, and to receive and enjoy the highest pleasures of human life.

Cowper, though in some respects resembling Burns, is a poet of a very different character and rank: he, too, is principally occupied with domestic life. But his pictures of this kind of life are not filled with its rarest incidents, and its highest pleasures and feelings; but rather with many of its every-day occurrences, and with those duties, characters, and feelings belonging to it, which are not raised, by their intensity, above the level of common life. Those who have passed their time principally in what is called a domestic circle; who have been accustomed to look for, and to find, their principal occupation and pleasure within that circle; and who are united by ties of friendship or love, to the members who compose it, know full well, that even in the daily and ordinary occurrences of such a kind of life, there are many incidents full of interest; there are many opportunities that admit of the display, many occasions that call forth the exercise, of the domestic charities and feelings; and that many of the daily and most common occupations of such a life,—which to those whose hearts are not framed for it, seem insipid and tiresome,—lay a firm hold on the thoughts and feelings of such as are by nature moulded, and by habit accustomed to it. In the display of most of the occupations, pleasures, and sympathies of quiet and regular domestic life, Cowper excels; and in the midst of this display, he pours forth such amiable feelings,—such a kind solicitude for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his fellow-creatures,—such a strong recommendation of what is excellent,—and such a pointed, but at the same time kind-hearted and charitable, censure of what is vicious or blameable,—that we are equally delighted with the character which the poet unconsciously draws of himself, and with the picture which he exhibits of the life that he recommends, and himself followed and enjoyed.

From this short and necessarily imperfect sketch of the characters of Burns and Cowper, it will appear, that though they are so different, yet they possess many features

tures in common; and that both in what they differ, and in what they correspond, they each display most strongly many of the characteristic traits of British intellect and feelings. They are also distinguished by another circumstance; they totally disregard what may be called the mere mechanism of poetry; that which we have already pointed out as having originated chiefly in Pope, and which goes to fix the essence of poetry in the mere selection and collocation of words; which exhibits the corporeal form and features of poetry, without its animating soul. Not that Burns' poetry is destitute, in many places, of language, such as, with many of the school of methodical poetry (if it so may be called) would have been deemed amply sufficient to constitute poetry of itself, without the thoughts by which it is animated and supported: but in him the language is a subordinate consideration; it seems not to have been sought after, but to have flowed involuntarily, and almost unconsciously, at the command of his ardent feelings. With respect to Cowper, he is very careless in his language; but this very carelessness is admirably suited to his subject, and to his mode of treating it. He wrote not so much from a full heart, from keen feelings, or from affections which totally absorbed him, as from a placid and contemplative attachment to the more sober and common blessings, pleasures, and duties of domestic life; and therefore highly expressive and figurative language would have been inconsistent with the tone of his poetry; and if it had been admitted, must have been the result of a studied attention to it, and therefore unsuitable both to the subject and to the feeling, under the undivided and undistracted influence of which that subject could best be treated.

In the poetry of Wordsworth we may trace a man of a very different character, both with respect to the powers of his mind, and the formation and feelings of his heart, from either Burns or Cowper. Burns could not live without the society of his fellow-creatures; without always having some object towards whom his full and warm heart could, as it were, flow out in the full tide of its affection, either of friendship or love. All his thoughts, all his duties, all his pleasures,—his whole life was social: perhaps if circumstances had favoured him, he might have been able to have satisfied his soul, thus constituted by nature, with the discharge of the duties, and the enjoyment of the pleasures, of a calm and regular domestic life. But, as he was placed, and perhaps as he was formed, these did not satisfy him. Cowper, however, they did satisfy; and in the writings of these two poets we have a most highly finished and interesting picture of man in society; of man acted upon by his feelings towards his fellow-creatures; his thoughts constantly filled with what regards them; and his chief and most cherished pleasures derived from their fellowship. The writings of Wordsworth display a very different picture; but one, at least, of equal merit and rarity—we ought, perhaps, to have said, of greater merit and rarity. The poetry of Wordsworth unfolds what passes in the mind of a man who lives (so to speak) on contemplation; who derives from the most trivial objects of nature, from the most common occurrences of life, matter for the most profound reflection. Whoever has

has been long and much accustomed to commune with his own thoughts, and to attend to his own feelings at times when they absorbed him so completely as to shut his bodily and mental eyes to all objects, must know, that at these periods there rise up, and are cherished with most exquisite pleasure, thoughts and feelings which, as it were, take us out of the world, and place us in a world of our own creation. The most common objects or incidents, to minds of this stamp, when under the influence of this mood, will call forth reflections and feelings, the exquisiteness of which, when well expressed, all who are similarly constituted will acknowledge; though, by those whose minds and hearts are cast in a different mould they will be deemed childish or fantastical.

If we have succeeded in explaining our meaning, we shall have conveyed an idea, though but a faint and imperfect one, of what we conceive to be the essential and distinguishing character of Wordsworth's poetry. It is of a singular kind: it does not go abroad among mankind, their passions, feelings, or pursuits, to seek for the objects on which it may work: all the materials necessary for it are in abundance within the mind of the poet himself; and these materials, though suggested by the appearances of nature, or the character or actions of man, are not created by them; they merely touch the spring of poetry in the poet, and there proceeds a copious flow of poetry of the highest kind. Had the world contained no living being but Wordsworth himself, still from the stores of his own mind, or rather from the feelings of his own heart, he would have become a poet: but he never can be popular; because his poetry appeals to reflections and feelings that find no sympathy except in a very few, and even by those it cannot be estimated at its real value.

Southey, Coleridge, and Wilson, are poets, in some respect and degree, of the same class as Wordsworth; but their poetry is not so full of contemplativeness as that of Wordsworth. It enters more abroad into society; though from society it gathers materials somewhat akin to those which Wordsworth seeks, exclusively from his own heart. Southey is a very voluminous poet: but in all his writings the same character prevails; the same beauties and the same faults. His beauties chiefly consist in depicting scenes of rich or tranquil nature, such as are to be found in reality; or in creating scenes of a grander and more sublime character, drawn entirely from his own imagination. In both respects he is frequently very happy; and the full flow of exuberant language, which in other parts of his poetry weakens its effect by expanding and diluting the conception of the poet, is here productive of a good effect. His other beauties consist in depicting, with much nature and feeling, the charities of the human heart; especially those which he himself has felt most exquisitely: in exemplification and proof of this opinion, it is necessary only to refer the reader to that most exquisite and touching picture of his own family, which he has drawn in his poem on the Battle of Waterloo. In this short poem may distinctly be traced much of the strength, and much of the weakness of Southey as a poet. There is much bad taste (indeed all the poets of this school are guilty of most

most frequent and gross violations of good taste); there is much poverty and puerility of thought (and this is another of their besetting sins); and in every thing that relates to the battle,—in every thing that requires the display of very strong powers, or the delineation of the more impetuous and violent passions of the human heart,—Southey, in this and in all his poems, fails most egregiously.

Coleridge is a much more subtle and metaphysical poet than any others of the same school; he sometimes soars much higher than they do; and not unfrequently sinks even lower than them. In his poetry there is much that will weary and disgust by its puerility and absurdity; but there are passages, even in that most absurd of all his poems, Christobell, which come on the mind of the reader, like the Oasis to the traveller in the midst of the deserts, and refresh him by their fragrance and richness, or hurry him away by their hold on his feelings. Coleridge has taken a deep view into the human heart; but his view is not always unprejudiced, nor does he always tell what he has seen there, unmixed with what his prejudice prompts, or his own peculiar theory of the human mind and affections insinuates. Neither he, nor any other poet of this school, is the poet of society; though Southey and he seem to draw from it, and the feelings and affections to which it gives birth, much more than Wordsworth does. In another respect Coleridge must be distinguished from his fellow poets: he has greater powers in depicting the gloomy or terrible; and these powers would produce a still stronger effect in the reader than they do, if they were not often rendered of little or no avail, by passing beyond their peculiar and legitimate boundaries into the regions of extravagance, bombast, and bad taste. On the whole, if Coleridge had been gifted with a larger portion of good sense, sound judgment, and correct taste, he would have raised himself to a much higher rank as a poet: his natural talents appear to us higher than those of Southey, and even of a loftier description, though not of such a rare kind as those of Wordsworth; but to these talents he certainly has not done justice.

Wilson is known to the public only by two poems of any length, the Isle of Palms, and the City of the Plague: but from these, in our opinion, may be drawn a pretty accurate idea of the peculiar character and merit of his poetry. In many respects he resembles what are called the Lake Poets—Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge; like them, the feelings and occupations of the common people, or the pleasures of a retired and contemplative life, are the sources from which he draws his most favourite, and highly-wrought materials; but he is more sad, pensive, and melancholy, than the rest of his brethren; and often takes delight in entering even into the regions of disgusting pain and misery. When, however, he passes from these subjects to those of a more cheerful description,—to the depicting of the innocent pleasures of youth,—of the bursting forth and overflowing of the warmest and purest affections of the human heart; and of the charms which nature holds forth to those whose eyes and feelings are open and alive to her beauties,—he is a most delightful poet.

In all these poets of the Lake school

school (we use this designation not in contempt or ridicule, but as a short and descriptive appellation) there is a warm and benevolent aspiration after the happiness of their fellow-creatures, which is very pleasing: and though their dreams of the perfectibility of man, and their prejudices regarding the evils of society,—the more pure happiness and virtue of uncivilized life, and the comparative innocence of the lower, and profligacy of the higher ranks,—have passed away, yet there still lingers in their writings so much of the impression left by those dreams and prejudices, as renders them emphatically the favourite poets of all who look forward to future periods of improvement, not in the sciences or the arts, but in the moral condition and happiness of mankind,—or who regard those who walk in the humbler paths of life as most favoured with respect to real and pure enjoyment, and partaking least both of the ills and the vices of humanity.

Perhaps the annals of poetry in no country exhibit such a striking proof of rapid rise, and as rapidly declining popularity, as the poems of Walter Scott have experienced. At one time they were praised too highly; and now, as generally happens in such cases, they have sunk too low. The causes both of their former popularity, and present neglect, lie near the surface; and may therefore easily be detected and told. When they first appeared, they possessed a strong stimulus of novelty; and that novelty was of a kind which, independent of the mere circumstance of novelty, was sure to create a general interest. The romantic nature of their stories, the scenes in which the events were laid, the period of history they embraced,—the characters that were exhibited,—the vividness with which these, and the delineations of natural scenery were brought before the reader,—and the familiarity of the measure and language,—contributed essentially to render them popular. That they have sunk so utterly into neglect and oblivion, the poet is himself to blame: he repeated and imitated himself, not only too often, but at much too short intervals; and each succeeding poem seemed to have been finished with much less care and attention than its immediate predecessor. In fact, the first poem, the Lay of the Last Minstrel, especially where the Minstrel himself appears,—where his solitariness, his age, his infirmities, —the recollections which overcame him,—and the gratitude which bursts from his heart at the unexpected kindness shown him,—are depicted with so much nature and effect,—placed Walter Scott on a higher eminence as a poet than he has been able to retain by any of his subsequent publications. His great merits are the vivid picturesqueness of his delineations of natural scenery, and of the affections, feelings, thoughts, and passions of the human mind, chiefly as they shew themselves in the workings of the features, rather than in the language to which they give birth, or the actions that flow from them;—the insight his poems afford into the manners, habits, and mode of life of our half barbarous ancestors; and, occasionally, the high working up of some of the most remarkable and interesting incidents in his poems. But in the midst of these excellencies, none of which are of the highest order, or the rarest kind

kind, there is a very large proportion of what is careless, feeble, common-place, and in very bad taste.

We are by no means disposed to rank the poetry of Moore high: it glitters too much; it does not flow from any profound knowledge of the human character or heart; or from any very exquisite feeling of sympathy with mankind; nor does it speak powerfully to the heart or feelings of those who read it. They are astonished, and delighted, and even cloyed, with the exuberance of the banquet which the poet spreads before them; but they never forget the poet in his subject, or his mode of treating it; on the contrary, they so often recur to him, they so often think of the richness of his imagination, that they never lose themselves. And even of this species of poetry, Moore is not a perfect writer; there are too many prettinesses, too many conceits, too many thoughts and expressions, evidently chosen expressly and solely for the purpose of effect. It might be supposed that such a poet would excel in his delineations of natural scenery; but he does not. He does not know, or he forgets, that the most exquisite hold which natural scenery, and consequently its delineation—either by the painter or the poet,—has on the mind, arises from association: he is too anxious to paint it rich and gaudy; and hence the eye is too much occupied for the mind and feelings to have full play.

Wordsworth and Byron are the most original poets of the present age: yet what a contrast do they present! Byron's mind seems filled with the miseries of human life; on these it feeds: these it turns on every side, or ranges in all possible combinations; exaggerates with all the creative power of a most vigorous, and at the same time distempered imagination; and then presents to the world in language which conveys them in all their intensity. Byron's poetry contains more thought in fewer words, than perhaps any other author in any language, either in prose or verse: often, by a single expression, he places before the mind a scene in the natural or moral world,—an insight into the human character, or into his own, or a train of reflection, much more vividly and completely than any other author could do by the most lengthened and laboured language. The chief interest of his poetry arises from the clear and deep view which it gives us into the most singular, and perhaps unprecedented construction of his own character: in this character a morbid distaste for the pleasures of life,—a bitter and sarcastic contempt for all that it is said to contain of grandeur,—and a thorough belief, that existence under every form is a curse,—are the most distinguishing features; while, at the same time, there occasionally breaks out a contemplative and melancholy train of thought, which seems to soften the misanthropy of the poet, and to evince that, but for this morbid misanthropy, he could have been happy, and could have lived among mankind in the discharge of those duties, and enjoyment of those pleasures, which he now affects to despise.

The genius of Campbell is certainly of no mean order; but it is cramped by his timidity and over-anxiety. Except in some of his smaller pieces, he is much too artificial a poet to attain the rarest treasures of poetry; he pays too much attention to his mode of ex-

pression: to this he frequently sacrifices his thoughts; or he makes his thoughts submit to his mode of expression. The flow of his mind is evidently checked; and what he feels he does not permit to come forth in all its vigour and warmth, lest it should not appear exactly in its proper dress. If Campbell had written with the rapidity and carelessness of Scott, he would have been a much better poet; for in his smaller pieces there abound a richness of fancy, a grandeur of conception, and a hurrying the reader beyond himself, into the midst of the poet's creation, that sufficiently prove Campbell to have received from nature the essentials of poetry, if he had not spoiled them by art.

CHAPTER VI.

Character of the fictitious Narratives of the present age—Retrospective view of them—Richardson—Smollet—Fielding—Goldsmith—Miss Edgeworth's publications—Waverley, &c.

THOUGH, to a careless and unreflecting investigator, the provinces and the effects of the inventive and imaginative powers of the human mind may not seem to be divided by a broad and obvious line of distinction, yet, we apprehend, if they are examined very nearly and closely, it will be found that they differ very widely, in almost every respect.

The imaginative powers are exclusively the sources from which genuine poetry flows; the inventive powers, indeed, may, or perhaps must lend their aid, in order to frame the story, and to supply some of the incidents and events, or to fill up, in some degree, the outline and features of the characters pourtrayed by the poet; but mere invention can never infuse the spirit of genuine poetry. In Robinson Crusoe there are displayed as high powers of invention as it is almost possible to conceive can be brought to bear on the incidents and characters of any fictitious narrative: yet no one would think of denominating Robinson Crusoe a poem, even though it were written in verse, and in the most highly poetical language.

There is much invention in Milton's Paradise Lost; and in some of the finest plays of Shakespeare: but if we examine accurately what we mean, when we say that these are filled with the highest and rarest beauties of poetry, we shall be convinced that these beauties do not arise from, or consist in the inventive powers displayed by these authors.

In what points, then, does the essential difference between the inventive and imaginative powers of the human mind consist? The question is difficult to answer in such a manner as to draw the line between them without its passing, in some places, within the strict and legitimate boundaries of each; but we apprehend, it may be laid down as a general proposition, that the inventive powers of the human mind, when of the highest order, and exercised with the utmost judgment and care, have for their object, merely the display of those characters and incidents of human life which neither arise from, nor produce, strong feeling, affection, or passion. Invention is conversant about the calmer parts of human life and character: temper, foibles, vices, and virtues, that are rather the effects of reflection or habit than of an ardent temperament,—and, in general, actions which do not pass beyond the cool tenor of ordinary life,—are the subjects of the inventive powers. These powers are

not equal to the display of the human character, when that character is more marked by feeling and passion than the absence of them, or to the pourtraying of those incidents of human life, which, acting on such a character, bring it out, in words and actions, in its most ample form, and most perfect features.

Such, generally speaking, appears to us to be the broad line of distinction between the inventive and imaginative powers of the human mind: and that this distinction comes near the truth will be apparent, if we compare our highest specimens of inventive powers, as displayed in Robinson Crusoe, Clarissa Harlowe, Sir Charles Grandison (not taking into account the really poetical parts of these two novels, which will be more particularly adverted to afterwards), the novels of Smollet, of the author of Waverley, &c. In Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress there are specimens of both species of powers: there is much invention and some imagination; that is, some parts of this work display the human character merely in its calm aspect, not formed nor changed by feeling, affection, or passion, but merely exhibiting itself, as the great mass of mankind present that character to us, in the ordinary pursuits of life: in other parts of the Pilgrim's Progress, on the contrary, the feelings, affections, and passions, of the human breast are brought into play, and their workings and effects are pourtrayed with such faithful and minute accuracy, as to make a deep impression of their resemblance to those which exist in human nature.

But the difference between these powers may be still further confirmed and illustrated, if we attend to the effects which the exercise of them produce on our minds. If we read Robinson Crusoe, we soon become interested in his character and fate; we sympathize with his misfortunes; we rejoice when he rejoices; we even are unconsciously and gradually transported into his island, and become the witnesses or the partakers of his adventures; they produce in us nearly all the emotions, hopes, fears, anticipations, and reflections, which they did upon him. In short, while we are perusing this work, the creation of the author drives away all that is around us,—all that was previously in our thoughts,—and we become the subjects of his power,—creatures of the world which he has brought into existence. These are wonderful effects of high inventive powers; of powers that are adequate not only to weave a highly probable and well-connected story, and to keep up, or even increase its interest; but also to bring out to view all those minute shades of character, each of which lays hold upon our attention and interest, and brings us into familiar acquaintance with the person in whom they are displayed. But even in those parts of Robinson Crusoe where our interest and sympathy are most deeply excited,—where we feel as he feels, and are hurried out of ourselves by the skill of the author,—our feelings are very different from those which we experience when reading poetry of as high an order, among works of imagination, as Robinson Crusoe is in works of invention.

In short, we apprehend that we must rest satisfied with marking the distinction between the imaginative and inventive powers of the human mind, in a broad and general manner; as to enter further into the subject

subject would draw us beyond our limits, and at the same time, into a discussion of rather too refined and metaphysical a nature for this work. The inventive powers, then, are confined to the display of human character, as that character is pourtrayed by temper, and by all that constitutes it, except powerful feelings, affections, and passions. Characters of mere temper, foibles, prejudices, and those failings, and good qualities, virtues, and vices, that are not compatible with very delicate or very strong emotions of the heart, lie within the province of these powers. Man, as a being of emotion, rather than of temper, habit, prejudice, or reflection, is the proper subject for the imaginative powers; the creature whom the poet is enabled and privileged to call into existence.

Of the utility of works of invention, when the produce of superior genius, and directed to proper objects, there can be little doubt; and of the interest which they excite, there can be still less. Man, in a civilized state, at least, is much more the creature of temper, prejudices, habits, and reflection, than of emotion; and therefore the interest excited by the display of the human character in works of invention, must be much more general than that excited by its display, as made up of emotion or passion, in works of imagination. Hence works of invention are understood and relished by most people; works of imagination, by comparatively few: hence the former are the favourites of the very young, before the emotions and passions of the human heart have been brought into maturity in their own breasts, or been frequently and fully exhibited to them in their intercourse with the world; and of the old, after they have passed that period of life when emotions and passions give way to cool and sober reflection.

The utility of works of invention may be traced in various ways. In the first place, as they are conversant with human life and character, under its most common appearances, they must, if well executed, supply the place of experience. In the second place, by depicting the circumstances which produce or strengthen those parts of the human character about which works of invention are conversant,—such as temper, foibles, prejudices, &c. and the consequences resulting from them,—they may serve, in some respects, the purposes of education, and certainly must increase our knowledge of our own character, and of the character of many of those whom we shall meet with in the intercourse of society.

Unfortunately, however, there are not many fictitious narratives in the English language, that unite, in any very high degree, those qualities which will at once render them instructive and interesting. There are many, indeed, from which what is called a moral has been drawn by the author, or may be drawn by the reader; but it is not a solitary moral sentence, placed at the end of the work, that can benefit or instruct: the instruction to be useful must be worked up in the body of the work; it must insinuate itself, in a manner almost imperceptible, into the mind, in the progress of the narrative.

The novels of Richardson, especially his Clarissa Harlow and Sir Charles Grandison, possess uncommon interest, and are at the same time certainly instructive. Their interest arises from several sources: perhaps

perhaps no author of fictitious narrative ever took such pains to introduce his readers so intimately to the acquaintance of his personages: you see them not merely when their presence is necessary to the progress of the story, but at all times: the most trifling and ordinary occupations of their lives are exposed to your view; and detailed in such a manner, with such liveliness and minuteness of description, that you soon begin to consider yourself as one of the family. This appears to us to be the device by means of which Richardson has contrived to raise such powerful interest in his readers, even before there are any circumstances in his story that, of themselves, are calculated to excite such an interest. The personages of his narratives, especially in his two best novels, have become, as it were, our intimate friends, by our having dwelt so long in their houses, and been admitted to view all their domestic concerns, and to hear all their thoughts, plans, and causes of joy or sorrow: these, though trifling, yet by frequent repetition, mix themselves up with our thoughts and sympathies; and hence, having prepared the way by creating this intimacy, he is enabled to give a much greater effect than he otherwise could have done to the highly-wrought parts of his novels.

We have already given it as our opinion, that there is much real poetry in Clarissa Harlowe and Sir Charles Grandison; and it is this circumstance, that, while it exalts the genius of the author, we apprehend, weakens, by confining the instruction that might otherwise be derived from them. For, to how few, in their passage through life, can the lessons which Clarissa Harlow holds forth be applicable or useful! Mankind in general are not creatures of passion; their most common as well as their chief pleasures or pains do not spring from high-wrought feelings, or overwhelming emotion; their most common good or bad qualities,—those that touch most closely, most frequently, and most exquisitely on themselves or those with whom they associate,—have a different origin. To most, therefore, who read the novels of Richardson, they can be of little use, though to all they must yield most exquisite delight. The sources of the mere interest which we take in his personages have already been pointed out: the sources of the delight derived from the finest passages in his novels, are not difficult to be laid bare and explained. Richardson possessed a clear and deep insight into the nature and workings of the human heart, and most wonderful powers in depicting what he knew; and yet, if we consider his own character, and the manner in which his life was spent, we shall be at a loss to account for this knowledge, and these powers. He could not draw his knowledge from what passed in his own breast; for he seems to have been a cautious, cold, and unsympathizing man: and his observation and experience could lend him little or no assistance in gaining that insight into the human heart, which is so admirably displayed in many parts of his Clarissa Harlow and Sir Charles Grandison.

Perhaps his powers are displayed to the greatest advantage, and with the highest effect, in the character of Lovelace, and in pourtraying scenes of deep distress. The character of Lovelace is perfect in all its

its parts: every thing he says or does serves to unfold that character, and is necessary to constitute its completeness. If it had been imagined and attempted by a man of ordinary powers, it would have been rendered a confused and indigested mass; for there are features in it, at first sight so ill sorted and incongruous, that they could be moulded into symmetry, and arranged so as to form an expressive and consistent whole, only by such powers as Richardson possessed. Perhaps no greater proof of these powers could be given than the circumstance, that an interest, almost amounting to a sympathy, is taken for Lovelace, during the progress of those schemes which the reader knows originate in consummate villany, and must terminate in the ruin of Clarissa.

The finishing given to the character of Lovelace, we should be disposed to quote as a proof of the very high inventive powers of Richardson, unconnected with his imaginative or poetical powers: the solemn and overwhelming hold which he possesses over the mind and heart of his readers, in depicting scenes of distress, we should quote as a proof that he was a great poet. Perhaps there are no where else such scenes depicted; and yet, if we attend to the materials which he employs in drawing them, and the manner in which he uses those materials, we shall be at first surprized at the effect they produce: they are simple, few, and seemingly trifling; but a great poet, like Nature, works to the grandest and most astonishing effects, by the fewest and simplest means.

The novels of Smollet and Fielding are of a very different description from those of Richardson: with the exception, perhaps, of some parts of the Sir Launcelot Greaves of the former, there is no poetry in them; but as works of invention, they are admirable. Characters such as are formed by peculiarities of temper, or by peculiar circumstances and situations of life, or by these combined, and which are brought into full display by well-managed and highly-wrought incidents,—constitute the chief merits of the novels of Smollet and Fielding. If we were to attempt to draw the line of distinction between these authors, who at first sight appear to be exactly of the same class and powers, we should say, that the characters of Smollet are rather such as are formed by temper, and peculiarities of disposition and conduct, arising either from natural constitution, or early education; and the characters of Fielding result more from the circumstances of after-life than from what is innate, or of very early growth: and we certainly think, that the characters of Smollet display more knowledge of the human heart than those of Fielding; —Fielding's, more knowledge of human habits: Smollet's act more from the impulses of temper and feeling; —Fielding's more from habit, or reflection on consequences. Yet each author often passes into the peculiar domains of the other: and after all, the difference between them is much more clearly felt during the perusal, than it can be expressed.

Perhaps the characters of Matthew Bramble and Parson Adams are the masterpieces of these authors; both are most highly and admirably finished: we see into their very souls. But there is undoubtedly a great distinction between them: we mean between the

the class of characters to which they respectively belong, and the powers which must have drawn them. The character of Matthew Bramble is in a great measure constitutional; —it is a character of a warm heart, peculiar temper, and strong mind, modified and acted upon by circumstances; and to make him speak and act, at all times, conformably to this character, required a most consummate and intimate knowledge of the materials of which it was composed, and the combinations into which they might be cast. Parson Adams is nearly a negative character: he is absent, and utterly ignorant of the world, with a good rather than a warm heart. Now, none of these features require much talent in their display: they are to be brought out, chiefly by keeping down the ordinary features of human character; and there is little danger in their not combining so as not to give one uniform and consistent expression, as must have occurred in the character of Matthew Bramble, if it had not been drawn by the hand of a master.

Goldsmith is the author of only one novel; but it is an exquisite one, and quite worthy of his poetry, as well as closely allied to it in its nature, and the effects it produces on all readers of pure taste and warm feeling. Perhaps the distinction between works of mere invention, and works of imagination, might be tolerably well drawn by comparing and contrasting the poems of this author with his Vicar of Wakefield; though in justice to the latter, it ought to be stated, that there are passages in it that approach very nearly to, if they do not actually fall within the limits of poetry. The great charm of the Vicar of Wakefield, is the fire-side picture that it draws of unsuspecting honesty and goodness of heart, and domestic affection, and of the comforts, the hopes, the pleasures, the anxieties, the fears, and the evils, which surround those whose hearts are full of this affection. The story of the Vicar of Wakefield is not so well told as the stories of most of Fielding's and Smollet's novels; but it exhibits a more touching picture of human nature, and especially a more accurate picture of human nature as it exists in the homes of men of old and genuine English character.

It is not our intention to stop for a moment at the innumerable crowd of novels with which the press has swarmed for nearly half a century; nor even to notice any but those of very superior merit, and such as have carried this species of writing to the highest pitch of perfection. Fictitious narratives, as we have already observed, may be divided into such as are written to instruct mankind, and such as are written merely or principally to interest them. Of the former class, those of Miss Edgeworth are undoubtedly deserving of the very highest commendation: of the latter, Waverley, and the fictitious narratives by the same author.

The fictitious narratives of Miss Edgeworth, from those which she has published for the use of children, to her most finished performances for the use of grown-up people, are all written on the same plan, exhibit the same powers, and are admirably calculated to produce the best effects. They seldom or never deal with gross and uncommon vices, and very exalted and rare virtues: they are conversant with those good or bad qualities which occur most frequently—which form the

the character of the majority of mankind, and from which the great mass of benefit or injury to those in whom they exist, or to others, proceeds. The circumstances which give birth to, or confirm a foible, are developed; the inconvenience, discomfort, or actual wretchedness that it produces, are drawn forth by the most natural means; and we are either taught and induced to shun it by a strong impression of its bad consequences; or, if it already exists in us, we are enabled to root it out, not by formal instructions, but by an example set before us, drawn so much to the life, that what has been done by it we never for a moment hesitate to believe is applicable to our case, and may be done by us.

But Miss Edgeworth's novels possess another high excellence; they teach us to know, not only ourselves, and the weakness as well as strength of the human heart, but they place us in the midst of the world in which we live and must act, and thus enable us to gain knowledge and experience with little trouble, and with no risque. In this respect her novels are infinitely superior to those of Richardson, Smollet, Fielding, or Goldsmith; or, indeed, of any other author. Many of the characters of Richardson, Smollet, Fielding, and Goldsmith, are worn out; they were the characters of a certain age, and peculiar circumstances: and even those that are the characters of personages that must always exist, have so few prototypes in the world, that it is not probable we may ever meet with them. Whereas the characters of Miss Edgeworth's novels surround us; and though of common occurrence, yet she has selected none whom it must not be for our advantage to become acquainted with before we enter on the world, either that we may guard against or imitate them.

In short, Miss Edgeworth's are practical novels: they teach better than any works of morality can do, the practice of those duties,—the performance of those actions,—the display of that disposition and temper which, though lying below the high ground on which the moralist takes his station, are, nevertheless, of the utmost consequence to the comfort, dignity, usefulness, and happiness of life. The Spartans made their slaves drunk, in order that their children, by seeing the folly and crime which drunkenness produced, might avoid it. Miss Edgeworth exercises the same power over the personages of her novels, and for the same purpose; and as her genius enables her to breathe into them the breath of life, they cannot fail, in most cases, to fulfil completely her most wise and benevolent intention.

Historical novels are in general very stupid, and worse than useless performances; since, by blending truth and fiction, they pollute the one, and render the other uninteresting. It is no mean praise, therefore, of the author of Waverley, that in this, and several other of his fictitious narratives, he has completely steered clear of this objection. History does not descend to the display of individual character; and who is there that has not risen from the reading of an interesting portion of it, and does not long for a close and minute exhibition of those personages that were the principal actors, as well as for an accurate delineation of the manners of the age. These are supplied in a most masterly way by the author of Waverley:

Waverley: but his genius has led him even beyond this. In these novels there are a greater number and variety of characters than perhaps are to be met with in any other fictitious narratives; and they are all drawn so faithfully, each minute lineament is so evidently a copy from nature, that we are transported into a new world. The dramatic parts are perhaps the best: no sentiment or expression is uttered by any one personage that ought to have proceeded from another; or that is not highly characteristic of him from whom it does proceed. The author seems, at pleasure, to dismiss all consciousness of himself,—all his own feelings, associations, and forms of speech; and having, as it were, shaken off his own identity, to become, in turn, each of all his numerous and various personages. The same genius is conspicuous in the conception and relation of the incidents with which these works abound: they either call into full action the thoughts, feelings, passions, and all that constitute the peculiar characters of the personages; or they serve, by their own intrinsic and unborrowed excellence, to fill the mind of the reader with all the various emotions of which it is susceptible, at the command of the author. Such are his magical powers, that he can annihilate the world in which we live, —the objects by which we are surrounded,—the thoughts that occupy our breast,—and replace them by a new creation of his own.

CHAPTER VII.

Character of the works on History and Biography, and the Voyages and Travels, of the present age.

HITHERTO we have passed in review works in the different departments of literature, which certainly do high credit to the present state of genius and information among us. There may be a want of those master-intellects which distinguished and adorned some of the previous periods of our Literary history: but on the other hand, the present age can boast of a great number and variety of authors who, though not of the highest rank or the rarest talents, may justly lay claim to a large portion of genius and information.

But it is otherwise with History: if a Briton were called upon by a foreigner to enter the lists with him, with respect to Historical writing of the present age, of classical reputation, we are much afraid he would be obliged to decline the challenge. After Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, whom have we that we can bring forth as classical historians? There are, indeed, historians highly respectable for their diligent and laborious research; for the cool and unimpassioned impartiality that they display, even when engaged in relating events within the circle over which prejudice exerts her most powerful influence; and for their wise and judicious reflections, or the skill and penetration by means of which they trace events to their causes, and point out the consequences of those events:—but in what historian since Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, are these qualifications combined, in any high degree? and what historian, since them, joins to these qualifications the dignity, the grace, or the eloquence of style, by which these historians are distinguished.

It is foreign to our purpose fully to inquire into the circumstances which may have produced this dearth of historians in the present age: but some of them may be very briefly suggested. The want of proper subjects may perhaps be one cause. It is true, the history of Rome, up to the period when it receives such ample and eloquent illustration from Gibbon, is still untouched, in our language, by any historian worthy of such a rich and grand subject: and even the history of Greece, though it has occupied the pens of Gillies and Mitford, cannot be deemed to have occupied a historian worthy of it. And to come nearer home: the history of our own Country, since the Revolution, certainly affords a subject capable and worthy of exercising the highest historical talents, without passing beyond the line when the recentness of the events might render

render it difficult for the historian to write with impartiality, and at the same time with full and accurate information.

While, therefore, these subjects remain untouched by historians worthy of them, it cannot be said that our Country at present is without a classical historian, because subjects are wanting. Other causes must be sought: and we should be disposed to say, that the genius of the present age (we do not mean the peculiar turn or fashion of the literature, but the talents, in the highest acceptation of the word) are not adapted to History. They are almost exclusively devoted to poetry: in no other department of literature shall we find them of a very high order. There is, as we have before observed, in some of our present historians, an ample share of laborious research,—of acute and judicious sifting of facts,—and even of profound insight into the characters of men, and the causes and consequences of events,—and we may add, no great lack of that united penetration and comprehension of mind which enables a historian to draw from the circumstances and events he relates, or to confirm by them, principles of the highest importance, and of the closest application to all the branches of politics, in their most extended sense. But, to render them classical historians, worthy of being ranked with Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, they ought to be embued with some of that exquisite genius which they possessed, and which, in the present age, seems so completely to have assumed the form of poetical genius as to leave a great deficiency in all other branches of literature.

If we are called upon to name those authors who dignify and adorn the present age of British literature in the highest degree, what class of authors can we name, except poets, or those who are allied to poets by their most exquisite taste, impassioned eloquence, or high powers of invention? Genius, it appears to us, possesses but a small share of the domain of literature; there are but few parts of it, over which she can exert her power, or shed the magic of her influence. History, in the highest acceptation of the word, is certainly one of them: in proof of this, need we refer to the finest passages in Livy, Tacitus, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon? But to repeat what we have already said, the genius of the present age in this Country is almost monopolized by poetry: though, therefore, we have historians highly respectable for most of the other qualifications necessary to constitute this class of authors, yet we have none who can rank in the highest order, because to these qualifications they do not add a sufficient portion of genius.

But there is another circumstance which may account for the fact: within these very few years, investigation into the various branches of political economy, statistics, and the principles of general politics, have deservedly assumed such a high degree of interest, that we doubt, whether any historian who did not satisfy the public expectation and wants in these respects, would become popular, or rank high, even if he endeavoured to compensate for their absence by the most splendid genius. Besides, more minute and scrupulous accuracy than Hume, or Robertson, and perhaps even Gibbon, exercised, are now required of an historian, in

consequence

consequence of the very laborious attention and research, with which Antiquarian studies have latterly been carried on. Hence demands from a historian of the present age, on the part of the public, repel the man of genius from nearly all Historical topics.—We have thus endeavoured to account for an undisputed fact, viz.; that in the Historical department of literature, Britain at present ranks very low; and though we are not perfectly satisfied, that the explanation we have given will be deemed perfect, yet we certainly are of opinion, that it contains, at least, part of the cause of our present inferiority.

Biography requires very different talents from those which History demands. Indeed the most interesting and instructive species of Biography requires little of those who undertake to write it, but minute, full, and accurate information with respect to the person whose life is to be written. If a Historian is very minute, unless he can give to his minuteness that charm of the older Chronicles, with which Froissart, for example, has invested all he has recorded, he must be very tiresome; and even with that charm, he will be much more interesting and instructive to those who study individual characters, or the manners of the age, than to those who are desirous of drawing from History an insight into the causes which accelerate or retard the advancement of nations to power and happiness. But it is far otherwise with the Biographer; he cannot be too minute; if he indulges in general reflections, or contents himself with making his own sketch of the character of the object of his Biography, he may thus have greater opportunities of displaying his talents, but he will not delight so much; he will not be even so useful and instructive.

The writers of Biography of the present age, seem to have been aware of this; for, with a few exceptions, they have discarded the formal style of Biography, and been anxious rather to exhibit their subject than themselves. When this is done with even a very moderate share of talent, but with a full command of materials (which in this species of writing, are much more useful than talents) Biography is indeed a high treat to all kind of readers; to those who take it up, as they would do a novel, merely to be amused; to those who wish to study human character; to those who are anxious to trace the earliest years, and become familiar with the every-day behaviour and actions of him, whose works, or whose public conduct they have long regarded with high interest; and to those whose aim and object is still higher, who are desirous of investigating the causes and circumstances which create character, form genius, or give to it that direction, in which it afterwards appeared to delight and instruct mankind.

It is fortunate that Biography may be so written, without any great demands upon talent: hence it is of frequent occurrence among us, especially within the last half century. What a delightful book is Boswell's Life of Johnson; with how much ease and familiarity does it introduce us to his acquaintance: we enjoy it, we hear his conversation, without being annoyed or disgusted by the savageness of his manners, or repelled by his illiberal and virulent attacks. Who, that is familiar with the writing of that great

great master of the human mind, must not be highly delighted, as well as instructed, by tracing all the steps by which his character was formed; by watching the gradual developement of his genius; and by having unfolded to him, that man among his familiar friends, whom he had before only viewed at a distance, or in his garb and manners of ceremony as an author. We are willing to allow, that Boswell himself was a very weak and silly man; that from his life of Johnson, he can derive no praise or merit, but that of the lowest and most servile industry: all this we allow; but in reading his life of Johnson, we think not of Boswell, or if we do, it is not as the author, but only as one of the companions of Johnson. Other subjects occupy our minds: we are introduced into the company of Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, Fox, Sheridan, and the other luminaries of the age: our attention is taken up with listening to what they say, with observing what they do; all the genius and literature of the age is displayed before us; and we have no time, no inclination, we are not even able to attend to any thing else. As in reading the most exquisite poetry, the poet is forgotten; the world in which we are is forgotten; and we see, and hear, and feel, only as the poet moulds us, and live only in a world, and among beings of his creation; so in reading Boswell's Life of Johnson, we are transported from our actual state and place of existence, and become for a time, the contemporaries and the companions of Johnson and his high associates.

But it can seldom happen, that celebrated men will meet with such a Biographer as Johnson has met with in Boswell; and therefore we need not be surprised that we possess no work, in this species of writing, to be compared with his. There are however other sources, from which those who are disposed to write Biography in its most interesting form, may draw ample materials for this purpose; and these sources have been more opened up during the present than any former age. We allude to the letters of the person whose life is to be written; Mason in his Life of Gray, and Hayley in his Life of Cowper, were among the first who drew their principal materials from these sources; and what most interesting Biographies of these celebrated poets have they thus formed! In his familiar letters, those in which, without effort, or other purpose in view than what the object and purport of the letter unfolds, a man unconsciously displays his character; his feelings, his tone of thought are exposed to view; he gives full play to many of those features of his mind, heart, and temper, (if the expression may be allowed) which on all other occasions he keeps in a fixed and formal attitude. The materials drawn from these sources are much more valuable in the present age than they could have been (generally speaking) in any preceding age, because at present there is much less study and design in writing letters than there was then. We have already remarked, that there is at present a greater and more ready and easy command of language and style than were possessed in any previous period of our literary history. Hence there is less occasion for study and effort in writing letters; and consequently flowing more directly, as well as easily, from the impressions and

and feelings and thoughts of the moment, they must bear a more accurate and deep stamp of the character.

The lives and characters of many illustrious men, who flourished in former periods of our history, have lately been amply illustrated by the labours of the present age; we allude to that strong tendency, we had almost said rage, which exists for searching out and publishing every little memorial, whether in the form of diary or correspondence, that relates to any person of the least note. The consequence has been, that in many instances the lives and characters of men, who have little to recommend them to our notice, except that they are not of the present age, have been illustrated in a most tedious manner, by the publication of materials as obscure and uninteresting as themselves; and in other cases, the rage for publishing every thing that proceeded from a man of repute, or that touched, as it were, even the hem of his garment, has brought to light the most frivolous facts, or correspondence. But so impossible is it for a man of genius to say, or do, or write any thing, that will not in some degree, or in some respect, display his character, that even from the most worthless of these materials the future Biographer may glean something to his purpose. It would however be dealing unfairly and unjustly with these laborious pioneers of literature, if we did not admit, that in a great many instances they have been highly useful; they have dragged forth many letters and facts, highly and expressively illustrative, not only of individual characters, but also of the manners and events of past ages.

There is still another species of Biography, on which we must say a few words: we allude to Self-Biography. In some respects, this is even more interesting and instructive than the Biography which is drawn from, or principally illustrated by the letters of the subject of it. For, in the latter case, our information must necessarily be incomplete, even though the deficiencies and the connexions and objects of the letters are supplied by the Biographer. So much as letters embrace of the events of a man's life, so far as they go in setting before us his feelings and character, they cannot be surpassed in interest or instruction, by any other species of Biography; but they cannot take in much that we must be desirous of knowing. Self-Biography on the other hand, by its very nature, must introduce us to the whole man; whether he will not prepare himself for the interview, whether he will not conceal some part of his real character, and assume, for the time and occasion, a character that does not belong to him, is another question. He is certainly much more likely to do so when he sits formally down for the express purpose of telling us what sort of a man he was, and how he acted and thought and felt on the most important occasions of his life, than when he sits down to write free and familiar letters to his friends, warm from the impulse of the moment, without any check or guard on his thoughts. And yet, after all, he must be a most cool and cautious man, as well as better acquainted with his real character than most men are, who can write his own life, without giving a tolerably clear and fair insight into that character.

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Having thus sketched a short comparison of the advantages of the different species of Biography, we shall merely add, that in Self-Biography, British Literature is rich, not so much from the number as from the excellence of the articles. If we might be allowed to rank Franklin's life among British works, we should say, without fear of contradiction, that, in every point of view, it is the most admirable specimen of Self-Biography extant in any language. No work unfolds the character of the subject of it so completely as it does: no work enables the reader to trace all the steps by which that character was formed with so much minuteness and satisfaction; no work can be so valuable in teaching the best lessons that a man can have for his guidance through life; in teaching him how to act prudently, and the advantages of thus acting; how to conciliate the good will, and at the same time correct the errors and vices of man; or how to discharge in the most exemplary manner, every kind of duty, that either public or private life, in all their various elations, requires: no work teaches so impressively and pleasingly the close and intimate connexion between happiness and real respectability, and useful and honourable conduct. And all this insight into the character of Franklin, all these valuable and most important lessons are conveyed in the most interesting manner; we are delighted with the style; we are delighted with the manner; and in the midst of this delight, the most important rules for all the practical purposes of life, glide into our minds, and take fast hold of our judgment and our memory.

The life of Gibbon by himself is of a very different description: the author evidently is always on his guard to exhibit himself only in those colours in which he thought he would appear to the most advantage: but much more of his real character than he seems to have been aware, breaks forth, notwithstanding all his caution. Even in this respect, however, as a work displaying the author's own character, it is far inferior to the life of Franklin. Indeed it is chiefly valuable on account of the insight that it gives into the discipline and instruction of his mind; into the gradual advancement of his information and intellect, till they became fit for the great task which he afterwards accomplished. It is also interesting and instructive, on account of its literary history; but for the grand purposes of Biography, in which Franklin's life is so rich, it must ever be of little value.

From this short sketch of the British Biography of the present age, it will be seen that it ranks high, not on account of the talents with which it is written, but from the manner, and the materials of which it is composed. And this species of Biography must always be most congenial to, as well as most worthy of the British national character; for being a domestic people, that minute Biography, which relates to the events of early life, and opens, as it were, the doors of the most private apartments of the house in which the subject of it resides in the midst of his family, and discovers him unbending his mind, and indulging his domestic habits, and discharging all the softer and finer characters of the human heart; must always be richer

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in materials here than in any other country, and also be more acceptable and instructive.

The Voyages and Travels, which have been published, during the present age, in Britain, have added very considerably to our stock of information respecting foreign countries. They may, generally speaking, be divided into two classes: in the first class, we would place those which had man principally for their object; we mean those voyages and travels, the object of the authors of which was principally to depict the character of nations,—their laws, institutions, manners, literature, &c. In the second class, we would place those which relate to the various departments of natural science. Whoever compares the information possessed half a century ago, respecting foreign countries, with what we possess at present, will be convinced, that we have made great advances in both these classes of travels.

With respect to the bare geography of the world, let us reflect on what has been done by our most celebrated voyagers, by our travellers in Africa, the East, and America, and we shall be able to form some estimate of our advances in this respect. With respect to the advances in physical Geography, we should reflect, that travellers at present go forth, much better prepared, with larger stores of knowledge on all branches of natural science, than they ever did before. Political economy and statistics also being now a more favourite and general study, travellers, whose object is man in society and under government, rather than inanimate nature, must reap a richer harvest than could have been obtained formerly.

British Literature is indeed very rich in travels; and though they do not pour forth such an abundant—but in many cases, inapplicable, and superfluous flow of learning as the older travels contain; and though as literary compositions, many of them cannot rank high,—yet it may be justly said, that from British books of travels, more accurate and extensive information may be gathered, regarding nearly all the countries of the world, on the grand points of their natural history, their antiquities, and their literature, science, statistics, political institutions, and character, than from most foreign books of travels.

CHAPTER VIII.

State and Character of the Dramatic Works—the Drama and the Fine Arts—Painting and Sculpture—of the present Age.

IF Britain may safely and boldly challenge competition with the other nations of Europe, in the branches of literature which we have already passed under review (with the exception of History) it must be acknowledged, that in Dramatic-literature, we cannot claim even the lowest prize. Since the period that witnessed the production of the Gamester and of Douglas, what tragedy can we bring forward, possessed of a moderate degree of merit? What tragedy that still retains even a feeble and occasional hold on the public approbation? And yet both the Gamester and Douglas are inanimate and feeble, when compared with the tragedies of Shakespeare, Otway, Rowe, and Young. The former draws its chief, if not its sole merit from its domestic character, and from the circumstance of the author, (rather from moderate talents than from judgment and taste, keeping down high and ambitious genius,) not having passed beyond the feelings and language of common domestic life. The latter is a very jejune and insipid performance; and were it not for the story, which the author merely adapted to the stage, there is nothing in the pourtrayment of the characters, in the management of the incidents, or in the language, that could have given it so protracted a hold on the stage.

If we compare the comedy of older times,—the comedy of Beaumont and Fletcher, Farquhar, Congreve, Cibber, Centlivre, Goldsmith and Sheridan, with what is now most inaptly and unworthily designated by that appellation, we shall be still more forcibly struck with the vast inferiority of the present age in this species of dramatic literature. In the comedies of the old masters there is a richness of character, that seems often to have been too exuberant for management; and a display of wit in the dialogue equally exuberant. The characters exhibited display, not merely the passing and superficial fashions and foibles of the day, but are also drawn from a clear and deep insight into human temper and dispositions, as they are variously affected and modified by the circumstances of human life. Hence these comedies are attractive, not merely because they let us into the knowledge of the manners of the times, but more powerfully so, because they expose to our view, the workings of all the minor feelings and emotions of the human heart. Of the latter species of knowledge and attraction, our

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modern comedies are ignorant: they may be consulted hereafter, because they display some of the most trifling and absurd fashions and foibles of the age, but they will never be read because they exhibit any acquaintance with the human heart, or even because the higher fashions and foibles, that go deeper than the mere dress or language, and are in some degree connected with, or derived from the real stamina of character, are painted in them to the life.

The poverty of talent from which they are drawn may easily and clearly be seen, by comparing the exactness and vividness with which they place before us the most superficial and contemptible foibles and follies of the age, with the very general, or very inaccurate likeness which they contain of every feature of character. The former is taken from life, the latter from imagination; the former is well and fully filled up, the latter is seldom even a striking outline; the former may be recognized as pictures by all who have seen the class of beings to whom they allude, but in vain shall we consult our own hearts, or study the character of mankind to find any resemblance in nature to the latter.

There are doubtless exceptions; but nearly all the comedies of the present age deserve the sentence we have passed on them throughout; and in the exceptions, there are only a very few short and occasional passages that approach in the slightest and remotest degree to the legitimate character and object of comedy. The plot (where it can be called a plot) the incidents and the language are equally below the standard of our old comedy.

A question naturally arises, whence does it happen that the present age is so very poor in Dramatic Literature? This question it is extremely difficult to answer in a satisfactory manner: it might be expected, that those poets who had enriched their writings with powerful paintings of the passions, and who were able to transport us into a world of their own creation, would redeem the age from the imputation of wanting tragedies, to compare, at least with those of Rowe, Young, Moore and Home; and that our great novelists might, on their part, throw into a dramatic form adapted to the stage, those brilliant displays of character with which their novels abound.

But, whatever may be the reason that our dramatic literature is at present so poor, we should not be justified in looking to those who have distinguished themselves in what are regarded as allied and resembling branches of literature, as the persons who are most likely to remove the stigma of poverty in this department of literature. A person may excel in poetry; he may be able to raise up before the eyes of his reader, all the personages whom he introduces in his poem, and all the circumstances and incidents that he narrates, with so much vividness, that it shall seem as if the poem were acted before him by the most perfect performers: the delusion may be as great as he ever felt when witnessing the representation of the best of Shakespeare's plays, by Siddons, Kemble, Cooke, Kean, and O'Neil; and yet the same person will probably fail if he attempt a regular drama for the stage. This is not mere supposition; it is an undoubted fact. And the fact is still more undoubted and glaring

with regard to comedy: who would not have supposed that the author of Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews, must have written excellent comedies, and yet in this branch of dramatic literature how miserably has he failed.

We shall not enter into a long or elaborate reply to the questions,—whence does it happen, that the present age is so very poor in dramatic literature; and what is the reason that those who are so powerfully or pleasingly dramatic in poetry or fictitious narrative are so feeble and tiresome, when they write plays? In reply to the first question, it has been said, that the taste of the public is not favorable to, does not call for, and probably would not approve and encourage high dramatic talent: but this assertion does not rest, in our opinion, on any solid ground. In other departments of literature, the public look for high merit; they are accustomed to it; and hence the natural, as well as the candid inference would be, that if high merit were displayed in the drama, it would be favourably received, and duly appreciated. It has also been said, that the present advanced, reformed, and complicated state of society, does not afford such abundant and rich materials for the drama as former times did: but this assertion, like the former, seems to us to be unfounded: it is indeed most pointedly contradicted by facts. For if our best poets and writers of fictitious narratives, experience no difficulties in finding ample and rich materials, how can it be, that the same stores are not open to the dramatist? An advanced, refined, and complicated state of society, no doubt, greatly represses and keeps down these powerful and undisguised workings of the stronger emotions and passions of the human heart; but not to such a degree as to prevent the dramatist from finding ample materials, or to render the reader or witness of his performance incapable of judging, from his own heart, whether he paints truly to nature. Even allowing, however, that such a state of society is unfavourable to the production of excellent tragedies, it must be admitted, that it has increased the supply of materials for comedy, by varying and multiplying, almost to infinitude, the forms into which the foibles and follies of mankind are thrown.

That he who can write an admirable poem filled with dramatic characters and incidents, painted to the very life, should not excel in tragedy; or that he, who has been equally successful in fictitious narrative, should fail equally in comedy,—will not perhaps excite our surprise and disappointment, if we reflect on a few circumstances. In the first place the drama requires that the incidents should be much more compressed, and that they, as well as the characters, should be unaccompanied by any of those introductory or intervening explanations which the poet or novelist can, at any time or to any required extent, so easily supply. A painter may be able to paint an excellent full-length portrait, and yet he may fail utterly, if he attempt a miniature resemblance of the same person. There are many parts of Roderic Random, Peregrine Pickle, Tom Jones, Joseph Andrews, of Waverley, and the other novels by the same Author, which, if acted well on the stage, would produce as powerful an effect as the best passages in our best comedies: and there

there are parts in Clarissa Harlowe and Sir Charles Grandison, which, if acted well, could not fail of overwhelming those who witnessed them with the same powerful emotions by which they are carried away during the performance of the best of Shakespeare's tragedies. But the talent which can produce short and unconnected dramatic excellence, without the support of narrative or explanation, seems of a different kind from the talent which can produce a complete and regular drama.

In the second place, the language required in the drama is of a different nature from that required in poetry or fictitious narrative: so far as it is the mere language of passion or character, and meant to exhibit these, it may be nearly similar in both: but on all other occasions the drama seems to require, in tragedy, language more on a level with the common language of life, though at the same time pregnant with expression and force; and in comedy, on the other hand, language more polished, but at the same time equally easy and natural.

After all, it is impossible perhaps to give a satisfactory reply to the question, whence does it arise, that the present age is so far behind in dramatic literature? There are always many causes at work, that have a tendency to alter or modify national character, taste and pursuits, as well as the direction of its literature; and these causes work so gradually and so little exposed to view, that they seldom can be detected, and we only know that they must have existed and operated by the effects they produce.

Dramatic talent on the stage must always, in some measure and respect, be dependant on the dramatic talent of those who write for the stage: if any comedies are produced, that require a representation of the mere surface of the foibles and follies of man, comic talent must be low; and it can only be kept up by the frequent representations of our old sterling comedies. The same remark will apply to tragic talents on the stage. If therefore the tragedies of Shakespeare and Otway, and the comedies of Congreve, &c. were not occasionally acted, we apprehend that our stage would be at as low an ebb as our dramatic literature. As it is, however, it is highly respectable, especially in tragedy.

Within the last century, there seems to have been four schools of tragic acting. Before Garrick's time, stiff and formal declamation, with something like an apprehension that the free and full display of the passions would lower the dignity, and spoil the effect of the performance, prevailed; though to this kind of acting, there were some splendid exceptions. Garrick introduced the study of nature: he perceived, that by imitating the tone, the look, and actions of men, when they were filled with strong emotions, or suffering under severe calamity, he could alone expect to render the delusion of the stage perfect, and excite such a high degree of attention, interest, and sympathy in the spectators, as would carry them beyond any inclination or ability for bare wonder and admiration.

Mrs. Siddons in her acting something resembled Garrick; but she did not depend for the effect she meant to produce, so much as he did, on flexibility of expression: she carried the spectators with her, rather

rather by the grandeur that she exhibited, and by the proofs she gave, that the passions that worked within her, and the calamities she suffered, were producing their effects on a lofty spirit. Even in those parts that required a display of tenderness, and of the habits, manners, and sympathies of domestic life, there were in Mrs. Siddons's acting too many circumstances that impressed the spectators frequently and deeply with the idea, that she was intended by nature to move in a higher circle,—far above the influence of the softer emotions.

Her brother carried this disposition towards the substitution of grandeur and dignity, in the place of the free and unrestrained display of the passions, much further than Mrs. Siddons; and as his grandeur and dignity were more artificial than hers, and not supported and accompanied by the same natural or acquired talents, so there were not many characters in which he was able to carry the spectators completely out of themselves, and place them in the midst of the scenes that he was acting. But in characters that suited, not only his powers, but his peculiar temperament, and look, and action, he was inimitable: in the proud and haughty Roman, in whose breast the high honour of being a Roman, and the principled determination to raise Rome to the empire of the world, and to have his name handed down to the latest posterity, united with hers, left no place for thoughts of self, and threw far behind all regard to family and friends, his acting could not be surpassed: no actor before or since, at least on the British stage, could so completely give to his look, his gait, his tone, his actions, the character of a Roman—at that period, when Rome was at her highest pitch of dignity.

Cooke was an actor of a very different stamp from Mrs. Siddons or her brother: they owed much to art, though in Mrs. Siddons, art working on materials richly supplied by nature, was seldom obtrusive: but Cooke owed little to art. He possessed no grace or dignity: he was often coarse; he not unfrequently entertained an erroneous conception of the character; or, from want of power or attention, could not pourtray his conceptions, when they were just; but where he did excel, his excellence was of the highest degree: a single expression of his countenance, the tone in which he uttered a single short sentence, or even the simple movement of his eye, often told more than other actors could tell in the whole course of a play. There are passages in his Richard which can never be forgotten by those who once witnessed them —passages in which the tyrant of Shakespeare was brought into the full display of those qualities with which the bard has invested him. But though Cooke was grandest in his tragic characters, he was undoubtedly most perfect and uniformly happy in comedy, or rather in the two characters of Sir Archy M'Sarcasm and Sir Pertinax Mac Sycophant. The cool and cutting wit, and the shrewd sense of the former; the worldly wisdom, the pliancy of principle and conduct, and the overshooting and disappointed cunning of the latter, could not possibly have been exhibited with more truth, and more conformably to nature.

Kean's acting is different from that of Mrs. Siddons, her brother, and

and Cooke: it is said strongly to resemble that of Garrick, but we should suppose, that in many very important points there was little or no resemblance. The manner of Kean's acting, or rather the general and leading principle on which he seems to regulate it, is calculated to produce a very striking effect; and probably contributed to give him a higher reputation when he first appeared, than he has subsequently been able to sustain. He possesses an uncommonly fine eye; but the other parts of his countenance are not naturally well calculated to the display of the passions; yet such is the command of features that he possesses, so rapidly and completely can he vary their expression; and so much does his eye assist him, when he thus exerts his power over his features, that, even when silent, all that passes within him is painted on his countenance. The flexibility of his tones (if the expression may be allowed) is as extraordinary as that of his features; and by that alone he might wonderfully increase the expression of his countenance. But, besides that, by varying the key and movement of his speech, he contrives to give to passages, or even a few words, a meaning, and an effect, and an importance, and connexion with the main business of the play, which never before was drawn from them. But these modes by which he has raised his reputation so high, are apt to degenerate into mannerism; and to be transferred by him from parts that require or admit of them, to parts where they are uncalled for or prejudicial. Where Kean fails, he fails egregiously: he possesses none of the redeeming qualities of Kemble; no polish, grace, or dignity: if we ever think of the actor, our admiration of Kean is gone: it is only when he deceives us completely, that he possesses any power over us.

In the parts adapted to her talents, Miss O'Neil is unparalleled: but her talents do not embrace a wide range. They are best fitted for what may be called truly feminine characters; that is, for the display of those feelings that most widely and plainly discriminate the female from the male sex. The timid, helpless, unprotected female, full of mild and soft feelings, discharging those domestic duties which best become a female; exhibiting those domestic affections, which are her richest ornament, or suffering under those domestic afflictions which wound the female breast most deeply,—finds in Miss O'Neil an admirable representative; and when she calls for our sympathy, she trusts entirely to those means, which never fail in real life to excite it towards a female: her tears, and sobs—the plaintiveness of her voice—the eloquent appeal of her speaking countenance, the melancholy or wretchedness which she throws all around her, create in the audience a sympathy almost beyond endurance.

The points of resemblance between poetry, dramatic literature, acting, and what are called the fine arts, are striking: in the highest departments of poetry and dramatic literature, the great object is to exhibit character as formed or influenced by strong emotion: and it is the duty of an excellent actor to give to his countenances, tones, and actions every thing that can embody the conceptions of the dramatic poet. The painter and the sculptor, in the highest branches of those arts, must

must embody on the canvass or the marble poetical conceptions; but from themselves alone must these conceptions arise: hence it appears that painting and sculpture in some degree require the joint powers of the poet and the dramatic actor. But these must range through a variety of displays of character; whereas the painter and the sculptor are necessarily confined to the display of it at one particular moment.

Britain has never excelled in the fine arts; that is, in the highest departments of them, which absolutely demand the existence and application of high poetical talents. We cannot even bring ourselves to rank West among this class of painters; and if we except him, there is certainly no other British painter worthy of this distinction. Wilkie indeed is admirable in his line; but we should be disposed to draw the same distinction between his department in painting, and the real poetry of painting, as we did between works of invention and imagination. Wilkie fills his canvass with admirable representations of character,—but not of character formed or modified by the more lofty or powerful emotions of the human breast: his are all characters of temper, or peculiar humour or manners;—they delight and amuse us, but they do not go deep into our thoughts or hearts.

Very lately a statuary has arisen among us, who has had the good taste and the resolution to reject all the allegorical trappings of that art; and instead of telling his story, or endeavouring to excite emotion, by the personification of the passions, trusts entirely to his power of drawing out of the marble the expression that tells the story, indicates the passions, and calls them up in the breast of the spectator. To those who have seen the monument for the two children, now in the Cathedral of Lichfield, or the monument to Miss Jones of Hafod, we need not say that we allude to Mr. Chantrey. His genius, indeed, does not embrace the display of the grander and more turbulent passions: but as a truly British sculptor,—as a sculptor in whom the most precious characteristics of the British nation dwell in all their purity and vigour,—as a sculptor capable of filling his marble with the poetry of domestic life, and the most endearing affections of the human heart,—Mr. Chantrey is unrivalled.

CHAPTER IX.

State and Character of the Scientific Productions of the Present Age.

THE national character is, from various causes, much less apparent in scientific productions than in works of literature: but even in the former, a shrewd and accurate observer may trace peculiarities akin, in some respect and degree, to such as abound in the latter. The scientific productions of the Italians,—not merely such as are confined to pure and abstract science, but those also that embrace what are called the mixed sciences,—are distinguished by that subtle thought and reasoning which is characteristic of the intellectual powers of this people. The scientific productions of the British are distinguished principally by profoundness, rather than by extension of view, or subtlety of thought and reasoning, and are generally directed to some obvious practical purpose or conclusion. In the French scientific productions may clearly be traced that vivacity and penetration, as well as that elegance of illustration and reasoning, which are their highest characteristics in literature as well as science.

If the preceding remarks are true, they are sufficient to make out our proposition: but, as we just observed, the national character shines forth less frequently, and with much less clearness in scientific than in literary productions. It is scarcely necessary even to hint at the causes of this, as they must be obvious from the most superficial reflection on the nature of scientific productions.

Pure science necessarily neither requires nor admits of the exercise or display of any of the mental powers, except attention and reasoning; and we are thoroughly disposed to be of opinion, that its advantages, as an exercise of the reasoning faculties, have been extremely overrated. It has long been seen and admitted, that the utmost skill and the highest advances in the mathematical sciences could be of little or no avail in enabling the mind to arrive at the truth in political or moral science; the evidence, it was said, is of such a very different nature in these sciences, that he whose faculties are exercised to discover and follow it, in mathematics, will be utterly at a loss to discover and follow it in political or moral science. It was, however, contended, that the study of the mathematics was of the highest utility in sharpening the faculties of the mind,—not merely the power and habit of attention, but also the reasoning faculties. It is this last proposition that we are disposed to deny: we admit that the power and habit of attention must be greatly exercised, and therefore improved, by the study of the mathematics; but we deny that any other of the faculties of the mind will be exercised, at least in

in any considerable degree, and therefore we cannot see how they can be greatly improved by the study of the mathematics.

It is generally held forth as one of the peculiar glories and advantages of the mathematics, that they take nothing for granted; and that every thing they assert is capable of the strictest demonstration. Now this very circumstance, in our opinion, disqualifies them from being of great utility to the improvement of the reasoning faculty. No person will contend, that the reasoning faculty is in the least called into exercise in assenting to the axioms of Euclid; they are self-evident. Let us then come to the first proposition: does not this depend upon the axioms, or upon what is equally self-evident, that is, upon the contradiction involved in the very supposition that this proposition is not true? But all the subsequent propositions depend on the axioms, postulates, and first proposition; or, in other words, the most abstruse propositions in the highest branches of the pure mathematics, depend on others less abstruse; and these again on others less abstruse, till we descend to the axioms and plainest problems of Euclid. And let it be remarked, that this dependance, or flowing of all the propositions from one small and single source, is not a dependance that requires our reasoning faculties to trace it, or that in the smallest degree is made out by those faculties. The mind is as passive in perceiving and assenting to the truth of the most abstruse problem, as it is in perceiving and assenting to the truth of the first axiom: the assent is involuntary; indeed demonstration can produce no other species of assent: if any doubts arise, they are quelled, not by weighing probabilities,—not by pointing out faulty reasoning in him who suggests them,—but simply by recalling some or all of the previous problems on which the truth of that which is doubted rests. The study of the mathematics has very happily and aptly been compared to sailing in the trade winds: no skill, and but very little attention is required in the master or crew; the sails being set, the ship is borne forward in her proper course without their direction or assistance. There are no difficulties; there is no necessity to take down the sails—to tack, or to exert their nautical skill. So it is in mathematics: the mind is borne forward by the very nature of the study in which it is engaged: provided it understand, remember, and apply what is past, it cannot have the smallest difficulty in comprehending the highest branches of this department of science.

Hence we see that there is scarcely any room for the display of the national character in the study of mathematics: of course the application of the mathematics to the other sciences, or mixed mathematics, as it is called, afford more room for this display. Since the time of Newton, Britain certainly has not retained the high rank she then possessed among the nations of Europe for mathematical science: and at present, her fame must rest rather on her advances and discoveries in Chemistry, than on those which she has made in the pure or mixed mathematics.

Between the period when mathematics declined among us, and the time when chemistry began to assume the dignity of a science, Electricity seems to have occupied the scientific men of Britain. But though

though the facts in this branch of science are numerous, and many of them, illustrating and confirming one another, may be arranged in classes; yet a systematic form never can be given to Electricity, till its first or general principles are more certainly and clearly laid down: and this cannot be done so long as the very nature of the agent that produces the effects to which the name of Electricity is given, is so utterly hid from the cognizance and power of man. Notwithstanding all the attempts to form such a theory of Electricity as will account for the facts of this science, it will be found, on close examination of every such theory, that it is merely the annunciation, in different words, of those facts; or, at the best, the classification of them under general heads. Electricity, therefore, has employed, and may employ, the diligence and skill of experimentalists; but being as yet without the range of the reasoning faculties, it is not calculated to call forth, in any striking degree, the display of the peculiar intellectual features of any nation.

It is otherwise with Chemistry: we know of no study which calls for the exercise, and consequently advances the improvement, of so many of the mental faculties. It requires attention—not merely the attention of the eye, but the attention of the mind: in chemical experiments so many agents are at work,—some of them not cognizable, or even to be suspected, unless by the most accurate observer, and who to accurate observation unites a knowledge, and a constant and ready recollection, of every chemical agent that can exist and operate under the circumstances of the case,—that the powers of attention and reflection must always be on the alert. But this is not all: the chemist must account for the effect he sees produced; he must class or reconcile it with the general principles of the science. From the midst of many circumstances, all of which perhaps seem to have contributed to the effect produced, he must select those which were really operative, and pass by those which, though present, did not exert any influence. Even his experiments must not be made at random: as general principles must be deduced from their results, so they in their turn ought to be planned and pursued in conformity to general principles.

In chemical science two extremes are to be avoided: on the one hand, an accumulation of unconnected facts and experiments, that lead to no general result; and on the other hand, a fondness for forming systems and theories before the scienceis sufficiently advanced for their proper and legitimate formation.

Hence it will appear that Chemistry is a science that admits of the full display of the peculiar features of national intellect; and Britain may be justly proud that she is not behind any other country in this delightful and useful science, and that her chemists are strongly marked by those grand features which we have attempted to shew constitute the intellectual character of this nation.

In estimating the rank which Britain is entitled to maintain, on account of her advances in Chemistry, three circumstances ought to be borne in mind, and duly weighed. In the first place, the discoveries made in Chemistry; in the second place, the successful attempts to give to Chemistry the soul

soul (if the expression may be allowed) as well as the form of a science; and lastly, the application of Chemistry to practical purposes.

So far as discoveries in Chemistry ought to be regarded in estimating the rank which Britain is entitled to hold, on account of her advances in this science, this country has no reason to dread comparison or competition with other nations. It is we believe admitted by all, that the discoveries of Davy are not only the most astonishing and splendid, but the most interesting and important that have been made in Chemistry, —at least during the present century. They have entirely changed the appearance of this science, and have opened a view into its arcana, the extent and bearings of which are yet very imperfectly known. It is scarcely necessary to add, that we allude to the discovery of the composition of the alkalies, earths, &c. Had this discovery been merely accidental, or had it been the result only of a long and laborious set of experiments, made merely to see what the Galvanic apparatus could effect, little merit could have accrued to Davy from it; but it is a happy and direct illustration of what we have just laid down as one of the peculiar advantages and dignities of chemical science— of the opportunities which it gives of rendering general principles subservient to experiment. Berzelius, a celebrated Swedish chemist, had from his experiments drawn the inference, that chemical affinity and electrical attraction were in fact the same: hence Davy concluded, that as bodies in the same state of electricity repel each other, if he could give to bodies which were in fact compound, though they had not hitherto been proved to be so, the same electrical state, their component parts would repel each other, and consequently they would be decomposed. He made the experiment, and succeeded. Here we see a striking instance of all the species of intellectual merit which an experiment in Chemistry can well call forth. Only an acute, comprehensive, and well disciplined mind could have drawn the inference that led the way to the experiment; and the manner in which it was conducted, in all its parts, proves that these higher intellectual powers were not, as is too often the case, unsupported by those of a lower order, or by mere mechanical dexterity and contrivance.

In the second place, with respect to successful attempts to give to Chemistry the soul as well as form of a science, Britain cannot boast much: but she is not singular. For since the theory of Lavoisier has been so rudely shaken by more modern discoveries, no new one, so satisfactory and perfect in its parts, nor so generally received, has been submitted to the world. The theory of Lavoisier was strongly recommended by its simplicity; and by its uniting so firmly, and seeming to explain so satisfactorily, a very great number of chemical facts and appearances. At present Chemistry is much less simple: there is no one grand principle which runs through it so completely as the principle on which the theory of Lavoisier rested. Hence it might be inferred, that Chemistry, as a science, was rather retrograde: but this would not be a fair inference. Simplicity, in many cases, is a presumption of the truth of a theory; but in no case an undoubted proof of it. Simplicity of theory may be attained when the facts to be

be explained are few. As the number and variety of facts increases, the theory may no longer apply to or account for them: but in process of time, as these new facts are better understood, and further illustrated, by a still greater accession and variety of facts, a new theory will be discovered, which must be at once more philosophical and more simple, because it will bind together, and, as it were, put soul into a much greater number and variety of phenomena.

If Britain, however, partakes of what other nations equally desiderate, in regard to the want of a satisfactory theory of Chemistry, she has advanced before them in the application of Chemistry to practical purposes, as much as in the splendour of her chemical discoveries. Indeed, it is one of the most pleasing and peculiar marks of the scientific pursuits of Britain, in nearly all their branches, that they have been judiciously and most effectually applied to practical purposes. This arises partly from a circumstance in our national character, to which we have already alluded more than once—our preference of what is practical and useful to what is merely speculative; but it also arises, in some measure, from our being a manufacturing nation. The weight of our taxes absolutely requires us to save expense and labour in our manufacturing processes; and these can be saved only by improvements in science: of these improvements, such as are drawn from Mechanics and Chemistry are the most splendid and useful of which this country can boast. But as we have pointed out these, as well as instances of the application of Chemistry to the health, &c. of man, in the History of Knowledge, &c. in our last Volume, there is no necessity to dwell upon them in this place.

The same soundness and sobriety of mind,—the same preference of what is useful and practical,—that are discoverable in our chemical pursuits, mark the present state of all the other brances of science in Britain. This observation applies with peculiar justice and force to the state of the sciences of Natural History and Medicine. In the latter, more particularly, Britain has advanced considerably before most of her neighbours, in at once getting rid of all absurd and obsolete theories and practices, and in having discarded the more modern, but not more sound or useful theories of Medicine, which till very lately were cherished by her medical men, and are still maintained very generally on the Continent. The nature and cure of diseases are better understood in Britain, at present, than they ever were before; and yet general theories are discarded. But though these are discarded, the particular cause of each disorder, the symptoms and effects of its different stages, and every species of practical and useful knowledge regarding it, are better understood.

CHAPTER X.

State and Character of the Literary Habits and Attainments of the Present Age—Conclusion.

THE literary habits and character of those who read and those who write, must be nearly of a similar nature; in the same manner as the characters of those who govern and those who are governed must agree in essentials, though they may differ in many points, and in the degree and proportion in which the sum total of the character or its constituent parts exist in them: and for the same reasons; the circumstances of a nation, as well as the original character of its individuals, must embrace and act upon all. With respect to the authors of any country, the character of their genius and attainments must be stamped, as well as the line of their pursuits marked out, in a very important degree, by the circumstances with which they and their readers are equally and at the same time surrounded.

When we consider the great number and variety of works that almost daily issue from the press, we may be assured that readers are much more numerous at present than they ever were at any previous period. It is indeed asserted, that knowledge at present is very superficial; and that the acquirements and information now attained cannot fairly be compared with those to which our ancestors arrived.

There is some small portion of truth, but much more error, in this proposition. We may admit that learning, properly so called—that is, a knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics—was more profound and extensive formerly than it is at present; and that many authors came before the public with much more elaborate and careful preparation than perhaps any authors do in our time. But this is the utmost we can concede; consequently, if these remarks with respect to the authors of a preceding age be correct, the information possessed by those who read their works could not be extensive, except on classical and some other particular subjects.

Let us but reflect a moment on the state of science at present; at the number of works of Chemistry, for instance, that are almost daily published. Is not this a proof that an acquaintance with this science is pretty generally extended? in fact, is it not a rare thing to meet with persons totally ignorant of it, among that class, all the members of which, not half a century ago, were entirely unacquainted with it?

But there is one undoubted fact which, more than any other that could be brought forward, points out and proves the advances of the present age in knowledge: we allude

allude to the total disbelief of almost all the absurd and mischievous opinions which degraded the minds of our ancestors, and which still retained their hold not half a century ago. There is scarcely a peasant or an old woman, in the remotest parts of the kingdom, who would credit all the absurdities to which the great Bacon gave belief; and the superstitious and ridiculous opinions of Dr. Johnson have now fallen to be the almost exclusive creed of the very lowest and most ignorant orders.

These facts are sufficient to prove that knowledge is much more widely extended at present than it ever was before; and that this knowledge has produced its genuine effects, in freeing the mind from the influence of superstition, taking that word in its most comprehensive sense.

Let us next consider the means and causes which have brought about this favourable change. In the first place, education, from the very earliest years, possesses opportunities and advantages to which it was utterly a stranger half a century ago. Wherever the admirable books of Mrs. Barbauld, Miss Edgworth, &c. are used under the instruction and superintendence of careful and judicious persons, they cannot fail most highly to benefit children. The benefits, indeed, which their works are calculated to produce, are by no means confined to the minds of children; for they not only supply such mental food as must nourish, strengthen, and expand all the faculties exactly at the proper time, and in their due proportion, but they mix up with mental culture the formation of the temper and conduct. It is their peculiar excellence, that they teach children to know exactly what they ought to know, and are capable of knowing, at their time of life; and that along with this knowledge is insinuated into their minds, and impressed on their feelings and hearts, whatever will render them useful and good and happy in future life.

So far, therefore, as the first foundation of knowledge and conduct is concerned, children of the present age are much more fortunate than those of any preceding period. It may, however, be doubted, whether, after they have passed the period when their sole or principal instruction is derived from the works to which we have alluded, they are equally in the way of reaping similar advantages. We think not: for the plan and principle on which Mrs. Barbauld and Miss Edgworth have evidently constructed their works for children, are abandoned too often in their future education. Too much is aimed at, and far too short a time is devoted to the attainment of knowledge. The boarding schools of the present day cannot carry on the improvement of the mind at the same rate, or with such success, as the works of these authors did. Indeed it is not doing justice to children who have profited by these works, to send them afterwards to large schools: the profits gained by reading them will be best carried on in the same line, and most safely and certainly to the same end, by private instruction. This remark applies most strongly to females.

But to return from this digression. After every allowance, it must be acknowledged that education, as at present conducted, opens up to young people a much wider field of information than it ever did before; and that education extends much further

further downward in society. The causes of increased literary information, and more extensive literary habits, have begun to operate only within these very few years; consequently all their effects cannot yet be seen or appreciated: but it is easy to foresee what they must be. It is too much to expect that the great mass of the people in England will ever acquire that intellectual character by which the mass of the people in Scotland are so honourably distinguished: for the intellectual character of a nation, as well as its moral and political character, is the result of causes and circumstances that have been existing and operating for many generations; and besides, the system of education to which the Scotch people are indebted for their intellectual eminence, is more plain, solid, judicious, and practical, than can be introduced and established in England, in the present frame and habits of society.

In the second place, the literary habits and attainments of the present age, the origin of which we have endeavoured to trace to the advantages of education now so generally enjoyed, have been further formed by the ample means of information so widely scattered in all parts of the country. We are well aware of the evils that often result from circulating libraries; and that by far the largest portion of their contents are calculated only to enervate the mind, injure the character, and waste the time of those who read them. But, after all, we apprehend that the opportunities of information, which even the worst of them afford, will counterbalance the mischiefs that they produce.

The number and variety of Reviews and Magazines constitute another source from which the literary attainments and habits of the present age are drawn. It is contended, indeed, that they make superficial readers; but we conceive that it is better, in every respect, that the mass of a nation should read superficially than not at all; and though most who read in this manner may never feel a desire, or acquire a habit of reading in a more solid and useful manner, yet there can be no doubt, that many have, by means of Reviews and Magazines, been introduced to works of greater utility, and been led to cultivate their minds with diligence and effect.

The great number and extensive circulation of newspapers form another source from which the literary habits and attainments of the present age are drawn. It is not to be supposed, that even the lowest orders who read the newspapers, can read them with any satisfaction, without acquiring a superficial acquaintance with the geography of the places that are mentioned in them; and the habit of reading them must produce, not only more information, but a greater portion of intellect than they could otherwise have attained to.

On the whole, therefore, to whatever class in society we look, we shall find it possessed of more information, and with its faculties more exercised and improved, than the same class could boast of at any former period: so that, even after making a most ample allowance for all the disadvantages and bad consequences that result from the rage for learning a little of every species of literature and science, we may safely pronounce, that the people of Britain have advanced very considerably beyond their

their ancestors in discarding error, in the attainment of truth, and in every species of useful and ornamental knowledge.

The principal object of this Retrospect will have been attained, if we have succeeded in proving that in all the various departments of literature, and even in some of the departments of science, the characteristic features of British intellect may be traced;—that these strongly resemble the features of the national character; and that both are principally distinguished from the intellect and general character of other nations, by a preference of home to society,—of domestic duties and pleasures, to the duties and pleasures of public life;—by a most true and exquisite relish for the various scenery of nature;—by a preference of what is solid and practical, to what is merely superficial and speculative;—by a fondness for communion with their own thoughts, always serious, and not unfrequently tinged with melancholy;—by a strong and comprehensive grasp of intellect;—by a pure and correct, rather than a very refined and elegant taste;—and by a high sense of honour and moral obligation.

Literary Selections.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

PART I.

ARTICLE I.—ANECDOTES *of the* LIFE *of* RICHARD WATSON, *Bishop of Landaff, written by himself at different intervals, and revised in* 1814. *Published by his son, Richard Watson, LL.B. Prebendary of Landaff and Wells.*

THIS work possesses none of the more graceful and delightful charms of Biography: it contains scarcely any incidents of the bishop's early life; it does not exhibit him, except when dressed out and prepared for his duties as a dignitary of the Church, or a politician. It disappoints us even with regard to literary anecdotes; for of these there is scarcely one: and to the bishop's literary friends we are never introduced. The mode in which it is written, too, is entirely destitute of that ease, frankness, and familiarity, which often compensate for paucity, or want of importance, in the materials of Biography.

Its merits are of quite a different kind: they arise from the insight which it gives us into the political intrigues of the day, and into the bishop's own character. This work confirms the popular belief (if it needed confirmation), that gratitude and merit, and even the public benefit, weigh little with statesmen; and that the ministers of the Established Church are too often drawn aside, by the connexion of that Church with the State, from the high and rigid disdain of the powers and honours and wealth of this world, which the Christian religion so pointedly and uniformly inculcate.

With respect to the bishop's own character, its lineaments were strongly marked, and he has drawn them so that they cannot be mistaken. He had a very high opinion of his own merits;—both of his merits arising from his intellectual powers and acquirements, and from his private and public conduct. He professed himself an independent man, and that he would always act, in his religious and political capacity, from principle. He was sensible that thus he could not be useful

useful or acceptable to ministers; and yet his book is full of angry and unmanly expressions of disappointment, that ministers did not patronize and advance him in the Church. He seems to have wished to have had all the praise from the public, that could result from independence and consistency, and at the same time, a due portion of those honours and emoluments which he himself knew ministers reserved for such as served them. In short, he seems to have been possessed of considerable vigour of mind,—to have rated his own merits sufficiently high,—to have been rather haughty and ambitious,—and to have had principle enough to be independent, but not strength of mind and principle sufficient to be independent and content at the same time. Our Extracts will justify the character we have given of him.

Dr. Watson appointed a Bishop.

On coming home (July 2, 1782) from creating the doctors in the Senate-house, I was informed that Lord Rockingham had died the day before. This would have been a dreadful blow to a man of ambition, but it gave me no concern on my own account; for though he had flatteringly told me, that he was so perfectly satisfied with my public conduct, that he should be glad of an opportunity of serving the country in serving me, yet I had no expectation that he had then an intention (as I was afterwards told by lord John Cavendish he had) of promoting me to a bishopric. I sincerely regretted the great loss which the public sustained by his death; for he was a minister of greater ability than was generally believed, and he possessed that integrity of constitutional principle, without which the greatest ability is calculated only to do great mischief.

When lord John Cavendish informed me of lord Rockingham's intention towards me, he informed me also, that I might apply with probable effect either to the duke of Grafton or the duke of Rutland; but I made no application to either of them; I called however at Euston on the following Monday, in my way to Yarmouth.

The duke of Grafton then told me that the bishop of Landaff (Barrington) would probably be translated to the See of Salisbury, which had become vacant a few days before the death of lord Rockingham, and that he had asked lord Shelburne, who had been appointed first Lord of the Treasury, to permit me to succeed to the bishopric of Landaff. This unsolicited kindness of the duke of Grafton gratified my feelings very much, for my spirit of independence was ever too high for my circumstances.—Lord Shelburne, the Duke informed me, seemed very well disposed towards me, but would not suffer him to write to me; and he had asked the Duke whether he thought the appointment would be agreeable to the duke of Rutland. Notwithstanding this hint, I could not bring myself to write to the duke of Rutland,

who had not at that time forsaken the friends of lord Rockingham. I knew his great regard for me, but I abhorred the idea of pressing a young nobleman to ask a favour of the new minister, which might in its consequences sully the purity of his political principles, and be the means of attaching him without due consideration to lord Shelburne's administration. Not that I had any reason to think ill of the new minister: I was personally unacquainted with him, but I was no stranger to the talents he had shown in opposing lord North's American war; and lord Rockingham had told me, that lord Shelburne had behaved very honourably to him in not accepting the Treasury, which the King had offered to him in preference to lord Rockingham. I mention this circumstance in mere justice to lord Shelburne; whose constitutional principles and enlarged views of public policy rendered him peculiarly fitted to sustain the character of a great statesman in the highest office.

On the 12th of the same month, the duke of Rutland wrote to me at Yarmouth—that he had determined to support lord Shelburne's administration, as he had received the most positive assurances, that the independency of America was to be acknowledged, and the wishes of the people relative to a parliamentary reform granted. He further told me, that the bishopric of Landaff, he had reason to believe, would be disposed of in my favour if he asked it; and desired to know, whether, if the offer should be made, I would accept it. I returned for answer that I conceived there could be no dishonour in my accepting a bishopric from an administration which he had previously determined to support; and that I had expected lord Shelburne would have given me the bishopric without application, but that if I must owe it to the interposition of some great man, I had rather owe it to that of His Grace than to any other.

On Sunday, July 21st, I received an express from the duke of Rutland, informing me that he had seen lord Shelburne, who had anticipated his wishes, by mentioning me for the vacant bishopric before he had asked it. I kissed hands on the 26th of that month, and was received, as the phrase is, very graciously; this was the first time that I had ever been at St. James's.

In this manner did I acquire a bishopric. But I have no great reason to be proud of the promotion; for I think I owed it not to any regard which he who gave it me had to the zeal and industry with which I had for many years discharged the functions, and fulfilled the duties, of an academic life; but to the opinion which, from my sermon, he had erroneously entertained, that I was a warm, and might become an useful partisan. Lord Shelburne, indeed, had expressed to the duke of Grafton his expectation, that I would occasionally write a pamphlet for their administration. The Duke did me justice in assuring him, that he had perfectly mistaken my character; that though I might write on an abstract question, concerning government or the principles of legislation, it would not be with a view of assisting any administration.

I had written in support of the principles of the revolution, because I thought those principles useful to the state, and I saw them vilified and neglected; I had taken part

part with the people in their petitions against the influence of the crown, because I thought that influence would destroy the constitution, and I saw that it was increasing; I had opposed the supporters of the American war, because I thought that war not only to be inexpedient, but unjust. But all this was done from my own sense of things, and without the least view of pleasing any party: I did, however, happen to please a party, and they made me a bishop. I have hitherto followed, and shall continue to follow, my own judgment in all public transactions; all parties now understand this, and it is probable that I may continue to be bishop of Landaff as long as I live. Be it so. Wealth and power are but secondary objects of pursuit to a thinking man, especially to a thinking Christian.

At my first interview with lord Shelburne, he expressed a desire that we might become well acquainted; and said, that as he had Dunning to assist him in law points, and Barry in army concerns, he should be happy to consult me in church matters. I determined to make use of this overture as a mean of doing, as I hoped, some service to religion, and to the established church; which, from a most serious and unprejudicial consideration, I had long thought stood in great need of a fundamental reform.

A few days after this first interview, the minister told me, that he had from the first fixed upon me for the bishopric of Landaff. I firmly asked him, why he had not then given it to me, without waiting for the interference of any person? He said, he had given it without being asked by the Duke of Rutland; but he acknowledged that he wanted to please the Duke in the business. I replied, that I supposed every minister was desirous of making a piece of preferment go as far as possible in creating obligations; but that I should have been better pleased had he given me the bishopric at once.

LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE BISHOP'S CHARACTER.

To an old friend of mine, who had expressed his surprise at my suffering the Clergy Residence Bill to be agitated, without my taking any part in it, I sent the following letter, as an explanation of my conduct:—

Calgarth Park, 9th April, 1803.

'My dear Sir,

'I enclose a copy of a letter which I sent to the Chancellor, as soon as I had read the debate in the House of Lords, relative to the Clergy Residence Bill. I know not how it will be received, for all statesmen are terribly conceited things; as if they wished the world to believe, that a king's nomination to office gave wisdom as well as power.

'I feel happy in having thus done my duty, and am perfectly indifferent what ministry may think of my interfering in this way.

'I stated to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, about three years ago, in a long

a long detail, my opinion of what ought to be done. It coincided pretty much with what they had intended; and if lord Grenville brings forward any measure, as he promised last year to do, we shall see what use is made of my notions. The bishop of Durham is also acquainted with my sentiments; as I sent him, the last summer, a copy of my letter to Mr. Pitt, which he was polite enough to approve, calling it a state paper.

'I am grown too old to think of figuring as a parliamentary debater. Had I been treated with confidence and respect by administration, 20 years ago, I could have taken a great lead in the House of Lords, and rendered both to the church and state some service, without being glued by the strongest of all cements,—self-interest (a circumstance I have always abhorred,) to any party.

'I have more of Melancthon than of Luther in my composition. I wish reforms to take place, but I detest violence and contention. I give my advice freely; but if it is not followed, I content myself with thinking that it ought to have been followed; and thus, combining pride with humility, let the matter drop.

'I like all the objects you speak of in your letter, for the materials of your relation's life. Methodise the whole before you begin any part: imitate, at least read with attention, some of the best Lives of Plutarch, and fear not producing an excellent work; not an ephemeral farrago of newspaper trash, but a κτημα εις αει worthy of you and of him. I am, &c. R. L.'

"In his answer to the above, my friend hinted, that robes and furred gowns did not do me justice, and pressed me with much importunity to go to town. I sent him the following letter, June 21, 1803:—

'Fidis offendar medicis irascar amicis
Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno?

'This cannot be said of me; I feel no symptoms of lethargy, and am so far from being angry with such friends as wish to rectify, by the standard of their wisdom, what they esteem an obliquity in my conduct, that I think myself indebted to their kindness for the attempt. This, my dear Sir, is meant for yourself. To others who impertinently demand, why I do not come to town? I answer with the spirit of Cæsar—Go tell them I will not come. I also have my robes and furred gowns, and I know that they have been as honourably obtained and as purely preserved as any of theirs; and, *detracta ista pelle* on both sides, I am ready to meet in argument, on the subject of the Church, the wisest He in St. Stephen's Chapel. Have I not met him? Was my letter to the Chancellor a thing of no value, deserving of no answer? No answer has been given; should I not be wanting in the respect I owe to myself, if I condescended to take part in a business commenced and carried on in a way contrary to my advice?

'I affect not the reputation of a statesman or of a churchman; but when I compare myself with either the statesmen or with the churchmen of the present day, I have not the meanness to think, that my advice on any subject is not of weight enough to arrest the attentions of the wisest of them both.

'I am not so silly as to expect that

that every man can think with me, nor so farouche as to be displeased with any one who differs from me in opinion; but the—Reverence thyself—is ever too much in my mind to suffer me to support measures which I disapprove, and I wholly disapprove the present mode of securing the residence of the clergy.

'Read over again my letter to the Lord Chancellor, and my last letter to yourself, and if they do not satisfy you that I am right in looking forward to a more substantial ecclesiastical reform, and in not promoting this botchy business, you must forgive me if I never say another word to you on the subject.

'To you, my friend, I will say, that my church-preferment will not afford a journey to London every year; and I do not feel myself bound by any principle of prudence, of honour, or of duty, to waste my little private fortune, which by incessant exertion of my own and the kindness of my friends, I have provided for my children, in the public service. For eighteen years I attended parliament; my children during that period wanted education; that want being over, I gave up, three years ago, my house in town, with a determination that till I was better provided for, I would not go to London excepting every other year. As to those you may meet with (plenty of them no doubt!) who, without knowing my present circumstances, without adverting to the labours of my past life, presume to blurt out their cavils and their calumnies, I wish them not to hear from my friends any other defence, for they will never hear any other from me, except γρυ-γρυ, the full meaning of which you will understand, though they will not. I am, &c. R. L."

'My friend still continued to urge me to go to town: I put a final stop to his well-intentioned importunity by the following letter, dated June 31, 1803:—

'My dear Sir,

'Your exhortations or admonitions—be they what they may—are considered by me as scions springing from a root of friendship; to pluck them off with indignation is not my intention, but I must not suffer them to increase: they would rob the root of its proper vigour, and I wish it to remain unimpaired.

'Parmenio and Alexander are the representatives of all men who give and who reject advice. It is impossible for different men to have the same feelings or to see objects in the same light; all that can be done to preserve harmony, is either for the one party not to give advice, or for the other not to be angry at its being given, and with this observation, I, at least, will let the subject of your three letters drop. Yet if I thought fit to follow the impulse of my mind, it would be to examine all you have urged or can urge on the interest, the fame, and the duty, and to show the hollowness of the argument derived from the combination of those three powers, by which you in vain attempt to lift up a Colossus. But I check myself, knowing the swiftness of your *currentem calamum*, and knowing also that of epistolary altercation there is no end, and that I have other employment more interesting, though not more pleasing, than the perusal even of your compositions.

'Your letters are so classical, and your *verba ardentia* so electrical, that

that they almost fire my frozen age, and tempt me to discharge upon you a sort of reciprocal lightning; and in this elegant communication of soul (for sentiment is the soul of man) I could be content to evaporate the remaining breath of life; but I have other things in hand.

'There was a period in which the Greek and Roman classics delighted me; another, in which I sought for fame in mathematical and philosophical knowledge; a third, in which chemistry, for full seven years, occupied all my attention,—and I arrogate to myself the honour, not only of recommending it to the University of Cambridge, but to the notice of the kingdom in general; a fourth, in which theology demanded my care,—not that theology which is degraded, disfigured, rendered hideous and portentous, by the shreds of crude opinions, by the patches of miserable superstitions, which the knavery and audacity of intolerant and selfish men have fastened every where upon it,—but that which the Father of the universe has written with the hand of what is called Nature, for the information of all; and particularly that which He hath declared to a peculiar people, by the mouth of his Son.

'To all these objects of various pursuit, has succeeded that of agriculture. The cultivation of our mother earth is the noblest way of providing for a family; so says Bacon, and I have found it so; and it is a sure way of rendering service to the country. The county of Westmoreland will long have cause to thank the Bishop of Landaff for the example he has set, not of chaffering with peasants about the price of bullocks, but of making bad land good, of introducing new modes of husbandry, and of planting mountains.

'The parliamentary eloquence of a Cicero, unless exerted in the support of a party, will not procure an honest man a morsel of bread; it may, perchance, enable a dishonest man to sell his independence and his public probity at an high price.

'My laurels, you say, must be fed: my temples, alas! are withering with age, and it disturbs not me that the few laurels which surround them are withering also; they have been blighted for above twenty years, by royal or ministerial neglect: disdaining all further care about them, I leave them to be torn away by the ignorant and the malignant who busy themselves in my concerns. They are not his father's laurels, but his father's larches, which will make Major Watson as independent in fortune as I hope he will be in spirit.

'I was never fond of public life, though I have been compelled, on many occasions, to take a share in it; but my powers are declining, and I will not wait for a Gil Blas to tell me so.—"Quis hoc non dederit nobis, ut cum opera nostra patria sive non possit uti, sive nolit; ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti hominis, fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi reipublicæ præponendam putaverunt."

'The *non possit* respects the will of a minister being opposed by the will of the court, if that is the case; the *nolit* respects one or both of them; and I have ever thought it beneath me to inquire, which of of them is to be blamed as my enemy. I am, &c.

'R. LANDAFF.'

"Whilst

"Whilst I staid in town this year, I received a letter from Doctor Falconer, of Bath, and I sent him the following answer:—

'Dear Sir,

'I have always great pleasure in hearing either from or of Dr. Falconer; and though I have not of late years indulged myself in many correspondences, except on such as the duties of my station required, yet I cannot leave your letter, which I received yesterday, unnoticed.

'For the last fifty years I have not been an altogether incurious spectator of the events which have taken place in this and in other countries; but I can make no estimate of the moral merit or demerit of my countrymen, compared with their predecessors during the first half of the last century, for want of a *juxta*-position of the parties: they had their vices and their virtues, and we have ours, but, not being precisely of the same kind, their relative excellences and defects cannot be ascertained.

'Classical literature has given place to philosophical knowledge; and though we have a few men eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, yet the knowledge of these languages is neither general nor deep.

'In the north of England there was, fifty years ago, a good grammar-school almost under every crag: the schools remain, but the spirit of trade has frightened away all the muses: Cocker's Arithmetic has taken precedence of Lily's Grammar.

'Notwithstanding the virulence with which revealed religion has been attacked on the Continent and in this kingdom, I am disposed to believe, that intelligent men begin to consider Christianity not merely as an useful political machine, but as a matter in the truth of which every one is individually concerned. This consideration will produce a degree of seriousness, and, perhaps, renovate a zealous spirit; but the good sense of the age will not suffer that spirit to degenerate into a spirit of intolerance and bigotry.

'The inordinate love, however, of wealth, of distinction, of personal indulgence, which prevails among all classes, and the abominable abandonment of public probity, when it comes in competition with private interest, which prevails among the higher ranks, suggest no reasonable expectation of Christianity soon becoming the *rule of life* to the generality of our countrymen; and the enormous taxation under which we labour will, I fear, extinguish all pure patriotism in the breasts of the middle class.

'The death of a single prince in any part of Europe, remarkable either for wisdom or folly, renders political conjectures of future contingencies so extremely uncertain, that I seldom indulge myself in forming them; yet it seems to me probable, that Europe will soon be divided among three powers, France, Austria, and Russia; and in half a century between two, France and Russia; and that America will become the greatest naval power on the globe, and be replenished by migrations of oppressed and discontented people from every part of Europe.

'I have ever acted in public concerns from my own conviction; perfectly indifferent to the ambitious struggles of political parties, except so far as they injured or assisted what I esteemed the public good; and I cannot but lament that at this moment the violence of party-

party-spirit, excited by private views, is embarrassing the measures of Government. The dignified mode of proceeding, and á mode the present crisis required, would have been a concurrence of all men of talents to amend the blunders (if any), and to assist the weakness (if weakness exists), of the present administration: instead of this I see a mere interested contention for their places.

'My health is tolerable; but the original disorder, which seized me twenty-four years ago, is not removed, nor can I reasonably expect that it ever will be removed. I have left my retreat in Westmoreland for two months, to see if, at this time, I could be of any use to the country; but there is no probability of the voice of independence being listened to by any of the factions.

'My spirits have never failed me; for from an early age I have looked upon life as a blessing; but not as a blessing of such a magnitude as to generate, in a Christian, any great reluctance to the parting with it; because I have no expectation of a future state, except what is founded on the truth of Christianity: I say not in the truth of all the doctrines which men have deduced from the Gospels, but I fix upon the truth of the resurrection of Christ as that corner-stone on which I build all hope of my own; and that corner-stone is, I think, as surely posited as any fact in ancient history. 'I am, &c.

'R. LANDAFF.'

"The bishop of St. Asaph died unexpectedly in October, 1806. It was very generally imagined that I should have been translated to that see; and that I might not furnish the minister (Lord Grenville) with the excuse for passing me by—that I had not asked for it,—I got a common friend to inform him, that on account of my northern connections the bishopric of St. Asaph would be peculiarly acceptable to myself. It was given to the bishop of Bangor, and the bishopric of Bangor was given to the bishop of Oxford.

"I cannot truly say, that I was wholly insensible to these and to many similar arrangements by which I had been for so many years neglected, and exhibited to the world as a marked man fallen under Royal displeasure; but I can say, that neither was the tranquillity of my mind disturbed, nor my adherence to the principles of the Revolution shaken, nor my attachment to the house of Brunswick, *acting on these principles*, lessened thereby.

"I knew that I possessed not the talents of adulation, intrigue, and versatility of principle, by which laymen as well as churchmen usually in courts ascend the ladder of ambition. I knew this, and I remained without repining at the bottom of it. I was sensible, at the same time, that His Majesty's favour was properly esteemed a source of honour, and being fearful lest his apparent disfavour (for I thought not on this occasion of ministers) should be considered as a stigma of disgrace, I sent the following letter to the Duke of Clarence, with whom I had corresponded on the slave trade:—

'Sir, 'Calgarth Park, 25th Nov. 1806.

'To acquire the esteem of wise and good men, is one of the few objects of ambition which we need not blush to own: this kind of ambition has I confess on all occasions actuated my mind, and I cannot but feel

feel great uneasiness, that I have not acquired the esteem of the King. This uneasiness does not proceed from any disappointment of my hopes of profit or promotion, but from anxiety respecting my honour and character. The world will think (whatever *posterity* may think) that I could not have experienced the marked neglect in the line of my profession, which I have met with, unless I had merited His Majesty's disregard by private misconduct or public delinquency.

'At no period of my life have I used any means of obtaining preferment except by endeavouring to deserve it; and in my seventieth year it would ill become me to be solicitous for a translation on my own account; but ever since bad health (brought on by a too incessant application to literary pursuits) rendered me unable to discharge in person the duties of my office in the University of Cambridge, I have been very desirous that the theological chair should not be filled by a deputy. I cannot resign the emolument of the office, for even with it, I am worse provided for than any of my brethren; and without it, I should not have a church income of fifteen hundred a-year at the most.

'I was told many years ago, that I had enemies at court; but not knowing how I could have incurred the enmity of any man alive, I did not credit the information: and if I had given credit to it, yet, being conscious of the strongest attachment to the constitution in church and state, and of the warmest loyalty to the King, I could never have stooped to the base business of counteracting private calumny, except by public exertion.

'I call it public exertion, that in the general decline of public probity (a circumstance always attending and often causing the declension of states) I have uniformly dared to do my duty to my King and to my conscience, by preserving my parliamentary independence, and voting, when I did vote, not according to the suggestions of any party, but in compliance with the deliberate dictates of my own mind.

'It was in perfect conformity to this principle that on the question of the regency (when I thought that the ambition of the minister was injuring the right of the heir-apparent) I delivered in the House of Lords a speech which I submit with a degree of confidence to posterity, from one of the most enlightened heads of the law (Sir James Aire) having assured me the day after it was spoken, that he thought it by far the most constitutional speech which had been delivered in either House of Parliament on that occasion.

'I call it public exertion, that in moments of danger, foreign and domestic, I have repeatedly endeavoured, by seasonable publications, to rouse the spirit of the country, to abate the ferment of sedition, and to stop the progress of infidelity among the mass of the people, being sensible that the subversion of government must accompany the extinction of religion.

'I call it public exertion, that in having formerly suggested to the Duke of Richmond, when Master-General of the Ordnance, a change in the manner of preparing charcoal for the fabrication of gunpowder, I have not only greatly improved the strength of the powder, but have annually saved to the country for many years, and am still saving to it (as I am credibly informed), above fifty thousand pounds a year. I have not ever thought of soliciting a reward from parliament for so great

great a service: the country is welcome to whatever I can do for its safety and prosperity.

'I should be sorry to be considered as boasting of these matters. I mention them from a hope that they will induce your Royal Highness not only to think favourably of me yourself, which will give me great satisfaction, but to pardon the liberty of my request, that you would have the condescension to show this letter to the Prince of Wales, whose good opinion I have reason to believe that I formerly possessed, and whom I by this means most earnestly entreat to take some opportunity of doing me justice with the King.

'I am, with great deference and respect,

'Your Royal Highness's most obedient servant,

'R. LANDAFF.'

"With the most gentleman-like attention, suited to his high rank, the Duke of Clarence immediately informed me, that he would transmit my letter to the Prince of Wales, then at Brighton."

"*Letter to a Friend who had intimated to me his Expectation of seeing me in London, on the Chance of a Regency taking place.*

'Calgarth Park, Dec. 17, 1810.

'My dear Sir,

'I think very highly of Mr. Davies's ability, and consider his preface as containing sentiments founded in truth, in my opinion, and honourable to himself, but not as new. Mr. Locke, the Remonstrants in Holland, and thousands in England, arguing for the right of private judgment, in scriptural interpretation, have frequently and forcibly maintained the same. The fact is, that my mathematical education has quite spoiled my taste for doubtful disputations in other sciences. The *reciprocatio serræ controversiæ* in theology is always grating to my ears, and often leaves me as diffident of having attained truth on any controverted subject, as if I had been in my youth a disciple of Carneades, or of any other doctor of the *old* or *new* academy.

'Your expectations of seeing me in London, on the supposition of a regency being formed, are not well founded. At my time of life I will not debase the character which I have through life endeavoured to establish, by soliciting promotion either from a Regent or a King; nor am I certain (if I could stoop to such meanness) that I should ever become acceptable at St. James's. Courts were not made for me, nor am I made for courts; but I love my country, and could I assist in its councils, infirm as I am, I would take my seat in the House of Lords, which I have not yet done.

'It is now above seven years since I gave to the court my advice (in an intended speech) on four points of the greatest importance: had the first of these been *then* adopted, we should have had at this moment 350,000 young men instructed in the use of arms in addition to our regular troops; had all of them been brought forward, we should not only have put out of peril our own independence, but secured that of the continent of Europe.

'The time, I fear, is fast approaching when every man will say to his neighbour, *Cedo qui nostram rempublicam tantam amisimus tam cito?* The *proveniebant oratores novi, stulti, adolescentuli*, will constitute the principal part of the answer.

'Your faithful and affectionate friend and servant,

'R LANDAFF.'"

ANECDOTE RESPECTING THE APOLOGY FOR THE BIBLE.

Carlton House, May 4th, 1812.

'My Lord,

'It affords me the greatest satisfaction, to have it in command from the Prince Regent, to make known to your Lordship a circumstance, which he is sure will, on every account, afford your Lordship equal gratification to that which he has himself experienced from it. After dinner yesterday at Carlton House, the conversation turned upon the general immorality and profligacy of the present day, when principles and opinions subversive of all religion and morality, were not only held by many, but studiously endeavoured to be instilled into the minds of others. One of the most violent of these, a Sussex Baronet, was mentioned by a Mr. Tyrwhitt, (who I believe is not unknown to your Lordship,) as having uttered opinions in his hearing so infamous and atheistical, as to force him to leave the company, first, however, extracting from him a promise, that he would attentively peruse a book he should the next morning send him. That book was your Lordship's Apology for the Bible; and yesterday the Baronet's answer was produced and read, expressive of the greatest thankfulness for having had it put into his hands, as it not only had decidedly and clearly proved the error and fallacy of every opinion he had before entertained, but had afforded him a degree of secret comfort and tranquillity, that his mind had previously been a stranger to.

'I have the honour to be,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordship's very much obliged and humble servant,

'W. BRADDYLL.'

Answer to Mr. Braddyll's Letter, May 8th, 1812.

'My dear Sir,

'The Prince Regent judges rightly of my character; for the circumstance which he has had the kind condescension to command you to make known to me, does indeed fill my heart with real joy. When the Apology for the Bible was first published, in 1796, I received many letters of thanks, not only from individuals, acknowledging the benefit they had derived from the perusal of it, but from public bodies in Ireland and America. I permitted many thousand copies of it to be printed in Great Britain, without any profit or wish of profit to myself, and yet I cleared above a thousand pounds by its publication; which sum, accruing from such a source, had my family been less, or my means of providing for it greater, I should have had the greatest satisfaction in consecrating to some work of charity; nay, I was so bent on doing this, that I drew up the subjoined inscription for it:

Rerum Universitatis Conditori Conservatorique
Deo optimo, maximo, unico;
Ob vitam mortalem sub ejus numine felicitar actam,
Ob spem vitæ immortalis εν Χριστῳ feliciter agendæ,
Hoc quantulumcunque grati animi monumentum,
Sacrum esse voluit
RICARDUS LANDAVENSIS.

'For the very obliging manner in which you have signified to me this instance of the Prince's remembrance of a retired bishop, I beg you to accept my best thanks, and to esteem me

'Your faithful friend and servant,

'R. LANDAFF.'

ARTICLE II.—*The* LIFE *of* HAYDN, *in a Series of Letters written at Vienna; followed by the Life of Mozart. With Observations on Metastasio, and on the Present State of Music in France and Italy. Translated from the French of L. A. C. Bombet; with Notes by the author of "The Sacred Melodies."*

THIS is a work quite in the style of the French; lively, desultory, and more amusing than instructive or satisfactory. The laxity of the French notions too, respecting gallantry and the duties of the married life, appear in it; but not very obtrusively, and certainly not grossly. The notes display a most correct taste, extensive knowledge of the theory of music, and a just appreciation of the peculiar character and merits of the celebrated composers whom the writer notices. We shall afterwards give extracts relating to music; at present our extracts must be confined to anecdotes of Haydn and Mozart.

EARLY YEARS OF HAYDN.

"Francis Joseph Haydn was born on the last day of March 1732, at Rohrau, a small town, fifteen leagues distant from Vienna. His father was a cartwright; and his mother, before her marriage, had been cook in the family of Count Harrach, the lord of the village.

"The father of Haydn united to his trade of a cartwright, the office of parish sexton. He had a fine tenor voice, was fond of his organ, and of music in general. On one of those journies, which the artisans of Germany often undertake, being at Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, he learned to play a little on the harp: and in holidays, after church, he used to take his instrument, and his wife sung. The birth of Joseph did not alter the habits of this peaceful family. The little domestic concert returned every week, and the child, standing before his parents, with two pieces of wood in his hands, one of which served him as a violin, and the other as a bow, constantly accompanied his mother's voice. Haydn, loaded with years and with glory, has often, in my presence, recalled the simple airs which she sung; so deep an impression had these first melodies made on his soul, which was all music! A cousin of the cartwright, whose name was Frank, a schoolmaster at Haimburg, came to Rohrau, one Sunday, and assisted at the trio. He remarked, that the child, then scarcely six years old, beat the time with astonishing exactitude and precision. This Frank was well acquainted with music, and proposed to his relations to take little Joseph to his house, and to teach him. They accepted the offer with joy, hoping to succeed more easily in getting Joseph into holy orders, if he should understand music.

"He set out accordingly for Haimbourg. He had been there only a few weeks, when he discovered

vered in his cousin's house two tambourines. By dint of trials and perseverance, he succeeded in forming on this instrument, which has but two tones, a kind of air, which attracted the attention of all who came to the school-house.

"It must be confessed, my friend, that in France, amongst a class of people so poor as the family of Haydn, music is never thought of.

"Nature had bestowed upon Haydn a sonorous and delicate voice. In Italy, at this period, such an advantage might have been fatal to the young peasant: perhaps Marchesi might have had a rival worthy of him, but Europe would have lost her symphonist. Frank, who gave his young cousin, to use Haydn's own expressions, more cuffs than gingerbread, soon rendered the young tambourist able not only to play on the violin and other instruments, but also to understand Latin, and to sing at the parish desk, in a style which spread his reputation through the canton.

"Chance brought to Frank's house Reüter, Maitre de Chapelle of St. Stephen's, the cathedral church of Vienna. He was in search of him to recruit his children of the choir. The schoolmaster soon proposed his little relative to him; he came; Reüter gave him a canon to sing at sight.

"The precision, the purity of tone, the spirit with which the child executed it, surprised him; but he was more especially charmed with the beauty of his voice. He only remarked, that he did not *shake*, and asked him the reason, with a smile. The child smartly replied, "How should you expect me to shake, when my cousin does not know how himself?" — "Come here," says Reüter, "I will teach you." He took him between his knees, shewed him how he should rapidly bring together two notes, hold his breath, and agitate the palate. The child immediately made a good shake. Reüter, enchanted with the success of his scholar, took a plate of fine cherries, which Frank had caused to be brought for his illustrious brother professor, and emptied them all into the child's pocket. His delight may be readily conceived. Haydn has often mentioned this anecdote to me, and he added, laughing, that whenever he happened to shake, he still thought he saw these beautiful cherries.

"It will be easily supposed that Reüter did not return alone to Vienna; he took the young shaker along with him, then about eight years old. In his low fortune, we find no unmerited advancement, nothing effected by the patronage of any rich man. It was because the people of Germany are fond of music, that the father of Haydn taught it to his son; that his cousin Frank instructed him still farther; and that, at length, he was chosen by the maitre de chapelle of the first church of the empire. These were natural consequences of the habits of the country relative to the art which we admire.

"Haydn has told me, that dating from this period, he did not recollect to have passed a single day without practising sixteen hours, and sometimes eighteen. It should be observed, that he was always his own master, and that at St. Stephen's, the children of the choir were only obliged to practise two hours. We conversed together respecting the cause of this astonishing application. He told me, that, from his most tender age, music had given him unusual pleasure. At any time,

he

he would rather listen to any instrument whatever, than run about with his little companions. When at play with them in the square, near St. Stephen's, as soon as he heard the organ, he quickly left them, and went into the church. Arrived at the age of composition, the habit of application was already acquired: besides, the composer of music has advantages over other artists, his productions are finished as soon as imagined.

"Haydn, who abounded in such beautiful ideas, incessantly enjoyed the pleasure of creation, which is, doubtless, one of the highest gratifications which man can possess. The poet shares this advantage with the composer; but the musician can work faster. A beautiful ode, a beautiful symphony, need only to be imagined, to cause in the mind of the author that secret admiration which is the life and soul of artists. But in the studies of the military man, of the architect, the sculptor, the painter, there is not invention enough for them to be fully satisfied with themselves; further labours are necessary. The best planned enterprize may fail in the execution; the best conceived picture may be ill painted; all this leaves in the mind of the inventor an obscurity, a feeling of uncertainty, which renders the pleasure of creation less complete. Haydn, on the contrary, in imagining a symphony was perfectly happy; there only remained the physical pleasure of hearing it performed, and the moral pleasure of seeing it applauded. I have often seen him, when he was beating time to his own music, unable to refrain from smiling at the approach of a passage which he was pleased with. I have also seen, at the great concerts which are given at Vienna at certain periods, some of those amateurs who only want the faculty of feeling, dexterously place themselves in a situation where they could see Hadyn, and regulate, by his smile, the ecstatic applauses by which they testified to their neighbours the extent of their rapture! Ridiculous exhibitions! These people are so far from feeling what is fine in the arts, that they never even suspect that there is a modesty belonging to sensibility. This is a little piece of truth, which our sentimental ladies will doubtless feel obliged to me for having taught them. I will add an anecdote which may serve both as a model in the art of ecstatics, and as an excuse, if any frozen fellow should think proper to be ironical, and indulge in ill-timed pleasantry.

"The Artaxerxes of Metastasio was performed in one of the first theatres of Rome, with the music of Bertoni; the inimitable Pacchiarotti, if I am not mistaken, executed the part of Arbaces. During the third representation, at the famous judgment scene, in which the author had placed a short symphony after the words

'Eppur sono innocente,'

the beauty of the situation, the music, the expression of the singer, had so enraptured the musicians, that Pacchiarotti perceived, that after he had uttered these words, the orchestra did not proceed. Displeased, he turned angrily to the leader —"What are you about?" The leader, as if waked from a trance, sobbed out with great simplicity, "We are crying." In fact, not one of the performers had thought of the passage, and all had their eyes, filled with tears, fixed on the singer.

"I saw at Brescia, in 1790, a man,

man, of all Italy perhaps, the most affected by music. He passed his life in hearing it: when it pleased him, he slipped off his shoes without being aware of it; and if the pathetic was carried to its height, he was accustomed to throw them over his head upon the spectators."

"Less precocious than Mozart, who, at thirteen years, produced an applauded opera, Haydn, at the same age, composed a mass, which Hanse Reüter very properly ridiculed. This sentence surprised the young man, but full of good sense at that early period, he was aware of its justice: he was sensible that it was necessary to learn counterpoint, and the rules of melody, but from whom was he to learn them? Reüter did not teach counterpoint to the children of the choir, and never gave more than two lessons in it to Haydn. Mozart had an excellent master in his father, who was an esteemed performer on the violin. It was otherwise with poor Joseph, a friendless chorister in Vienna, who could only obtain lessons by paying for them, and who had not a halfpenny. His father, notwithstanding his two trades, was so poor that when Joseph had been robbed of his clothes, on his communicating the misfortune to his family, his father making an effort, sent him six florins to refit his wardrobe.

"None of the masters in Vienna would give lessons gratis, to a boy of the choir who had no patronage; and it is to this misfortune, perhaps, that Haydn owes his originality. All the poets have imitated Homer, who imitated no one: in this alone he has not been followed; and it is perhaps owing to this, more especially, that he is the great poet whom the world admires. For my own part, I wish, my friend, that all the 'courses of literature' were at the bottom of the ocean: they teach people of small abilities to produce works without faults, and nature makes them produce them without beauties. We are afterwards obliged to wade through these dull essays: our love for the arts is diminished thereby, whilst the want of instruction will, assuredly, never stop the course of a man, whom nature has formed to be great. Look at Shakespeare, at Cervantes: it is likewise the history of Haydn. A master might have prevented him from falling into some of the faults which he committed in the sequel, when he wrote for the church and the theatre; but he would certainly have been less original. He alone is the man of genius, who finds such delightful enjoyment in his art, that he pursues it in spite of obstacles. The torrent which is destined to become a mighty river, will overthrow the dykes by which its course may be restrained.

"Like Jean Jacques Rousseau; he bought, at a second-hand shop, some theoretical books, amongst others, the Treatise by Fux, and he set about studying it with a perseverance which the horrible obscurity of the rules could not overcome. Labouring alone, without a master, he made an infinite number of little discoveries, which were afterwards of use to him. Without either money or fire, shivering with cold in his garret, and oppressed with sleep as he pursued his studies to a late hour of the night, by the side of a harpsichord out of repair, and falling to pieces in all parts, he was still happy. The days and years flew on rapid wing, and he has often said, that he never enjoyed such felicity at any other period of his life. Haydn's ruling passion was rather the love of music than

the love of glory; and even in his desire of glory, not a shadow of ambition was to be found. In composing music, he sought rather his own gratification, than to furnish himself with the means of acquiring celebrity.

"Haydn did not learn recitative of Porpora, as you have been told: the inferiority of his recitatives to those of the inventor of this kind of music, is a sufficient proof of this; but he learned from him the true Italian style of singing, and the art of accompanying on the piano-forte, which is not so easy a thing as is commonly supposed. He succeeded in obtaining these lessons in the following way.

"A noble Venetian, named Corner, at that time resided at Vienna, as ambassador from the republic. He had a mistress, passionately fond of music, who had harboured old Porpora in the hotel of the embassy. Haydn found means to get introduced into the family, purely on account of his love of music. He was approved of; and his excellency took him, with his mistress and Porpora, to the baths of Manensdorf, which were the fashionable resort at that time.

"Our young man, who cared for nobody but the old Neapolitan, employed all sorts of devices to get into his good graces, and to obtain his harmonic favours. Every day he rose early, beat the old man's coat, cleaned his shoes, and disposed, in the best order, the antique periwig for the old fellow, who was sour beyond all that can be imagined. He obtained at first nothing but the courteous salutation of "fool" or "blockhead," when he entered his room in a morning. But the bear seeing himself served gratuitously, and observing, at the same time, the rare qualities of his voluntary lackey, suffered himself occasionally to soften, and gave him some good advice. Haydn was favoured with it more especially, whenever he had to accompany the fair Wilhelmina in singing some of the airs of Porpora, which were filled with basses difficult to understand. Joseph learned in this house to sing in the best Italian taste. The ambassador, astonished at the progress of this poor young man, gave him, when he returned to the city, a monthly pension of six sequins, and admitted him to the table of his secretaries. This generosity rendered Haydn independent. He was able to purchase a black suit. Thus attired, he went, at daybreak, to take the part of the first violin at the church of the Fathers of the order of Mercy; thence he repaired to the chapel of Count Haugwitz, where he played the organ: at a later hour, he sung the tenor part at St. Stephen's. Lastly, after having been on foot the whole day, he passed a part of the night at the harpsichord. Thus forming himself by the precepts of all the musical men with whom he could scrape an acquaintance, seizing every opportunity of hearing music that was reputed good, and having no fixed master, he began to form his own conceptions of what was fine in music, and prepared himself, without being aware, to form, one day, a style entirely his own.

"My Friend, *Baden, Aug.* 28, 1808.

"The ravages of time extended their influence to the little fortune of Haydn. His voice broke, and at the age of nineteen he quitted the class of Soprani at St. Stephen's, or, to speak more correctly, and not to fall all at once into the style of panegyric, he was expelled from it.

Being a little mischievous, like all lively young people, he one day took it into his head to cut off the skirt of one of his comrade's gowns, a crime which was deemed unpardonable. He had sung at St. Stephen's eleven years; and, on the day of his expulsion, his only fortune consisted in his rising talent, a poor resource when it is unknown. He, nevertheless, had an admirer. Obliged to seek for a lodging, chance threw in his way a peruke-maker named Keller, who had often admired, at the cathedral, the beauty of his voice, and who, in consequence, offered him an asylum. Keller received him as a son, sharing with him his humble fare, and charging his wife with the care of his clothing.

"Haydn, freed from all worldly cares, and established in the obscure dwelling of the peruke-maker, was able to pursue his studies without interruption, and to make rapid progress. His residence here had, however, a fatal influence on his future life; the Germans are possessed with the mania of marriage. To a gentle, affectionate, and timid people, domestic pleasures are of the first necessity. Keller had two daughters: his wife and he soon began to think of marrying one of them to the young musician, and spoke to him on the subject. Absorbed in his own meditations, and thinking nothing about love, he made no objection to the match. He kept his word, in the sequel, with that honour which was the basis of his character, and this union was any thing rather than happy.

"His first productions were some short sonatas for the piano-forte, which he sold at a low price to his female pupils, for he had met with a few. He also wrote minuets, allemands, and walzes, for the Ridotto. He composed, for his amusement, a serenata for three instruments, which he performed on fine summer evenings, with two of his friends, in different parts of Vienna. The theatre of Carinthia was at that time directed by Bernardone Curtz, a celebrated buffoon, who amused the public with his puns. Bernardone drew crowds to his theatre by his originality, and by good opera-buffas. He had, moreover, a handsome wife, and this was an additional reason for our nocturnal adventurers to go and perform their serenade under the harlequin's windows. Curtz was so struck with the originality of the music, that he came down into the street, to ask who had composed it. "I did," replied Haydn, boldly.—"How! you; at your age?"—"One must make a beginning sometime."—"Gad this is droll; come up stairs." Haydn followed the harlequin, was introduced to the handsome wife, and re-descended with the poem of an opera, entitled, "*The Devil on Two Sticks.*" The music, composed in a few days, had the happiest success, and was paid for with twenty-four sequins. But a nobleman, who probably was not handsome, perceived that he was ridiculed, under the name of *the Devil on two Sticks*, and caused the piece to be prohibited.

"Haydn often says, that he had more trouble in finding out a mode of representing the motion of the waves in a tempest of this opera, than he afterwards had, in writing fugues with a double subject. Curtz, who had spirit and taste, was difficult to please; but there was also another obstacle. Neither of the two authors had ever seen either sea or storm. How can a man describe

what he knows nothing about? If this happy art could be discovered, many of our great politicians would talk better about virtue. Curtz, all agitation, paced up and down the room, where the composer was seated at the piano forte. "Imagine," said he, "a mountain rising, and then a valley sinking; and then another mountain, and then another valley; the mountains and the valleys follow one after the other with rapidity; and at every moment, alps and abysses succeed each other."

"This fine description was of no avail. In vain did harlequin add the thunder and lightning. "Come, describe for me all these horrors," he repeated incessantly, "but, particularly, represent distinctly these mountains and valleys."

"Haydn drew his fingers rapidly over the key board, ran through the semi-tones, tried abundance of sevenths, passed from the lowest notes of the bass to the highest of the treble. Curtz was still dissatisfied. At last, the young man, out of all patience, extended his hands to the two ends of the harpsichord, and bringing them rapidly together, exclaimed, "The devil take the tempest!"—"That's it, that's it," cried the harlequin, springing upon his neck, and almost stifling him. Haydn added, that when he crossed the straits of Dover in bad weather, many years afterwards, he laughed during the whole of the passage, on thinking of the storm in "the Devil on Two Sticks."

"But how," said I to him, "is it possible, by sounds, to describe a tempest, and that distinctly too?" As this great man is indulgence itself, I added, "that by imitating the peculiar tones of a man in terror, or despair, an author of genius may communicate to an auditor the sensations which the sight of a storm would cause in him; but," said I, "music can no more represent a tempest, than say, 'Mr. Haydn lives near the barrier of Schönbrunn.'" —"You may be right," replied he, "but recollect, nevertheless, that words, and especially scenery, guide the imagination of the spectator."

Haydn's Visits to London.

"He had been talked of for many years, when he was invited, almost at the same time, by the most celebrated directors of the theatres of Naples, Lisbon, Venice, London, Milan, &c. to compose operas for them. But the love of repose, a very natural attachment to his prince, and to his methodical habits of life, retained him in Hungary, and overbalanced the desire he constantly felt of passing the mountains. He would, perhaps, never have left Eisenstädt, if Mademoiselle Boselli had not died. Haydn, after her loss, began to feel a void in his days. He had recently refused the invitation of the directors Concert Spirituel of Paris. After the death of his female friend, he accepted the proposals of a London professor, named Salomon, who had undertaken to give concerts in that city. Salomon thought that a man of genius, drawn from his retirement, purposely for the amateurs of London, would bring his concerts into fashion. He gave twenty

twenty concerts in the year, and offered Haydn 100 sequins (50*l.*) for each concert. Haydn, having accepted these terms, set out for London in 1790, at the age of fifty-nine. He spent more than a year there. The new music which he composed for these concerts was greatly admired. The simplicity of his manners, added to certain indications of genius, cou'd not fail to succeed with a generous and reflecting nation. The English would often observe him, as he walked in the street, eye him in silence from head to foot, and go away saying, 'That is certainly a great man.'

"Before Haydn had lost his interest in conversation, he related with pleasure many anecdotes respecting his residence in London. A nobleman, passionately fond of music, according to his own account, came to him one morning, and asked him to give him some lessons in counterpoint, at a guinea a lesson. Haydn, seeing that he had some knowledge of music, accepted his proposal. "When shall we begin?"—"Immediately, if you please," replied the nobleman; and he took out of his pocket a quartett of Haydn's. "For the first lesson," continued he, "let us examine this quartett, and tell me the reason of certain modulations, and of the general management of the composition, which I cannot altogether approve, since it is contrary to the rules."

"Haydn, a little surprised, said, that he was ready to answer his questions. The nobleman began, and from the very first bar found something to remark upon every note. Haydn, with whom invention was a habit, and who was the opposite of a pedant, found himself a good deal embarrassed, and replied continually: "I did so, because it has a good effect; I have placed this passage here, because I think it suitable." The Englishman, in whose opinion these replies were nothing to the purpose, still returned to his proofs, and demonstrated very clearly that his quartett was good for nothing. "But, my lord, arrange this quartett in your own way; hear it played, and you will then see which of the two is the best." —"How can yours, which is contrary to the rules, be the best?"——"Because it is the most agreeable."—My lord still returned to the subject; Haydn replied, as well as he was able, but at last, out of patience, "I see, my lord," said he, "that it is you who are so good as to give lessons to me, and I am obliged to confess that I do not merit the honour of having such a master." The advocate of the rules went away, and cannot to this day understand how an author who adheres to them should fail of producing a matrimonio segreto.

"A gentleman of the navy came to him one morning: "Mr. Haydn, I presume?"—"Yes, Sir."—"Are you willing to compose me a march for the troops I have on board? I will give you thirty guineas; but I must have it done to-day, because I sail to-morrow for Calcutta." Haydn agreed to do it. As soon as the captain was gone, he opened his piano-forte, and in a quarter of an hour the march was ready.

"Feeling some scruples at gaining so easily what appeared to him a very considerable sum, he returned home early in the evening, and wrote two other marches, intending first to give the captain his choice of them, and afterwards to make him a present of all three, as a return for his liberality.

"Early

"Early the next morning came the captain.—"Well, where's my march?"—"Here it is."—"Will you just play it on the piano?"—Haydn played it. The captain, without saying a word, counted the thirty guineas on the piano, took the march, and walked away. Haydn ran after him to stop him: "I have written two others, which are better: hear them, and then make your choice."—"I like the first very well, and that is sufficient."—"But hear them."—The captain marched down stairs, and would hear nothing. Haydn pursued him, crying after him: "I make you a present of them."—The captain, quickening his pace, replied, "I won't have them."—"But, at least hear them."—"The devil should not make me hear them."—

"Haydn, piqued, immediately hastened to the Exchange, enquired what ship was on the point of sailing for the Indies, and the name of the commander. He then rolled up the two marches, inclosed a polite note, and sent the parcel on board to the captain. The obstinate fellow, suspecting that the musician was in pursuit of him, would not even open the note, and sent back the whole. Haydn tore the marches into a thousand pieces, and never forgot the captain so long as he lived.

"He used to relate, with much pleasure, a dispute which he had with a music-seller in London. Amusing himself one morning, after the English fashion, in shopping, he enquired of a music-seller if he had any select and beautiful music? "Certainly," replied the shopman, "I have just printed some sublime music of Haydn's."—"Oh," returned Haydn, "I'll have nothing to do with that."—"How, Sir, you will have nothing to do with Haydn's music! and pray what fault have you to find with it?"—"Oh, plenty; since, but it is useless talking about it, it does not suit me: show me some other." The music-seller, who was a warm Haydnist, replied, "No, Sir; I have music, it is true, but not for such as you;" and turned his back upon him. As Haydn was going away, smiling, a gentleman of his acquaintance entered, and accosted him by name. The music-seller, still out of humour, turned round at the name, and said to the person who had just entered the shop: "Haydn!—aye, here's a fellow who says he does not like that great man's music." The Englishman laughed; an explanation took place, and the music-seller was made acquainted with the man who found fault with Haydn's music.

"During his residence in London, our author enjoyed two great gratifications. One was, in hearing Handel's music; the other in going to the Ancient Concert. This last is a society established for the purpose of preserving music, which, in the fashionable world, is called Ancient. They give concerts, at which are performed the masterpieces of Pergolese, Leo, Durante, Marcello, Scarlatti,—in a word, of that constellation of distinguished men, who appeared almost at the same time, about the year 1730.

"Haydn remarked to me, with surprise, that many of these compositions, which had transported him to the skies when he studied them in his youth, appeared much less beautiful to him forty years afterwards. "It had the same melancholy effect upon me," said he, "as the sight of an ancient mistress."

tress." Was this merely the usual effect of advanced age, or did these sublime pieces give our composer less pleasure from having lost the charm of novelty?

"Haydn undertook a second journey to London, in 1794. Gallini, the manager of the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, had engaged him to compose an opera, which he intended to get up with the greatest magnificence. The subject was the descent of Orpheus to hell. Haydn began to work, but Gallini found difficulty in obtaining permission to open his theatre. The composer, who was hankering after home, had not patience to wait till permission could be obtained. He left London, with eleven parts of his Orpheus, which, as I am informed, are his best productions in theatrical music, and returned to Austria, never more to leave it.

"He often saw, in London, the celebrated Mrs. Billington, whom he enthusiastically admired. He found her one day sitting to Reynolds, the only English painter who has succeeded in portraits. He had just taken that of Mrs. Billington, in the character of St. Cecilia, listening to the celestial music, as she is usually drawn. Mrs. Billington shewed the picture to Haydn. "It is like," said he, "but there is a strange mistake." "What is that," asked Reynolds, hastily? "You have painted her listening to the angels; you ought to have represented the angels listening to her." Mrs. Billington sprung up, and threw her arms round his neck. It was for her that he composed his Ariadne abbandonata, which rivals that of Benda.

"One of the English princes commissioned Reynolds to take Haydn's portrait. Flattered by the honour, he went to the painter's house, and sat to him, but soon grew tired. Reynolds, careful of his reputation, would not paint a man of acknowledged genius, with a stupid countenance, and deferred the sitting to another day. The same weariness and want of expression occurring at the next attempt, Reynolds went to the prince, and informed him of the circumstance. The prince contrived a stratagem; he sent to the painter's house a pretty German girl, in the service of the queen his mother. Haydn took his seat for the third time, and as soon as the conversation began to flag, a curtain fell, and the fair German, elegantly attired in white, and crowned with roses, addressed him in his native tongue: "O, great man, how happy am I to have an opportunity of seeing thee, and of being in thy presence!" Haydn, delighted, overwhelms the lovely enchantress with questions; his countenance recovered its animation, and Reynolds seized it with rapidity.

"George III., who liked no music but Handel's, was not insensible to that of Haydn. He and the queen gave a flattering reception to the German professor; and the University of Oxford sent him a doctor's diploma, a dignity which had been conferred on only four persons since the year 1400, and which Handel himself had not obtained.

"Custom requiring that Haydn should send to the university a specimen of musical learning, he addressed to it a sheet of music so composed, that, whether it was read backwards or forwards, beginning at the top, the bottom, or the middle of the page, in short, in every

every possible way, it always presented an air, and a correct accompaniment.

"He left London, delighted with Handel's music, and carrying with him a few hundred guineas, which seemed to him a treasure.

"On his return through Germany, he gave a few concerts; and, for the first time, his little fortune received an augmentation. His appointments in the Esterhazy family were of small account; but the condescension with which he was treated by the members of that august house, was of more value to a man whose works are the productions of his feelings, than any pecuniary advantages. He had always a cover at the prince's table; and when his highness gave a uniform to his orchestra, Haydn received the dress usually worn by persons coming to Eisenstadt to pay their court to the prince. It is by a course of attentions such as these, that the great families of Austria gain the affections of all by whom they are surrounded; it is by this moderation that they render tolerable, and even agreeable, privileges and manners which put them almost on an equality with crowned heads. German pride is ridiculous only in the printed accounts of their public ceremonies; the air of kindness which accompanies the reality, gives a pleasing colour to every thing.

"Haydn took with him from London 15,000 florins. Some years afterwards, the sale of the score of the Creation, and the Four Seasons, brought him an additional sum of 2,000 sequins, with which he purchased the small house and garden in the fauxbourg Gumpendorff, on the road to Schönbrunn, where he resides. Such is the state of his fortune."

Last Days of Mozart.

"One day the manager of a theatre, whose affairs were in a bad state, and who was almost reduced to despair, came to Mozart, and made known his situation to him, adding, "You are the only man in the world who can relieve me from my embarrassment."—"I," replied Mozart, "how can that be?"—"By composing for me an opera to suit the taste of the description of people who attend my theatre. To a certain point you may consult that of the connoisseurs, and your own glory; but have a particular regard to that class of persons who are not judges of good music. I will take care that you shall have the poem shortly, and that the decorations shall be handsome; in a word, that every thing shall be agreeable to the present mode." Mozart, touched by the poor fellow's entreaties, promised to undertake the business for him. "What remuneration do you require?" asked the manager. "Why, it seems that you have nothing to give me," said Mozart, "but that you may extricate yourself from your embarrassments, and that, at the same time, I may not altogether lose my labour, we will arrange the matter thus: You shall have the score, and give me what you please for it, on condition that you will not allow any copies to be taken. If the opera succeeds, I will dispose

of

of it in another quarter." The manager, enchanted with this generosity, was profuse in his promises. Mozart immediately set about the music, and composed it agreeably to the instructions given him. The opera was performed; the house was always filled; it was talked of all over Germany, and was performed, a short time afterwards, on five or six different theatres, none of which had obtained their copies from the distressed manager.

"On other occasions, he met only with ingratitude from those to whom he had rendered service, but nothing could extinguish his compassion for the unfortunate. Whenever any distressed artists, who were strangers to Vienna, applied to him, in passing through the city, he offered them the use of his house and table, introduced them to the acquaintance of those persons whom he thought most likely to be of use to them, and seldom let them depart without writing for them concertos, of which he did not even keep a copy, in order that being the only persons to play them, they might exhibit themselves to more advantage.

"Mozart often gave concerts at his house on Sundays. A Polish count, who was introduced on one of these occasions, was delighted, as well as the rest of the company, with a piece of music for five instruments, which was performed for the first time. He expressed to Mozart how much he had been gratified by it, and requested that, when he was at leisure, he would compose for him a trio for the flute. Mozart promised to do so, on condition that it should be at his own time. The count, on his return home, sent the composer 100 gold demi-sovereigns, (about 100*l.*) with a very polite note, in which he thanked him for the pleasure he had enjoyed. Mozart sent him the original score of the piece for five instruments, which had appeared to please him. The count left Vienna. A year afterwards he called again upon Mozart, and enquired about his trio. "Sir," replied the composer, "I have never felt myself in a disposition to write any thing that I should esteem worthy of your acceptance."—"Probably," replied the count, "you will not feel more disposed to return me the 100 demi-sovereigns, which I paid you beforehand for the piece." Mozart, indignant, immediately returned him his sovereigns; but the count said nothing about the original score of the piece for five instruments; and it was soon afterwards published by Artaria, as a quatuor for the harpsichord, with an accompaniment for the violin, alto, and violoncello.

"It has been remarked, that Mozart very readily acquired new habits. The health of his wife, whom he always passionately loved, was very delicate. During a long illness which she had, he always met those who came to see her, with his finger on his lips, as an intimation to them not to make a noise. His wife recovered, but, for a long time afterwards, he always went to meet those who came to visit him with his finger on his lips, and speaking in a subdued tone of voice.

"In the course of this illness, he occasionally took a ride on horseback, early in the morning, but, before he went, he was always careful to lay a paper near his wife, in the form of a physician's prescription. The following is a copy of one of these: "Good morning, my

my love, I hope you have slept well, and that nothing has disturbed you: be careful not to take cold, or to hurt yourself in stooping: do not vex yourself with the servants: avoid every thing that would be unpleasant to you, till I return: take good care of yourself: I shall return at nine o'clock."

"Constance Weber was an excellent companion for Mozart, and often gave him useful advice. She bore him two children, whom he tenderly loved. His income was considerable, but his immoderate love of pleasure, and the disorder of his affairs, prevented him from bequeathing any thing to his family, except the celebrity of his name, and the attention of the public. After the death of this great composer, the inhabitants of Vienna testified to his children, their gratitude for the pleasure which their father had so often afforded them.

"During the last years of Mozart's life, his health, which had always been delicate, declined rapidly. Like all persons of imagination, he was timidly apprehensive of future evils, and the idea that he had not long to live, often distressed him. At these times, he worked with such rapidity, and unremitting attention, that he sometimes forgot every thing that did not relate to his art. Frequently, in the height of his enthusiasm, his strength failed him, he fainted, and was obliged to be carried to his bed. Every one saw that he was ruining his health by this immoderate application. His wife, and his friends, did all they could to divert him. Out of complaisance, he accompanied them in the walks and visits to which they took him, but his thoughts were always absent. He was only occasionally roused from this silent and habitual melancholy, by the presentiment of his approaching end, an idea which always awakened in him fresh terror.

"His insanity was similar to that of Tasso, and to that which rendered Rousseau so happy in the valley of Charmettes, by leading him, through the fear of approaching death, to the only true philosophy, the enjoyment of the present moment and the forgetting of sorrow. Perhaps, without that high state of nervous sensibility which borders on insanity, there is no superior genius in the arts which require tenderness of feeling.

"His wife, uneasy at these singular habits, invited to the house those persons whom he was most fond of seeing, and who pretended to surprise him, at times when, after many hours' application, he ought naturally to have thought of resting. Their visits pleased him, but he did not lay aside his pen; they talked, and endeavoured to engage him in the conversation, but he took no interest in it; they addressed themselves particularly to him, he uttered a few inconsequential words, and went on with his writing.

"This extreme application, it may be observed, sometimes accompanies genius, but is by no means a proof of it. Who can read Thomas's emphatic collection of superlatives? Yet this writer was so absorbed in his meditations on the means of being eloquent, that once, at Montmorency, when his footman brought him the horse on which he usually rode out, he offered the animal a pinch of snuff. Raphael Mengs also, in the present age, was remarkable for absence, yet he is only a painter of the third order; while Guido, who was always at the

the gaming table, and who, towards the conclusion of his life, painted as many as three pictures in a day, to pay the debts of the night, has left behind him works, the least valuable of which is more pleasing than the best of Mengs, or of Carlo Maratti, both of them men of great application.

"A lady once said to me, "Mr. —— tells me that I shall reign for ever in his heart,—that I shall be sole mistress of it. Assuredly I believe him, but what signifies it, if his heart itself does not please me?" Of what use is the application of a man without genius? Mozart has been, in the eighteenth century, perhaps the most striking example of the union of the two. Benda, the author of Ariadne in the isle of Naxos, has also long fits of absence.

"It was in this state of mind that he composed the Zauber Flote, the Clemenza di Tito, the Requiem, and some other pieces of less celebrity. It was while he was writing the music of the first of these operas, that he was seized with the fainting fits we have mentioned. He was very partial to the Zauber Flote, though he was not quite satisfied with some parts of it, to which the public had taken a fancy, and which were incessantly applauded. This opera was performed many times, but the weak state in which Mozart then was, did not permit him to direct the orchestra, except during nine or ten of the first representations. When he was no longer able to attend the theatre, he used to place his watch by his side, and seemed to follow the orchestra in his thoughts. "Now the first act is over," he would say—"now they are singing such an air," &c.; then, the idea would strike him afresh, that he must soon bid adieu to all this for ever.

"The effect of this fatal tendency of mind was accelerated by a very singular circumstance. I beg leave to be permitted to relate it in detail, because we are indebted to it for the famous Requiem, which is justly considered one of Mozart's best productions.

"One day, when he was plunged in a profound reverie, he heard a carriage stop at his door. A stranger was announced, who requested to speak to him. A person was introduced, handsomely dressed, of dignified and impressive manners. "I have been commissioned, Sir, by a man of considerable importance, to call upon you."—"Who is he?" interrupted Mozart.—"He does not wish to be known."—"Well, what does he want?"—"He has just lost a person whom he tenderly loved, and whose memory will be eternally dear to him. He is desirous of annually commemorating this mournful event by a solemn service, for which he requests you to compose a Requiem." Mozart was forcibly struck by this discourse, by the grave manner in which it was uttered, and by the air of mystery in which the whole was involved. He engaged to write the Requiem. The stranger continued, "Employ all your genius on this work; it is destined for a connoisseur."—"So much the better."—"What time do you require?"—"A month."—"Very well: in a month's time I shall return.—What price do you set on your work?"—"A hundred ducats." The stranger counted them on the table, and disappeared.

"Mozart remained lost in thought for some time; he then suddenly called for pen, ink, and paper, and, in spite of his wife's entreaties, began to write. This rage for composition continued several days; he wrote

wrote day and night, with an ardour which seemed continually to increase; but his constitution, already in a state of great debility, was unable to support this enthusiasm: one morning, he fell senseless, and was obliged to suspend his work. Two or three days after, when his wife sought to divert his mind from the gloomy presages which occupied it, he said to her abruptly: "It is certain that I am writing this Requiem for myself; it will serve for my funeral service." Nothing could remove this impression from his mind.

"As he went on, he felt his strength diminish from day to day, and the score advanced slowly. The month which he had fixed, being expired, the stranger again made his appearance. "I have found it impossible," said Mozart, "to keep my word."—"Do not give yourself any uneasiness," replied the stranger; "what further time do you require?"—"Another month. The work has interested me more than I expected, and I have extended it much beyond what I at first designed."—"In that case, it is but just to increase the premium; here are fifty ducats more."—"Sir," said Mozart, with increasing astonishment, "who, then, are you?"—"That is nothing to the purpose; in a month's time I shall return."

"Mozart immediately called one of his servants, and ordered him to follow this extraordinary personage, and find out who he was; but the man failed for want of skill, and returned without being able to trace him.

"Poor Mozart was then persuaded that he was no ordinary being: that he had a connexion with the other world, and was sent to announce to him his approaching end. He applied himself with the more ardour to his Requiem, which he regarded as the most durable monument of his genius. While thus employed, he was seized with the most alarming fainting fits, but the work was at length completed before the expiration of the month. At the time appointed, the stranger returned, but Mozart was no more.

"His career was as brilliant as it was short. He died before he had completed his thirty-sixth year; but in this short space of time he has acquired a name which will never perish, so long as feeling hearts are to be found."

ARTICLE III.—*The* SEXAGENARIAN; *or the* RECOLLECTIONS *of a* LITERARY LIFE. 2 *Vols.*

THIS work is drawn up from the papers of the late Mr. Beloe, who is chiefly known by his Translation of Herodotus, and his Anecdotes of Books. The former is a very respectable production, which, however, will give to those who are not acquainted with the original, a very inadequate idea of the charming simplicity, the easy and frank familiarity, and the chaste and flowing style, of the Father of Historians. The Anecdotes of Books were drawn up from scarce and curious works in the British Museum, and are compiled with judgment,

judgment, and may be read with interest and instruction by those who wish to gain an insight into the state of literature, and of the opinions, manners, &c. of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Sexagenarian is a gossiping book, containing, amidst some curious characteristic anecdotes of the times and of individuals, much that is trifling, or unimportant or unfounded, and still more that is illiberal. Mr. Beloe's attachment to his own religious and political sentiments seems to have been too powerful for his Christian charity and candour.

Mr. Pitt's Tutor.

"Mr. Pitt's tutor was so intimately connected with every thing relating to his illustrious friend, that we cannot any where more properly introduce what appears in our manuscript about him. This eminent person's mind is of far too high a stamp to experience any thing like mortification or chagrin at the mention of his origin, and the rank of his forefathers. It has, indeed, been said, that some remoter branch of the family had been of the rank of baronet. Be this as it may, when our friend first went to the university, he spent a part of the day where he remembered seeing the name connected with some lucrative mercantile concern. This he afterwards found was the father, who, on his son's elevation, retired from business to a very respectable and comfortable residence in the place where he had lived so long and so reputably: and died not long since, full of years and peace. On our friend's arrival at Cambridge, Dr. P. was soon pointed out to him, and he was at first very unfavourably impressed with his forbidding appearance. His countenance was, to his apprehension, strongly marked with harshness and austerity. This idea weighed so deeply upon his mind that afterwards, when in the Senate House under examination for his degree, Professor ——— thought he was not likely to have justice done him, and desired Dr. ——— to see what he could do, he was so much under the influence of prejudice against him that he declined it, to his most obvious disadvantage.

"He felt himself, however, bound in duty and gratitude to acknowledge that never were first impressions more fallacious. He was afterwards admitted to the Bishop on terms of familiarity, indeed we may say friendship, and a more amiable, courteous, excellent man never lived. But to expatiate on these qualities here, would be wandering from the course. Fortunately for Dr. ———, Pembroke was the college selected for Mr. Pitt's place of education. The society could then boast of no other person equally qualified to superintend the studies of a youth, so circumstanced, and so endowed. It was perfectly natural, that a great intimacy should be progressively formed and cemented between the instructor and the pupil, and it is alike honourable to both, that this attachment continued without interruption to the very last moment of Mr. Pitt's too abbreviated life.

"Among

"Among his other qualities and acoomplishments, Dr. ——— had one, by the exercise of which he had attained the highest distinctions in the power of the University to bestow; and which could not fail of being peculiarly useful and important to Mr. Pitt in his situation of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This was a remarkable acuteness and knowledge with respect to every thing connected with numerical computations. This talent was of course exercised to good account. Mr. Pitt was not at all backward in acknowledging the merits of his early instructor, and the claims of his friend. If we mistake not, his first preferment was a Prebend in Westminster; this was not held long before in quick succession it was followed by a Canon Residentiaryship, a Deanery, and a Bishopric.

"In all these situations Dr. ——— proved himself no indolent consumer of the emoluments of his high offices: a more vigilant, active, useful Prelate never adorned the bench. The able works which he has produced in succession, are to be classed among the most valuable publications of modern times. Not alone useful to students in theology, to the rights of the church, and the general interests of literature, they form standard books of reference and authority for all writers on theological subjects, now and hereafter. Perhaps the Refutation of Calvinism is that which displays most effectually the Bishop's powers of argument, extensive reading, and controversial skill. This work has been repeatedly attacked, but never will be answered. They who shall have the charge of pupils intended for the Ecclesiastical profession, never can be said to have discharged their duty, unless they enforce the most familiar acquaintance with, and the repeated contemplation of the Elements of Theology. But we can only touch on these subjects; for having much to say of many, it appears necessary to curtail our friend's memorandums, and be satisfied with giving their substance, even when speaking of those who, like the Bishop of ———, would justify long and circumstantial detail.

"It has been understood that Mr. Pitt took much and anxious pains to elevate his tutor and friend to the see of Canterbury, and that he would have succeeded, but that the King considered himself as pledged to Bishop ———. Nobody entertains the smallest doubt that the Archbishopric of York was intended for him, if Lord Grenville had continued in office. It is equally notorious, that at the decease of Bishop Randolph, the Bishopric of London was pressed upon him, which, however, for various reasons, important to himself and his family, he declined. There is one more fact to mention concerning this distinguished prelate, and we must have done.

"A whimsical old gentleman of Lincolnshire, whose name was T——, conceived a great partiality for the Bishop, and principally from his punctual and conscientious discharge of the Episcopal duty. After a few interviews, this attachment increased, and he openly avowed his determination to make Dr. P——— his sole heir and residuary legatee. But the matter was supposed to be suspended but on a slight thread, for Mr. T—— had done the same by others, and made similar promises again and again. Indeed, if our friend was rightly

rightly informed, the circumstance of his tea not being made one evening in a manner perfectly agreeable to the old gentleman's palate, was very near overturning the baseless fabric. He went home exceedingly chagrined and out of humour; but on the suggestion that it was another's fault, and that the Bishop could not possibly help it, he recovered his temper, and suffered things to remain as they were. He died, and the property to a very great amount came into the Bishop's possession: the whole could not be estimated at so little as two thousand a-year. One pleasing circumstance attended it: on felicitating the Bishop on an event so highly flattering in itself, and beneficial to his family, his lordship assured our friend, as appears from the manuscript, that there were no poor relations who could justly complain of being injured. This estate, with its appurtenances, has since been settled on the Bishop's eldest son.

"The Bishop had a brother, of Pembroke college also, who was nearly our friend's contemporary. He had the reputation of talents which had the same bias as those of the Bishop, but he was of infirm health; and at the usual time of examination for degree, he was not able to encounter the fatigues and anxieties of the Senate House, and was accordingly put to his probation privately in his room. It must have been a vexatious circumstance, for he had so distinguished himself in the schools, that it was generally imagined he would have been the senior wrangler of his year. This honour was, however, well bestowed on a Mr. Oldishaw, a gentleman of Emanuel college, who was afterwards domestic chaplain to Bishop Sutton, and now, if we mistake not, resides on preferment in Norfolk, given him by his patron, where also he has the rank of Archdeacon.

"Mr. ———, as might naturally be expected, was a participator of his brother's good fortune. He obtained the chancellorship of L——, and a prebend in the cathedral of N——. He was to have been Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, but this, if our information be correct, was objected to by the King himself, who learning that it might by possibility happen that the Dean with his brother might form a majority in the chapter, for this, and for this reason only, refused his consent."

Anecdotes of Porson.

"Porson was born at Earl Ruston, in Norfolk, on Christmas Day, 1759. His father was parish-clerk to Mr. H., who was also minister of B. Mr. H. was a most amiable and truly benevolent man; and beyond all doubt was the first encourager of Porson's early disposition to learning, and the individual also to whose exertions he owed the opportunities he afterwards enjoyed, and so well improved. Porson had certainly, when quite a child, the practice of making letters on any sandy or moist surface upon which they could be conspicuously formed. His relations were wont to draw inferences very favourable to his intellect, from this circumstance; but after all, this is a very common practice,

practice, indeed much too frequent to be considered as any indication of a prodigy. Mr. W., who was mentioned in the preceding chapter, noticed in him very soon an extraordinary quickness with regard to figures—this was much more to the purpose—and this he ever retained.

"Porson's father and mother were both totally destitute of any education, except so far as being able to read and write. The father was a man of exceedingly strong sense, very silent and very thoughtful, and was accustomed with great regularity to exercise Porson's memory. To what an extraordinary degree of perfection exercise finally brought this faculty in the Professor, must be in the recollection of many; yet, strange to say, he who wrote this sketch of his friend, has repeatedly heard him assert, that he had not naturally a good memory, but that what he had obtained in this respect, was the effect of discipline only. His recollection was really wonderful. He has been known to challenge any one to repeat a line or phrase from any of the Greek dramatic writers, and would instantly go on with the context. The Letters of Junius, the Mayor of Garratt, and many favourite compositions, he would repeat *usque ad fastidium*. But, to return; the solidity and seriousness of Porson's father seem to have been well relieved by the cheerful and sprightly temper of his mother, who was very lively and very light-hearted. She had also a taste for poetry, very seldom met with in the wife of a cottager; she was familiar with the writings of Shakspeare, and could repeat many of his favourite and popular passages.

"It is stated by the writer in the Athenæum, who calls himself Helenophilus, that Mr. Summers, to whom afterwards Porson went to school, was a plain man, who professed nothing beyond English and the common rudiments of Latin. This is not quite correct. Mr. Summers was, and it is presumed is, a very respectable scholar. He was living when this was first written, and was master of the Free School at Happisburg, in Norfolk.

"Another inaccuracy in that account must also be corrected. It is there stated, that at nine years of age, Porson and his youngest brother Thomas were sent to the village school kept by this Mr. Summers. But at this period, his brother Thomas was not born. It is further remarked in that publication, that the Rev Mr. H. heard of Porson's extraordinary propensity for study. Of course, the writer could not possibly have known that Porson's father was Mr. H.'s parish-clerk.

"There is still another error in that memoir, of no immediate consequence with regard to Porson, but somewhat unaccountable, considering the quarter from which it proceeded. It is stated in the Athenæum for Nov. p. 430, that Porson married Mrs. Lunan, the sister of Mr. Perry, editor of the Morning Chronicle, in 1795, and that she died of a decline in 1797. Whereas the fact is, that Porson married Mrs. Lunan in Nov. 1795, and the lady died some time in the April following. The rest of the memoir is generally unexceptionable. With respect to the eulogium passed at the conclusion of the article in the Morning Chronicle, these are the sentiments *ipsissimis fere verbis*, of Mrs. H. as expressed to an inquiring friend.

'I wish it had been suppressed. The editor, I have no doubt, had the

the most obliging intentions in the world, when he represented me as an amiable and accomplished woman: but I really have no taste for such flattery He must have known, from my situation in early life, that it was impossible I should possess any accomplishments. I wish not to be brought before the public; my only ambition is, at the close of life, *to have deserved* the character of having been a good wife to my husband, and a good mother to my children.'

"It is impossible to record these sentiments, without admiration of their good sense, modesty, and merit. It is with great satisfaction we are enabled to subjoin, that this lady's husband is a brewer at Coltisball in Norfolk, extremely respectable, and in flourishing circumstances.

"The sentiments of Mrs. H. as above expressed, demonstrate congeniality of feeling with her brother. No man was ever less assailable by flattery, or disliked it more; nor could any one be possibly more averse than he was to be pointed out—*digito præterentium*. But let us proceed.

"At the age of nine, Porson was placed under the care of the abovementioned Mr. Summers, by whom he was well grounded in Latin. He remained with him three years. At twelve, he was taken under the care of Mr. H. who was then employed in the education of his own children; with him he also continued three years. By him he was introduced to Mr. Norris, of Witton, the adjoining parish to Bacton; and this gentleman became his professed patron. First, by his example, and afterwards by his strenuous recommendation, a subscription was set on foot for the general purposes of educating Porson, and of maintaining him at the University. The individuals who interested themselves about him, were highly respectable, both with regard to their rank, their character, and their number. Among them was Bishop Bagot, one other Bishop, whose name has escaped, Sir George Baker, Dr. Poynter, Dr. Hammond, Prebendary of Norwich, &c. Sir George Baker was the Treasurer. But there was a lady among them, whose zeal and anxiety concerning Porson, surpassed perhaps that of her gentlemen coadjutors. This was Mrs. Mary Turner, the granddaughter of Sir Charles Turner; she was related to Mr. Norris, by whom Porson was introduced and recommended to her. She afterwards became his principal protector. Her house was always open to him, and whenever he returned from Eton, to pass his holidays in Norfolk, he enjoyed at Mrs. Turner's house the most constant and unrestrained hospitality.

"She was afterwards entirely alienated from him; for which the following reasons have been alleged. She was very piously disposed, and was exceedingly anxious that Porson should go into the church. The decision to which he came, of not subscribing to the articles, and consequently of resigning his Fellowship, was to her utterly incomprehensible, and exceedingly shocked and distressed her. But the publication of his Letters to Travis gave the *coup de grace* to our unlucky friend. Some officious person represented this work to the old lady as a calumnious attack upon Christianity, and as malignantly intended to call in question the truth of the Gospel. It could only be the work of an

apostate, an infidel, an abandoned reprobate. These circumstances prevailed upon Mrs. Turner to alter her will, in which she had left him a very considerable sum of money. He had only a legacy of 30*l*. We must now go back to our chronological order.

"In the year 1774, when Porson was about fourteen years of age, and had been under the care of Mr. H. for two years, he had already discovered a most extraordinary quickness of parts.

"His acquirements, indeed, even at that early period, and his remarkable powers of abstraction and of memory, the force of his intellect in whatever direction it was excited, induced in the breast of Mr. Norris a desire of extending the scale of his education. It was determined to send him to Eton.

"A circumstance relating to this event is communicated by his family, so much out of the ordinary mode of proceeding in similar cases, that a little suspicion of its accuracy may, without offence, be indulged. It is stated by his relations, that previously to his being admitted at Eton, Mr. Norris sent Porson to Cambridge, to be examined as to his proficiency in the classics, by the Greek Professor. This was in the midsummer of 1774. It is added, that in his examination, he displayed so much talent, and such extensive acquirements, that he was sent to Eton in the following summer, viz. in 1775.

"Now, if this really were the fact, it is more than probable that such an incident never took place before, and can only be explained by the possible circumstance, that the Greek Professor, who was at that period Dr. ——, was an intimate friend of Mr. Norris, and from a natural curiosity on his part, was entreated to perform this office. But there exists a still stronger reason for supposing there must be some mistake in this matter. Many of his schoolfellows at Eton still survive, and they all affirm, without any variation, that when Porson first went to Eton, he was not particularly distinguished above the other boys, either for learning, acquirements, or studious habits. Further than this, it is said by one who is well qualified to judge, that is by no less a personage than the present amiable and learned ——, that as a boy, he discovered but an indifferent taste, and in his compositions was very fond of mixing Greek with his Latin, as thus, "*ingemuere πάθοι*," &c. &c.

"It may perhaps be the fact, that there is a little confusion and mistake with regard to dates. Porson was necessarily and officially examined by the Greek Professor, when he sate, as it is termed, for the university scholarship; and he might, after his admission at college, and before his actual residence, go down to Cambridge from Eton, or, not improbably in some interval of the holidays, from his friends in Norfolk, for this particular purpose.

"It is very certain, that his contemporaries at Eton, with little, very little exception, do not remember much about him. The following particulars concerning him at this period, may, however, be depended upon, being either communicated by himself, or from authority which cannot be doubted.

"When at Eton, he wrote two dramatic pieces, and acted in them himself. All, however, that is remembered of either is, that one was more elaborate than the other, and indicated more of plot, ingenuity, and

and contrivance. The title of it was, 'Out of the Frying-pan into the Fire.'

"The other was a shorter piece, of less importance, and was occasioned by some private circumstance, or anecdote, among the boys themselves.

"It is an extraordinary, but well attested fact concerning him, that the first book he ever read with attention was Chambers's Dictionary, which he fairly and regularly perused from beginning to end. He was always fond of algebra, and was a very skilful algebraist. He taught himself the principles from the above dictionary.

"After Porson left Eton to reside at Cambridge, a very long time elapsed without there being any intercourse between him and his family. This circumstance has brought upon him, particularly in Norfolk, the severest censure. Yet that this apparent, and indeed culpable neglect did not entirely arise from insensibility to the ties of nature and of blood, is very certain. Porson was undoubtedly not deficient in filial reverence. His sister had not seen her brother for twenty-two years, when, in 1804, she wrote to inform him that her father was exceedingly ill, and considered as being in great danger. Porson immediately went down to Norfolk to see him, and at that time continued for seven weeks with his sister. The old gentleman recovered; but when seized with his dying illness, two years afterwards, Porson was again written to by his sister, and again replied to her letter by his presence. This was his last visit into Norfolk, when he passed a month at Coltishall. Now, it must be acknowledged, that these facts demonstrate any thing rather than filial ingratitude, and tell with the candid mind, more than a hundred idle stories to his disadvantage. The writer of this narrative has also a strong impression, that he used to send clothes and occasional presents to his brothers; though he certainly did not write to any of the family, which, of course, they resented. He had, indeed, a very great repugnance to writing letters, and when he did so, his epistles were concise, stiff, and formal. A specimen or two will hereafter be given. He certainly did not want sensibility; though his coldness, and reserve of demeanour, might reasonably excite the suspicion that he was unfeeling.

"He spent the evening with him whose notes now record the fact, when the last year of his being permitted to retain the benefits of his fellowship, expired. It could not easily be obliterated from the memory. His indignation at not being appointed to a lay fellowship in his college, then vacant; his resentment on perusing the letter which coldly apologized for giving it to another, with a recommendation to him, which he felt as the bitterest insult, to take orders; the anguish he expressed at the gloom of his prospects, without a sixpence in the world; his grief; and, finally, his tears; excited an impression of sympathy which could never be forgotten.

"Another proof that he was not insensible of kindness, deserves also to be recorded. He had borrowed, on some occasion or other, of our Sexagenarian, a sum of money. Of course, he was never asked for it, nor in the remotest degree reminded of it. After an interval of more than four years, he came one day, in the familiar manner to which he was accustomed, and said, 'I am

come to dine, and have brought you the money I owe you—I suppose you thought I had forgotten it.'

"On his first arrival at college, he of course did not possess a very extensive library, and he used to go to the present Provost of Eton's rooms, to read Suidas and Plutarch's Morals; and even at that early period proposed some very curious critical emendations.

"A very singular circumstance occurred about this period, which there may be some who are able to explain—it is not attempted here. Some person or other had taken a copy of Eustathius from Eton college library, and had conveyed it to Cambridge. It was here lent to Porson, who made excellent use of it. The following paragraph is verbatim from our manuscript:—'The book was afterwards returned to Eton college, where it now remains, it is to be hoped, as Buonaparte said of the Belvidere Apollo, "*pour jamais.*" The expression of "it is to be hoped," is made use of because the very extraordinary fact not long since occurred of some most rare, curious, and valuable books finding their way from the venerable precincts of a Cathedral library, to the shelves of a private collection. May the fate of this Eustathius be different! At present, at least, whoever pleases may see it in Eton college library, enriched by a number of notes by Porson in the margin.'

"Porson had a very lofty mind, and was tenacious of his proper dignity. Where he was familiar and intimate, he was exceedingly condescending and good-natured. He was kind to children, and would often play with them, but he was at no pains to conceal his partiality where there were several in the family. In one which he often visited, there was a little girl of whom he was exceedingly fond; he often brought her trifling presents, wrote in her books, and distinguished her on every occasion; but she had a brother to whom, for no assignable reason, he never spoke, nor would in any respect notice. He was also fond of female society, and though too frequently negligent of his person, was of the most obliging manners and behaviour, and would read a play, or recite, or do any thing that was required.

"He was very fond of crab fish, and on one occasion, where he was very intimate, asked to have one for supper; his friend jocularly said, that he should have the finest in St. James's Market, if he would go thither, buy, and bring it home himself. He disappeared in an instant, and marched unconcerned through some of the most gay streets of London with the crab triumphantly in his hand.

"Much has been said of his irregularities. That odious theme is left to others. With all his errors and eccentricities, he who wrote this, loved him much, bowed with reverence to his talents, and admiration to his learning, and acknowledged with gratitude the delight and benefit he received from his society and conversation. Yet Porson by no means excelled in conversation; he neither wrote nor spoke with facility. His elocution was perplexed and embarrassed, except where he was exceedingly intimate; but there was strong indication of intellect in his countenance, and whatever he said was manifestly founded on judgment, sense, and knowledge. Composition was no less difficult to him. Upon one occasion, he undertook to write a

dozen lines upon a subject which he had much turned in his mind, and with which he was exceedingly familiar. But the number of erasures and interlineations was so great as to render it hardly legible; yet, when completed, it was, and is, a memorial of his sagacity, acuteness, and erudition.

"It remains to record a few anecdotes of him, some of which, at least, do him the highest honour. During the whole period of his residence in Norfolk with his sister, which altogether amounted to eleven weeks, he never drank more than two glasses of wine after dinner, and never touched a single drop of spirits. He was most frequently satisfied with one glass of wine. He talked familiarly with the family, joined them in their walks, and principally amused himself with a Greek manuscript belonging to Dr. Clark, which that traveller had brought home with him from Greece or Syria.

"He was, from his childhood, a very bad sleeper; and it is to be feared, for it is no unusual case, that he may have been led to occasional indulgences with regard to wine, with the view of procuring sleep. But he was also of a very social disposition, and the universal desire of his company might eventually cause this to be imposed upon. One thing, it is believed, may positively be insisted upon, that he was never guilty of any intemperance in solitude; and his behaviour when under his sister's roof, shows that he could easily accommodate himself to the disposition and manners of the people among whom he was thrown.

"The anecdote next about to be related will perhaps excite surprize in many, but its authenticity cannot be disputed.

"Porson, when in Norfolk with his sister, went regularly to church, nor was he ever prevented from so doing, except when under the influence of one of the violent paroxysms of asthma, to which he was subject. These were occasionally so formidable, that apprehensions were often entertained that he would expire in the presence of his friends. On his first visit to Norfolk, in 1804, he accompanied his brother-in-law to the adjoining village church of Horstead. Porson found that preparations were made to administer the sacrament. When the usual service of prayers and sermon was ended, and they were about to leave the church, Porson stopped suddenly, and asked Mr. Hawes, if in his opinion there would be any impropriety in his receiving the sacrament. Mr. Hawes instantly replied, 'certainly not.' Upon this, they both turned back, and received the communion together.

"This was an extraordinary fact; and on the part of Porson suggests a singular question. Perhaps he might feel some hesitation from the circumstance of his being a total stranger to the clergyman who officiated; or perhaps it might have reference to the consciousness of his avowed non-conformity to the articles. The matter must remain undecided.

"Singular as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that Porson did not hold ——— in so high a degree of estimation as might have been expected from the exalted station, which this venerable personage has invariably enjoyed in the kingdom of letters. It would be invidious, as it is quite unnecessary, to be circumstantial; but the fact was so.

"On one occasion, when this personage

sonage, was enjoying his afternoon's pipe, he turned triumphantly to the Greek Professor, and remarked, "Porson, with all your learning, I do not think you well versed in metaphysics." "I presume you mean your metaphysics," was the reply.

"At another time when something which this gentleman had written and published much interested the public attention, and occasioned many squibs, and paragraphs, and controversial letters in the newspapers, Porson wrote the following epigram:

"Perturbed spirits, spare your ink,
And beat your stupid brains no longer,
Then to oblivion soon would sink
Your persecuted ————monger."

"On the other hand, it is to be observed, that this eminent man, for so he was, invariably spoke of Porson in terms of the highest admiration and regard.

"Whatever might be the case with respect to the person above alluded to, Porson was never at any pains to conceal his extreme contempt for Wakefield. There was at one time a seeming sort of friendly communication; but whilst Wakefield aimed at being thought on a level with Porson in point of attainments, the latter must unavoidably have felt the consciousness of his own great superiority.—Indeed, the difference between them was immense. Without disparagement to Wakefield, his warmest advocates must acknowledge, that although he formed his opinions hastily, he never failed to vindicate them with peremptory decision. In consequence of this eagerness and haste, his criticisms were frequently erroneous, and his conclusions false; neither, if detected in error, would his pride allow him either to confess, or retract his fault. The writer of this article once pointed out to him a very great error in his translation of the New Testament; he acknowledged it at the time, but the second edition appeared, and the same error was repeated: he might possibly have forgotten it. Porson, on the contrary, never declared or formed his critical opinions (for of such we are now speaking) hastily. He patiently examined, seriously deliberated, and was generally correct in his decisions; nevertheless, he quietly listened to the arguments of opponents, and was neither irritable nor pertinacious. How erroneous an estimate Wakefield had formed of Porson, is sufficiently apparent from the posthumous letters between him and Mr. Fox.

"W. appears to tell that eminent statesman, with a sort of ill-natured exultation, that nine hundred errors had been detected in the edition of Heyne's Virgil, corrected, as he is pleased to call it, by Porson. The fact is not so. The errors were certainly very numerous; but the office of press corrector was far beneath the dignity of Porson, and what mistakes there are, are principally confined to the notes, which a single glance from a critical reader will in a moment detect and amend. The errors of the text, which is of more material importance, did not exceed twenty in all the four volumes.

"Again, at p. 99, of the work above quoted, Mr. Wakefield is pleased thus to express himself: after assigning two reasons for not having more frequent intercourse with Porson, he gives as a third:

"The uninteresting insipidity of his society, as it is impossible to engage

engage his mind on any topic of mutual inquiry, to procure his opinion on any author, or on any passage of an author, or to elicit any conversation of any kind, to compensate for the time and attendance of his company. And as for Homer, Virgil, and Horace, I never could hear of the least critical effort on them in his life.

" He is in general devoid of all human affections, but such as he has, are of a misanthropic quality; nor do I think that any man exists, for whom his propensities rise to the lowest pitch of affection and esteem. He much resembles Proteus in Lycophron,

" ω γελως απεχθεται
Και δακρυ."

" The whole of the paragraph, and every particle of the affirmation which it contains, is as foolish as it is false. Porson's conversation insipid! The appeal may safely be made to many characters now living; to Dr. Parr, Dr. Charles Burney, Judge Dampier, the Prevost of Eton, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Perry, and to many, many others, whether his conversation among his intimate acquaintance, did not invariably and irresistibly demonstrate intellect, information, and knowledge. That he was not very communicative with Mr. Wakefield on subjects of criticism and abstract erudition, may readily be accounted for—He despised Wakefield's attainments of this kind, in the first instance; and in the next, had reason to apprehend that improper use might be made of what he might utter. Mr. Wakefield could not pretend to much of " human affection" in the declaration of his controversial opinions, but cut and slashed, and threw his dirt about, without any compunctious feeling.

" It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that if any friend or acquaintance consulted the Greek Professor, on any difficult passage of any author, he readily communicated his aid, and would, if required, discuss such subjects in conversation.

" That our friend was not " devoid of all human affections," examples have already been adduced; that he was " misanthropic," is an assertion equally absurd. He was, perhaps, too social; and it was this love of society, which frequently betrayed him into inadvertencies. As to the Greek quotation with which this curious passage ends, all that can be said is, it does not apply to Porson.

" Mr. Wakefield proceeds to observe, " I will be content to forfeit the esteem and affection of all mankind, whenever the least particle of envy or malignity is found to mingle itself with my opinions." Let the reader contrast this declaration with the letter, given in a preceding part of this narrative, and printed from his own handwriting. Let him also compare this expression of Wakefield's with the diatribe which he addressed to Porson, on his publication of the Hecuba.

" A few more anecdotes, from personal knowledge, shall close this part of our narrative. Porson once accompanied the Sexagenarian in a walk to Highgate. On their return, they were overtaken by a most violent rain, and both of them were thoroughly drenched to the skin. As soon as they arrived at home, warm and dry things were prepared for both; but Porson obstinately refused to change his clothes. He drank

drank three glasses of brandy, but sate in his wet things all the evening. The exhalation, of course, was not the most agreeable; but he did not apparently suffer any subsequent inconvenience.

"There was a lady, who was allied to some of the best families in the kingdom, exceedingly agreeable, and very accomplished, who took great pleasure in the conversation and society of Porson. He, on his part, was very partial to her; and she it was who was the occasion of his composing those excellent Charades, which have found their way into many of the public prints, but of which an accurate copy has no where hitherto appeared."

Mrs. Hayley.

"She was the sister of John Wilkes, of famous memory, had a large portion of his intellectual endowments, and was very little his inferior in vivacity, humour and wit. She was married first to an opulent merchant, who was succeeded in his business by his head clerk, Mr. Hayley, whose fortunes were made by his obtaining the hand of the widow. He was afterwards alderman Hayley, and was a near relation of Hayley the poet. He was a plain, sensible, good sort of man, wholly absorbed in commercial pursuits, and soon found it expedient, for the sake of a quiet life, to suffer his cara sposa to do as she liked. She was exceedingly well informed, had read a great deal, possessed a fine taste, and, with respect to literary merit, considerable judgment. She accordingly sought, with much avidity, the society of those who were distinguished in the world by their talents and their writings. When the expression of those is used, it must be understood to apply to men only, for on all occasions she was at no pains to conceal her contemptuous opinion of her own sex; and it was no uncommon thing to see her at table, surrounded with ten or twelve eminent men, without a single female.

"She had great conversation talents, and unfortunately, like her brother, she seldom permitted any ideas of religion, or even of delicacy, to impose a restraint upon her observations.

"Her disregard of propriety was also and conspicuously manifested on other occasions. She invariably attended all the more remarkable trials at the Old Bailey, where she regularly had a certain place reserved for her. When the discussion or trial was of such a nature that decorum, and indeed the judges themselves, desired women to withdraw, she never stirred from her place, but persisted in remaining to hear the whole, with the most unmoved and unblushing earnestness of attention.

"She every summer made an excursion to such parts of the kingdom as she had not before visited, and was always accompanied by a single male friend, who for a great number of years was an American gentleman, connected with the house of Hayley by the ties of mercantile interests. Upon one occasion,

occasion, she visited the Highlands with this gentleman, and though accustomed to a very luxurious style of living, she submitted to the greatest privations and hardships in the indulgence of her curiosity. This indeed was unbounded; it extended to the manufactories, manners, high and low, and worse than low, in whatever place she visited. Her professed object was to see every body, and every thing, which deserved or excited attention.

"The season in which she visited the Highlands proved moreover to be very wet and tempestuous, and the character of her mind cannot perhaps be more accurately delineated, than by an extract of a letter which she wrote to her brother, John Wilkes, from Scotland. It began—

"Dear brother,

"The rain has been and still is so incessant, that I have serious intentions of constructing another ark, into which, however, I shall be exceedingly scrupulous whom I admit. As I know your particular taste, I shall have a cabin for your use, fitted up and adorned with scripture and other prints. But I will on no consideration whatever suffer any unclean animals to enter; for example, nothing shall prevail upon me to admit either Scotch men or Scotch women," &c. &c.

"The whole of the epistle was of the same strain and character, full of wit, humour, and ingenious (however unjust) raillery.

"She had a house after her husband's death, and perhaps before, at Bromley; the measured distance of which from her town residence in Great Aliffe-street, Goodman's-fields, was precisely ten miles. She had four beautiful black horses, and on entering her carriage, she never failed to take her watch in her hand, and her coachman was sure to have a sorry bout of it, if he exceeded the space of an hour, either going or coming. She had also a strong predilection for the drama, had a box at each of the theatres, and generally went from one house to another. She was most particularly fond of Shakespeare, and never failed to be present when any of his plays were represented. She allowed her coachman but half an hour to drive from Goodman's-fields to either theatre. Her remarks on the performances and performers were ingenious, lively, pertinent, and just, and very much contributed to the information and amusement of her company.

"She was particularly nice in her carriage, which was always built in the highest and most expensive style of fashion, and kept with particular neatness. She had one day a rich citizen with her in one of these excursions to or from Bromley, who, from want of observation or attention, did not perceive that the glass near which he sate was drawn up, and he was so thoughtless as to spit upon it. She indulged in much laughter, and remarked, that her coachman could not possibly have had a greater compliment paid to his care of the glasses.

"She had a daughter, who did not appear to be exempted, by her relationship, from the general, indeed the universal dislike, or rather contempt, which she avowed for all her sex.

"They were on the very worst terms possible; and so reluctant was she, on her daughter's marriage, to perform the stipulations required by old H.'s will, that the most harsh and rigorous proceedings were found unavoidably necessary, and she was arrested

arrested on a Saturday night on coming from the play, when she had thousands at her command, and detained, with her male friend, who always accompanied her, in a sponging-house, till the Monday morning.

"In the end she served this same gentleman a most slippery trick. He was a native of Nantucket, and as Mr. H.'s commercial connexions were principally in America, he was one of their most intimate and valuable correspondents. On coming to England, he took up his residence in H.'s house, and on his death, undertook the conduct of the great and extensive concern for the widow. He was her most intimate counsellor, confidant, and friend, embarked his fortunes with her's, attended her every where, and on every occasion, and was in all respects the master of her house, and director of her family. At the conclusion of the American war, it was found expedient that some confidential person should go over to America, to see after the property still remaining in that country, and which was not much less in value than a hundred thousand pounds. Mr. R** offered himself for the purpose. The lady's attachment to him was so strong, that she determined not to part with him, and resolved to accompany him. Before they embarked, it was determined, on consultation, that they should be married, and the Archbishop's license was accordingly obtained. From some cause or other, the solemnization was deferred, and they mutually covenanted that it should take place on their arrival in America. They accordingly set sail lovingly together. When they got to America, they were much noticed, and feasted, and were hospitably received, even by General Washington himself, and the most considerable persons of the country. Still the marriage was not solemnized. Almost the first letters which came out from England, brought the unwelcome information that the presence of Mrs. H. or her agent and representative, was indispensably necessary, to secure the property which was left behind, no less considerable than that after which they went in search. The gentleman of whom we are speaking, voluntarily undertook this mission also; and leaving his friend and mistress, with the promise, and indeed determination, to return immediately, and perform his contract, he appointed a young mercantile man to transact his business in his absence, and departed for England.

"But mark the waywardness and inconstancy of some females: he had hardly set foot on British land, when a packet arrived from a correspondent in America, with the information, that the lady had found solitude in that distant part of the globe so irksome, and indeed so intolerable, that in one short week after his departure, she had united herself in indissoluble bonds with the young man whom he had left as his mercantile representative. There were no writings, settlements, or contracts, but one simple deed, stating that the longest liver should take all the property.

"Before the narrative of Mrs. H. is resumed, the sequel of the fortunes of this disappointed gentleman, as far as they are known, shall be added. His grief was probably neither very acute, nor very permanent; indeed he was already beginning to feel his situation to be a sort of unmanly thraldom: and there can be very little doubt, that if he had been either pressing or importunate,

importunate, he might *mutatis mutandis* have been the happy bridegroom in America, rather than the forsaken lover in England. But he was a man with a great spirit of enterprise, had seen much of the world, and was anxious to see more. He had also some very lofty schemes of mercantile aggrandisement, particularly with respect to the South Sea Whale Fishery. He was an exceedingly ingenious mechanic, and had invented a machine for the more certain destruction of whales, which had the approbation of some of our most accomplished mechanics. With this view, not meeting in this country, or from our government, the encouragement he wanted, and the assistance which he asked, he removed to France.

"The French revolution had commenced, and he received from the Ruling Powers the most munificent promises, and so much immediate and effectual assistance, that by their aid and countenance he formed one establishment, upon a very large scale, at Dunkirk, and another at l'Orient. Here, for some years, he prosecuted his plans with such success, that he had the fairest prospect of acquiring the greatest opulence. Unfortunately, one of his partners at l'Orient, laboured under the suspicion of being an aristocrat, in the atrocious times of Robespierre. Suspicion was but another term with this sanguinary crew, for guilt, and the guillotine was (to use their abominable jargon) in constant requisition. This most worthy and excellent man, with little, perhaps with no form of trial, was put to death, and his friend and patron, the American, escaped with life only. All the property was seized, plundered, or confiscated, and the whole establishment fell to the ground. Whether he yet survives, or if he does, in what situation he remains, was unknown when this was written. Mr R. had great talents, many amiable qualities, and, in those respects, deserved a far better fate.

"Now to return to Mrs. Hayley. The hours of rapture, even with younger subjects, (votaries at the Hymeneal shrine) do not always extend beyond the honeymoon. When a female, approaching to seventy, leads to the altar a bridegroom who has not seen thirty, these hours of Elysium seldom continue quite so long. In a very short interval, a separation was mutually thought expedient. The lady, as before observed, had confided every thing to the generosity of her husband, and, with such an allowance as he thought proper to make her, she took a very early opportunity of re-crossing the Atlantic; and after a short residence in London, fixed herself at Bath, where she passed

"An old age of cards."

Character of some of Mr. Beloe's early Political Acquaintances.

"A literary life, like adversity, introduces a man to strange and opposite acquaintance. Genius, talent, and learning, are not limited to rank or station, and the ingenuous desire of receiving, as well as of communicating information, induces an individual of such propensities to put aside those prejudices, which marked differences of opinion in creeds and in politics have an unavoidable tendency to excite.

excite. That such were the feelings, and such the circumstances of our venerable friend, at a certain period of his life, appear from the following loose memoranda, which he evidently intended, at some period or other, to arrange and methodize.

"What shall that individual alledge, to ward off and repel the charge of inconsistency, who began his career in life under the auspices of James Townsend, of Bruce Castle, of the patriotic Aldermen Sawbridge and Oliver; who confesses that he spent agreeable hours with Price and Priestley, and Horne Tooke, and Major Cartwright, and Kippis: and afterwards with a well-known popular Baronet, and Dr. Disney, and Walker of Liverpool, and very many others of this description? The same person in the decline of life, had no friends, associates, or indeed acquaintance, but with individuals whose principles, sentiments, and conduct, were as diametrically opposite, to those of the characters above named, as light to darkness.

"The fact is to be thus explained:—The first entrance into life must be incidental altogether; our first connexions are unavoidably those of our relatives, and their friends and associates; principles are unfolded only by time and experience, and then it is, that intimacies and attachments are formed and confirmed by similarity of taste, sentiments, and pursuits. Our Sexagenarian, as appears from his notes, first lived, where almost the whole of what might properly be denominated taste and learning, was confined to the Dissenters. Mark, reader, not Methodists; never was much taste or learning visible among these sectaries, but among the old Presbyterians, who constituted, in the place alluded to, both a numerous and respectable class. Neither did the word Presbyterian by any means imply "an immoral man, a pestilent citizen, or a disloyal subject." He was therefore, and of necessity compelled, though firm and immoveable in his own religious tenets, to associate much and familiarly with them, in order to participate in common in the literary barter, which was carried on with much fairness and liberality on all sides.

"Afterwards having formed a tender domestic connexion, the ramification from which drew him not unwilling to the metropolis, his family engagements threw him abruptly, and in the heat of the American war, amidst "a crowd of patriots," many of whose names have before been mentioned. Young and inexperienced, dazzled with the name of liberty, confounded by subtleties of argument, which, if he could not accurately analyse, he was still unable to confute; and lastly, with the prospect placed before him of ease and independence, can it excite surprise that he should get entangled in a net, of which the meshes were at the same time so fine as to elude detection, and too strong to allow of escape?

"Politics, however, was not the subject for which he was best qualified, nor did they ever interest his affections, or exercise the better powers of his mind. He was rather the instrument than the operator, and he confesses that he has often looked back with a sort of shame and compunction, at having been sometimes the means of circulating ingredients, of the full tendency of which he was then unconscious, but which he has since ascertained to have developed some of those poisonous seeds, the pernicious

nicious effects of which, Europe, nay, the whole world, has for the last five and twenty years experienced.

"He derives, however, some consolation from the hope, indeed the confident belief, that many of those individuals, to whom a chain of fortuitous circumstances thus introduced him, were not themselves aware of the ultimate consequences of their conduct. The spirit of distrust and suspicion which, in our free country, always follows with unremitting vigilance the measures and the ministers of government, the emotions of wounded pride, of disappointed ambition, and, in some instances, of personal enmity, combined to form the stimulus which actuated the conduct of many of the best and ablest characters among them. Many also, it is apprehended, discovered the illusion in time, and retracted their errors before they had operated to the injury of their country.

"Be the above as it may, the whole of the junta has disappeared like "the baseless fabric of a vision," and of the individuals more particularly alluded to, the writer of these pages was, when this was recorded, the "only rack which was left behind."

"It may not be altogether unentertaining to say a little on some of these worthies, the result of personal knowledge

"James T., of B. Castle, was the most extraordinary character of them all. He was of a good family, his father having been an opulent merchant, alderman of London, and member of parliament. Whether this gentleman had that determined and implacable spirit of resistance to the measures of government, which afterwards characterized his son, has not been recorded. This James T.'s first appearance as a candidate for political fame, was when he served the office of sheriff, with Sawbridge, and perhaps the same office has never since been filled by such individuals, possessing, in such entire unison, qualities so eccentric. It is not intended to write T.'s life, though it deserves a place in our biographical collections, far better than many which there make their appearance.

"The principle upon which he seemingly acted, was to resist government in every thing, though this was hardly fair on the score of gratitude. He married a natural daughter of the last Lord C., who left Mrs. T. all his estates, which were very large indeed; but as she had been born abroad, and had never been naturalized, the estates were forfeited to the crown. The then Lord Holland had an intimate political connexion with Mr. T.'s father, and through his parliamentary interest, the estates were restored to Lord C.'s daughter, and confirmed to her by act of parliament.

"This liberality had, however, no sort of influence on his conduct; his own opinion on any subject was the standard of right, and *fari quid sentiat*, his motto. During the time of his serving the office of sheriff, it was thought expedient by government to execute some rioters in Spitalfields, in the neighbourhood where their offence had been committed. This he and his brother sheriff strenuously resisted, contending they were not justified in seeing the sentence of the law put in force, except at the usual place of execution. They were, however, obliged to give way. Upon another occasion, he resisted the payment of the land-tax, and suffered his effects to be seized at T. from the excuse that in the case

of

of Wilkes and Luttorell, the county of Middlesex was not legally represented.

"He had great natural eloquence, though he had not taken much pains in the cultivation of his mind; and he always commanded attention in the House of Commons, where he once very narrowly escaped being sent to the Tower, in consequence of some intemperate expressions against the Princess Dowager of Wales. His most particular friends were Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré. He represented Calne, Lord Shelburne's borough, and when in town, always resided in his Lordship's house. Whatever may be thought of his politics, though they certainly were of a mischievous tendency, he was a firm and steady friend, and so tenacious of his promise, that he would leave the remotest part of the kingdom, and the most delightful society, to attend and give his vote at Guildhall, though for the meanest individual, and the humblest office. He was very proud and tenacious of his dignity among the great, though of the most conciliating affability with his inferiors. He would travel from one end of the kingdom to the other without a servant, and with a small change of linen in a leathern trunk behind the saddle.

"The Sexagenarian once accompanied him on a fishing excursion, in a remote province, and he chose, in the kitchen of the village-alehouse, where they stopped for refreshment, to dress some of the fish that had been caught. A labouring man came in to inquire of the landlord how to get a letter to London at least expense. "Give me your letter," said Mr. T. "and it shall cost nothing." He accordingly asked for pen and ink, and franked it, to the great amazement of seven or eight peasants, who were standing about to see the novel spectacle of a *gemman* dressing his own fish.

"A great deal more might be said, and not without exciting interest, of this singular character, but it appears that our friend's memorandums must be curtailed; they would otherwise extend to too great a length. With the exception of Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré, Mr. T.'s political friends varied somewhat with times and circumstances. He was once very intimate with Lord Thurlow, with Horne Tooke, with Sawbridge, and Oliver, and Wilkes, and many similar characters of that day; but before his death, these connexions ceased altogether.

"His son, it seems, partook of his father's enthusiasm, or what they mutually understood to be the cause of liberty, and attached himself to the flaming patriots of the day.

"The London aldermen of those days, at least it is true of many among them, were in some respects different from those of the present. There were not a few individuals of birth and fortune, but little connected with commerce, who used their influence to obtain the aldermanic gown, entirely from political views and purposes; such was Mr. T. and such also was Sawbridge.

"Mr. Sawbridge was a country gentleman, with no city connexions, but ardent in his politics, and exasperated against government, for what he considered as a violation of the constitution, in not permitting Wilkes to sit as representative for Middlesex. He at that time sate in Parliament for one of the Cinque Ports, and so distinguished himself by

by the part he took in favour of Wilkes, that he became exceedingly popular with the citizens of London, who, before he was an alderman, elected him with T. to the office of sheriff. He was in due time both alderman and lord mayor, and afterwards represented the city of London in three succeeding parliaments.

"He was a violent and constant opposer of the American war, and a systematic advocate for parliamentary reform; and during the whole of the time that he had a seat in the house, he never failed to make an annual motion to shorten the duration of parliament.

"He was a perfect gentleman in his manners, and very little calculated to assimilate with those, into whose intimate society his political enmities and prejudices introduced him.

"Another of this circle was Mr. Oliver; he was a West India merchant, and in his external manners the perfect gentleman

"The circumstance which first introduced him to city honours and political importance, was alike whimsical and accidental. He had a brother, who, on some vacancy for the representation of London, had declared himself a candidate with much prospect of success. He was, however, seized with a violent and dangerous sickness, which prevented his appearing on the hustings on the day of nomination. On this day, however, Mr. Richard Oliver, the subject of the present sketch, presented himself to the citizens, and lamented that the condition of his brother's health rendered it impossible for him to avail himself of the honours which probably awaited him; but that he who now addressed them, attached to the same party, governed by the same principles, and possessed of equal independence, begged them to transfer the kindness they meditated for his brother, to himself. He succeeded without opposition, and in the interval between the day of nomination and election, was chosen an alderman, and was afterwards lord mayor.

"Of all the political popular characters of his day, Mr. Oliver, perhaps, was most consistently tenacious of the principles which he first avowed. This he exemplified more particularly with respect to Wilkes. As soon as he began to suspect that Wilkes was actuated by other motives, and had other views beyond those which they vindicated and pursued in common, he withdrew himself entirely from the connexion, and obstinately refused to serve the office of sheriff with Wilkes as a colleague.

"Some few years afterwards, and towards the conclusion of the American war, in despair, as he observed in a speech to the Corporation of London, of seeing greater wisdom in the measures of government, he resigned both his aldermanic gown and seat in parliament. He then went to visit his estate in the West Indies, where, after remaining some time, he proceeded on his return to England, and died in the voyage on board the packet.

"Very different from the above individuals in almost every particular, was Brass Crosby, of whom there is hardly any thing more memorable, than that with Oliver, he demonstrated considerable firmness in the affair of the printers, and was with him committed to the Tower, for a supposed breach of the privileges

leges of parliament. But he was a man of no talents, of coarse appearance, and rude manners.

"To the above conclave also belonged Richard Beckford, a natural son of the celebrated Alderman Beckford, and a mighty lover of liberty; but he was also no less famous as a lover of something else, and that was of eating and drinking. If there shall be any one surviving who personally knew, and can remember him, they will allow that seldom has a more worthy candidate been seen for a place at the Round Table of the Knights of Heliogabalus.

"His prowess in this way was enormous. If he had only two bottles of Madeira at dinner, he thought himself stinted, and even after a more copious portion, would not unfrequently go in the evening to some of the fashionable club-houses in the vicinity of St. James's-street, and repeat the dose. He was a remarkably large uncouth man, and had a convulsive infirmity in his head and neck, which made conversation with him exceedingly unpleasant.

"Of colonel Barré and lord Shelburne, it must be unnecessary to say any thing. They might be considered as the fulcrum, upon which this political association rested; but there is one individual of whom it may be expedient to say a little more, and this was G——e B——s. He was a most perfect, noisy, turbulent demagogue; a great clamourer for liberty, and like all such, sour, surly, and tyrannical in his own family. He expressed a great contempt for women generally, and appeared to have had a remarkable aversion to what are considered as female accomplishments. In consequence of these absurd prejudices, he was particularly harsh to his wife and daughters, and refused the latter the opportunity of acquiring the commonest and more essential attainments. They trembled at his appearance, and exulted, with unaffected satisfaction, whenever any unexpected incident detained him from his family.

"He was what in city language is termed a deputy, that is, the representative of the alderman of the ward, in his absence. He was a man of strong sense, and by flattering his vanity, he was found exceedingly useful to his party at Common Halls, Courts of Common Council, and Ward Meetings. It was the fashion of that day, and it appears to have continued to the present period, to insult Royalty by insolent attacks, under the names of petitions and remonstrances. On such occasions, the personage here alluded to was always a conspicuous performer.

"He had a son, who, bating that he inherited his paternal foibles, as they related to party and politics, was a sensible and accomplished gentleman. He, however, died prematurely.

"There were other individuals of this fraternity, but of less notorious importance. The ligature, however, which held them all together, was first weakened, and finally dissolved."

Browne the African Traveller.

"Much favourable notice is made in our memoranda relating to Browne, the African traveller, and many interesting conversations appear to have taken place on the subject of what he had actually observed, as well as of the expeditions which he meditated. He had the enthusiasm of visiting remote and less known regions so strong upon him, that the wonder is, he should so long remain at home after his return from Africa, however tedious, perilous, and painful, his residence at Darfour must necessarily have been.

"No man, by his personal manners and appearance, his gravity, firmness, good sense, and judgment, appears to have been better qualified for undertakings of the kind. His demeanour was precisely that of a Turk of the better order. He conversed slowly and sparingly, never descended to familiarity, observed each and all of the company as if with jealousy and suspicion. But when this wore off, and intimacy was established, he was exceedingly communicative, and readily discussed the subjects about which he was most anxious, and best qualified, to impart information.

"After much and long deliberation upon the subject, he finally determined upon the expedition, in the prosecution of which he lost his life. He proceeded by Malta to Smyrna, and from thence through Asia Minor, Amassya, Tokat and Armenia to Tebriz. At this place he remained a few weeks, expecting the arrival of the English ambassador from Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana. He lived with Sir G. O. some time at Tebriz, who gave him letters to Naserraddin Mirza, son of Beg Ján, king of Boccara, and to Ahmed Ali Mirza, the king of Persia's son, the governor of Khorasan, and residing at Meshhed.

"The Ambassador, moreover, procured him passports and letters from the king of Persia and his ministers, and a Mehmander, who would have been responsible for his life and property, as far as the Persian dominions extend. His impatience, however, to proceed, induced him to leave the king's camp some hours before his Mehmander was ready, and being in a Turkish dress, and not known to be an Englishman, he was murdered by some wandering tribe of Kurds or Turkomans, near the Kaflán Kuh, or Tiger Mountain, after having crossed the river Kezel Ouzan, which separates Azerbarján (Atropatera) from Irak.

"He had no English attendant, but whilst he remained in Persia, kept one groom and one valet, both Persians, and had two or three horses.

"He left no papers or memoranda behind him when he departed from Tebriz, but a few dispersed fragments were collected at the spot where the body was found.

"He often avowed his intention of publishing his travels to Bokhara and Samarkand, and he purposed, had it been practicable, to return by the northern end of the Caspian sea, as he was to have gone by the southern end of it. The ambassador made such representations to the king of Persia, that both he and his

his son Abbas Mirza took the greatest pains to discover the assassins.

"Mr. B. was in appearance, and indeed in fact, one of the most reserved men in the world—cold, cautious, and wary; and yet, in this last journey, he was so impatient to proceed, that he not only refused to wait for the escort, which the ambassador undertook to provide for him, but he made a display of the gold which was to enable him to accomplish his purpose.

"This last fact, though strongly asserted, is so incompatible with his general habits and character, that it may well excite a suspicion of its accuracy. True it certainly is, that the same morning brought to England the news of his safe arrival at Tabriz, on his way to Kurdistan, and of his being murdered by the very band, who undertook to be his guides and protectors.

"The intelligence of his death came to England through Sonnerat, the celebrated French traveller. It is, however, to be hoped, that as some of his papers remain in private hands, the public will have, sooner or later, the benefit of his observations, as far as he was actually able to proceed.

"The annotations relating to Browne, in our manuscript, conclude with a paragraph, in which serious regret is expressed at his scepticism with respect to religious subjects. Indeed he appears to have been an avowed disciple of the school of Volney, and the other miscreant writers of that stamp.

"He has deformed and defaced his otherwise valuable publications, with some passages so bad as not to be transcribed; and some remarks which he has inserted on education, prove that he had adopted many of the wildest absurdities of the modern French philosophy.

"The following particulars concerning the latter part of the life of Browne, are added by him who revised and has superintended the publication of these volumes.

"His intention, as above stated, was to proceed from Tebriz to Khorasan, to the governor of which place he had the strongest recommendations from the English ambassador, then resident at Tebriz with the Persian monarch. This of itself being a distance of nearly a thousand miles, through a barbarous country, was an adventure sufficiently arduous to have deterred any other individual, of a less persevering and determined character. From Khorasan he purposed nevertheless to make his way to Samarcand, and thence to Turkistan, an undertaking which even to the best informed among the natives, appeared to be full of difficulty, as well as danger.

"Sir Gore Ouseley, with the greatest kindness and promptitude, undertook to procure him the protection of a Mahmendar, an officer of the king, under whose escort, as far as Chorasan, he not only would have had personal security, but horses and provisions every where at his command, at the expense of the Persian government.

"There was, however, some little delay in the equipment of this officer appointed to attend him, occasioned partly by the tardiness of the man himself, and partly by the negociation then near a conclusion between the courts of Russia and Persia, which necessarily occupied a considerable portion of the ambassador's time.

"Browne accordingly became impatient,

patient, and left Tebriz with two attendants only, directing the Mahmeudar to follow him. This officer having received his instructions, and apprehensive of the English ambassador's resentment, lost no time in his endeavour to overtake the traveller. Most unfortunately he found him within forty miles of the Persian monarch's camp, barbarously murdered. Plunder does not appear to have been the object, as Mr. Browne's papers, pistols, and effects, were recovered, and placed in the hands of Sir Gore Ouseley. His money, of which he had not a great deal, was certainly seized by his servant. But in all probability, he owed his death not so much to any improper display of his property, as to his invincible obstinacy with which he resisted all expostulation and remonstrance, in always wearing the Turkish dress. Now it happens that the hordes, by some of whom Browne was murdered, entertain the most deadly hatred and animosity against the Turks, for one of whom in all probability he was mistaken.

"Strict search was, however, made after his assassins, and a great number of the inhabitants of the district, where he died, were apprehended, upon whom the king of Persia, without any judicial proceeding, expressed to the ambassador his determination of inflicting the summary punishment of death. This, however, Sir Gore Ouseley would not permit.

"The surmise that he owed his death to the circumstance of his appearing as a Turk, is somewhat confirmed by the fact, that within a few months preceding this melancholy event, Sir William Ouseley, brother to the ambassador, and who accompanied him in his mission, passed this very spot without molestation.

"It is a subject of the deepest regret, and a most serious loss to literature, that Browne did not live to fulfil the object of his expedition. How well qualified he was to increase our stores of geographical information, his work on Africa sufficiently attested. Of the countries which he meditated to visit, with the view of describing, our information is very scanty as well as unsatisfactory. These were more particularly the regions of Chorasan, Boccara, Samarcand, &c. concerning which regions, our best books of geography communicate very little."

(Further particulars from another hand.)

"Notwithstanding all that has been said above, and the seeming attention and assistance paid to the English ambassador's endeavours to discover and punish Browne's assassins, there is too much reason to apprehend that he fell a victim to the jealousy of the Persian government. People in those remote countries, and the Mahometans more particularly, have no conception whatever of a person's undertaking the perils and fatigues of a long and distant journey, for the sake of intellectual or scientific improvement only. They invariably attach jealousy and suspicion to such a character wherever he appears, and impute to him, either political motives, or the desire of gain. The regions to which Browne directed his attention, were at the time in a very unquiet and unsettled state. The Persian sovereign considered his authority over them as precarious and insecure. The peace with Russia was not definitively concluded,

ed, and the government might, not improbably, entertain a suspicion, that Browne's motive was political, and not the avowed one of curiosity alone. Several subsequent incidents, circumstantially considered, very much tend to corroborate the idea, that the Persian ministers were not entirely innocent of the death of this unfortunate traveller.

"In the first place his arms were not touched; his gun, double-barrelled pistols, and weapons, were all preserved and carefully returned to the English ambassador. So also were his papers of every kind, and indeed each article of his property, except his money, which it was generally understood was seized by his servant and secretary.

"In the next place, one of our artillery-men, who was stationed at Ispahan, on some provocation he had received, neglect of pay, personal affront, or some other cause of offence, abruptly left the place, and undismayed by the danger and the distance, endeavoured to make his way to Tebriz, where the ambassador was then resident, in the court of the Persian monarch. He then proceeded, in spite of every obstacle, nearly to the spot where Browne was murdered, when he was stopped, as it should seem, by some of the miscreants, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of his countryman. They insisted upon his immediate return, which for a long time he refused to do, till at length they told him that if he did not, they would treat him as they did the Englishman the other day.

"Browne, when at Tebriz, had lived at the house of Colonel D * *, who commanded the artillery sent to Persia from this country. This gentleman was greatly affected at the news of Browne's death, and determined, if possible, to obtain his remains for burial. He accordingly availed himself of the influence he possessed, and obtained from the Persian ministers the necessary mandate, that Browne's remains should be delivered to the Colonel's messengers.

"He employed for this purpose a trusty serjeant, who proceeded to the spot. On producing the minister's orders to the principal person of the place, he was informed that the mandate was so peremptory, that it could not be resisted, but at the risk of his head, and he would immediately give the necessary directions for the bones to be collected. Much evasion was nevertheless practised, and so much time lost, that the honest serjeant became impatient, and declared that if what he came for was not immediately produced, he would return without them. At this moment, two men, with each a small burden, were seen approaching, who were declared to have with them what was wanted.

"They were delivered to the serjeant, who, as directed, rewarded the parties, and hastened to return. The English gentlemen had intended to come out in a body to meet the relics, had ordered a coffin covered with black velvet to receive them, and intended to inter them with the usual ceremonies of the church. But the serjeant had already returned, and deposited the charge in the officer's house. The surgeon of the British establishment undertook to examine the bones, and arrange them, but on closer inspection it appeared that a gross imposition had been practised. There was indeed a part of a skull, but the

the other bones were certainly not human, but belonged to some animal.

"Since the above was written, information has been received, that a gentleman, an intimate connexion of the traveller, has obtained possession of his papers, and of various documents relating to him and his meditated journies. These are methodizing and preparing for the press."

ARTICLE IV.—*The* LIFE *and* STUDIES *of* BENJAMIN WEST, *Esq. President of the Royal Academy of London, prior to his arrival in England; compiled from Materials furnished by himself. By John Galt.*

THIS work unites, in a very high degree, the two peculiar and most valuable purposes of biography. It points out the circumstances in Mr. West's early life, both of a personal and more general nature, that contributed to direct his thoughts to the science and the art of painting; and it blends a considerable portion of interest with this information, by the curious anecdotes which it contains relative to the early state of society in America, and the manners and conduct of the first Quaker settlers in Pennsylvania. The reflections of Mr. Galt are evidently the result of a vigorous and original mind, sometimes perhaps borne beyond the line of well-founded opinion and sound reasoning by a love of singular notions. His taste in the fine arts is grounded not more on just feeling than on correct principles, which he traces with much acuteness in all their branches: and his style is distinguished by its singular adaptation to his subject, both when it is simply narrative, and when it rises to the eloquence of strong feeling and pure taste, or to the dignity of philosophical remark.

MR. WEST'S EARLY YEARS.

"THE first six years of Benjamin's life passed away in calm uniformity; leaving only the placid remembrance of enjoyment. In the month of June 1745, one of his sisters, who had been married some time before, and who had a daughter, came with her infant to spend a few days at her father's. When the child was asleep in the cradle, Mrs. West invited her daughter to gather flowers in the garden, and committed the infant to the care of Benjamin during their absence; giving him a fan to flap away the flies from molesting his little charge. After some time the child happened to smile in its sleep, and its beauty attracted his attention. He looked at it with a pleasure which he had never before experienced, and observing some paper on a table, together

gether with pens and red and black ink, he seized them with agitation, and endeavoured to delineate a portrait: although at this period he had never seen an engraving or a picture, and was only in the seventh year of his age.

"Hearing the approach of his mother and sister, he endeavoured to conceal what he had been doing; but the old lady observing his confusion, inquired what he was about, and requested him to show her the paper. He obeyed, entreating her not to be angry. Mrs. West, after looking some time at the drawing with evident pleasure, said to her daughter, "I declare he has made a likeness of little Sally," and kissed him with much fondness and satisfaction. This encouraged him to say, that if it would give her any pleasure, he would make pictures of the flowers which she held in her hand; for the instinct of his genius was now awakened, and he felt that he could imitate the forms of those things which pleased his sight.

"This curious incident deserves consideration in two points of view. The sketch must have had some merit, since the likeness was so obvious, indicating how early the hand of the young artist possessed the power of representing the observations of his eye. But it is still more remarkable as the birth of the fine arts in the New World, and as one of the few instances in the history of art, in which the first inspiration of genius can be distinctly traced to a particular circumstance. The drawing was shown by Mrs. West to her husband, who remembering the prediction of Peckover, was delighted with this early indication of talent in his son. But the fact, though in itself very curious, will appear still more remarkable, when the state of the country at that period, and the peculiar manners of the Quakers, are taken into consideration.

"The institutions of William Penn had been sacredly preserved by the descendants of the first settlers, with whom the remembrance of the causes which had led their ancestors to forsake their native country, was cherished like the traditions of religion, and became a motive to themselves, for indulging in the exercise of those blameless principles, which had been so obnoxious to the arrogant spirit of the Old World. The associates of the Wests and the Pearsons, considered the patriarchs of Pennsylvania as having been driven from England, because their endeavours to regulate their conduct by the example of Jesus Christ, mortified the temporal pretensions of those who satisfied themselves with attempting to repeat his doctrines; and they thought that the asylum in America was chosen, to facilitate the enjoyment of that affectionate intercourse which their tenets enjoined, free from the military predilections and political jealousies of Europe. The effect of this opinion tended to produce a state of society more peaceful and pleasing than the world had ever before exhibited. When the American poets shall in future times celebrate the golden age of their country, they will draw their descriptions from the authentic history of Pennsylvania in the reign of King George the Second.

"From the first emigration in 1681, the colony had continued to thrive with a rapidity unknown to the other European settlements. It was blessed in the maxims upon which it had been founded, and richly exhibited

bibited the fruits of their beneficent operation. At the birth of Benjamin West it had obtained great wealth, and the population was increasing much more vigorously than the ordinary re-production of the human species in any other part of the world. In the houses of the principal families, the patricians of the country, unlimited hospitality formed a part of their regular economy. It was the custom among those who resided near the highways, after supper and the last religious exercise of the evening, to make a large fire in the hall, and to set out a table with refreshments for such travellers as might have occasion to pass during the night; and when the families assembled in the morning they seldom found that their tables had been unvisited. This was particularly the case at Springfield. Poverty was never heard of in the land. The disposition to common charity having no objects, was blended with the domestic affections, and rendered the ties of friendship and kindred stronger and dearer. Acts of liberality were frequently performed to an extent that would have beggared the munificence of the Old World. With all these delightful indications of a better order of things, society in Pennsylvania retained, at this time, many of those respectable prejudices which gave a venerable grace to manners, and are regarded by the practical philosopher as little inferior in dignity to the virtues. William Penn was proud of his distinguished parentage, and many of his friends traced their lineage to the antient and noble families of England. In their descendants the pride of ancestry was so tempered with the meekness of their religious tenets, that it lent a kind of patriarchal dignity to their benevolence.

"In beautiful contrast to the systematic morality of the new inhabitants, was the simplicity of the Indians, who mingled safe and harmless among the Friends. In the annual visits which they were in the practice of paying to the plantations, they raised their huts in the fields and orchards without asking leave, nor were they ever molested. Voltaire has observed, that the treaty which was concluded between the Indians and William Penn was the first public contract which connected the inhabitants of the Old and New World together, and, though not ratified by oaths, and without invoking the Trinity, is still the only treaty that has never been broken. It may be further said, that Pennsylvania is the first country which has not been subdued by the sword, for the inhabitants were conquered by the force of Christian benevolence.

"When the great founder of the state marked out the site of Philadelphia in the woods, he allotted a piece of ground for a public library. It was his opinion, that although the labour of clearing the country would long employ the settlers, hours of relaxation would still be requisite; and, with his usual sagacity, he judged that the reading of books was more conducive to good morals and to the formation of just sentiments, than any other species of amusement. The different counties afterwards instituted libraries, which the townships have also imitated: where the population was insufficient to establish a large collection of books, the neighbouring families formed themselves into societies for procuring the popular publications. But in these arrangements

ments for cultivating the powers of the understanding, no provision was made, during the reign of George the Second, for improving the faculties of taste. The works of which the libraries then consisted, treated of useful and practical subjects. It was the policy of the Quakers to make mankind wiser and better; and they thought that, as the passions are the springs of all moral evil when in a state of excitement, whatever tends to awaken them is unfavourable to that placid tenour of mind which they wished to see diffused throughout the world. This notion is prudent, perhaps judicious; but works of imagination may be rendered subservient to the same purpose. Every thing in Pennsylvania was thus unpropitious to the fine arts. There were no cares in the bosoms of individuals to require public diversions, nor any emulation in the expenditure of wealth to encourage the ornamental manufactures. In the whole Christian world no spot was apparently so unlikely to produce a painter as Pennsylvania. It might, indeed, be supposed, according to a popular opinion, that a youth, reared among the concentrating elements of a new state, in the midst of boundless forests, tremendous waterfalls, and mountains whose summits were inaccessible to "the lightest foot and wildest wing," was the most favourable situation to imbibe the enthusiasm either of poetry or of painting, if scenery and such accidental circumstances are to be regarded as every thing, and original character as nothing. But it may reasonably be doubted if ever natural scenery has any assignable influence on the productions of genius. The idea has probably arisen from the impression which the magnificence of nature makes on persons of cultivated minds, who fall into the mistake of considering the elevated emotions arising in reality from their own associations, as being naturally connected with the objects that excite them. Of all the nations of Europe the Swiss are the least poetical, and yet the scenery of no other country seems so well calculated as that of Switzerland to awaken the imagination; and Shakespeare, the greatest of all modern poets, was brought up in one of the least picturesque districts of England.

"Soon after the occurrence of the incident which has given rise to these observations, the young artist was sent to a school in the neighbourhood. During his hours of leisure he was permitted to draw with pen and ink; for it did not occur to any of the family to provide him with better materials. In the course of the summer a party of Indians came to pay their annual visit to Springfield, and being amused with the sketches of birds and flowers which Benjamin shewed them, they taught him to prepare the red and yellow colours with which they painted their ornaments. To these his mother added blue, by giving him a piece of indigo, so that he was thus put in possession of the three primary colours. The fancy is disposed to expatiate on this interesting fact; for the mythologies of antiquity furnish no allegory more beautiful; and a painter who would embody the metaphor of an artist instructed by nature, could scarcely imagine any thing more picturesque than the real incident of the Indians instructing West to prepare the prismatic colours. The Indians also taught him to be an expert archer, and he was sometimes

times in the practice of shooting birds for models, when he thought that their plumage would look well in a picture.

"His drawings at length attracted the attention of the neighbours; and some of them happening to regret that the artist had no pencils, he inquired what kind of things these were, and they were described to him as small brushes made of camels' hair fastened in a quill. As there were, however, no camels in America, he could not think of any substitute, till he happened to cast his eyes on a black cat, the favourite of his father; when, in the tapering fur of her tail, he discovered the means of supplying what he wanted. He immediately armed himself with his mother's scissors, and, laying hold of grimalkin with all due caution, and a proper attention to her feelings, cut off the fur at the end of her tail, and with this made his first pencil. But the tail only furnished him with one, which did not last long, and he soon stood in need of a further supply. He then had recourse to the animal's back, his depredations upon which were so frequently repeated, that his father observed the altered appearance of his favourite, and lamented it as the effect of disease. The artist, with suitable marks of contrition, informed him of the true cause; and the old gentleman was so much amused with his ingenuity, that if he rebuked him, it was certainly not in anger.

"Anecdotes of this kind, trifling as they may seem, have an interest independent of the insight they afford into the character to which they relate. It will often appear, upon a careful study of authentic biography, that the means of giving body and effect to their conceptions, are rarely withheld from men of genius. If the circumstances of fortune are unfavourable, nature instructs them to draw assistance immediately from herself, by endowing them with the faculty of perceiving a fitness and correspondence in things which no force of reasoning, founded on the experience of others, could enable them to discover. This aptness is, perhaps, the surest indication of the possession of original talent. There are minds of a high class to which the world, in the latitude of its expressions, often ascribes genius, but which possess only a superior capacity for the application of other men's notions, unconnected with any unusual portion of the inventive faculty.

"In the following year Mr. Pennington, a merchant of Philadelphia, who was related to the West family, came to pay a visit to Mr. West. This gentleman was also a member of the Society of Friends, and though strictly attentive to the peculiar observances of the sect, was a man of pleasant temper and indulgent dispositions. He noticed the drawings of birds and flowers round the room, unusual ornaments in the house of a Quaker; and heard with surprise that they were the work of his little cousin. Of their merit as pictures he did not pretend to judge, but he thought them wonderful productions for a boy only entering on his eighth year, and being told with what imperfect materials they had been executed, he promised to send the young artist a box of paints and pencils from the city. On his return home he fulfilled his engagement, and at the bottom of the box placed

placed several pieces of canvass prepared for the easel, and six engravings by Grevling.

"The arrival of the box was an æra in the history of the painter and his art. It was received with feelings of delight which only a similar mind can justly appreciate. He opened it, and in the colours, the oils, and the pencils, found all his wants supplied, even beyond his utmost conceptions. But who can describe the surprise with which he beheld the engravings: he who had never seen any picture but his own drawings, nor knew that such an art as the engraver's existed! He sat over the box with enamoured eyes; his mind was in a flutter of joy; and he could not refrain from constantly touching the different articles, to ascertain that they were real. At night he placed the box on a chair near his bed, and as often as he was overpowered by sleep, he started suddenly and stretched out his hand to satisfy himself that the possession of such a treasure was not merely a pleasing dream. He rose at the dawn of day, and carried the box to a room in the garret, where he spread a canvass, prepared a pallet, and immediately began to imitate the figures in the engravings. Enchanted by his art he forgot the school hours, and joined the family at dinner without mentioning the employment in which he had been engaged. In the afternoon he again retired to his study in the garret; and for several days successively he thus withdrew and devoted himself to painting. The schoolmaster, observing his absence, sent to ask the cause of it. Mrs. West, affecting not to take any particular notice of the message, recollected that she had seen Benjamin going up stairs every morning, and suspecting that the box occasioned his neglect of the school, went to the garret, and found him employed on the picture. Her anger was appeased by the sight of his performance, and changed to a very different feeling. She saw, not a mere copy, but a composition from two of the engravings. With no other guide than that delicacy of sight which renders the painter's eye, with respect to colours, what the musician's ear is with respect to sounds, he had formed a picture as complete, in the scientific arrangement of the tints, notwithstanding the necessary imperfection of the pencilling, as the most skilful artist could have painted, assisted by the precepts of Newton. She kissed him with transports of affection, and assured him that she would not only intercede with his father to pardon him for having absented himself from school, but would go herself to the master, and beg that he might not be punished. The delightful encouragement which this well-judged kindness afforded to the young painter may be easily imagined; but who will not regret that the mother's over-anxious admiration would not suffer him to finish the picture, lest he should spoil what was already in her opinion perfect, even with half the canvass bare? Sixty-seven years afterwards the writer of these Memoirs had the gratification to see this piece in the same room with the sublime painting of "Christ Rejected," on which occasion the painter declared to him that there were inventive touches of art in his first and juvenile essay, which, with all his subsequent knowledge and experience, he had not been able to surpass."

Search for the Bones of Bradock's Army.

"After the destruction of General Bradock's army, the Pennsylvanians being alarmed at the defenceless state in which they were placed by that calamity, the Assembly of the Province resolved to embody a militia force; and Mr. Wayne, who has been already mentioned, was appointed colonel of the regiment raised in Chester County. This defensive measure announced that the golden age of the country was past, and the change felt by the peaceful Quakers indicated an alteration in their harmless manners. West, among others, went to view the first muster of the troops under the command of Colonel Wayne, and the sight of men in arms, their purpose and array, warmed his lively imagination with military enthusiasm. In conjunction with a son of the Colonel, a boy of his own age, with whom he had become acquainted, he procured a gun, and determined also to be a soldier. Young Wayne was drilled by the diciplinarians of his father's corps, and he, in turn, exercised West, who, being more alert and active, soon obtained a decided superiority; but what different destinies were attached to them! West has attained, in the intellectual discipline of the arts of peace, an enviable reputation; and Wayne, who was inferior to him in the manual of the soldier, became an illustrious commander, and partook, as the companion in arms of Washington, of the glory of having established the independence of America.

"The martial preparations inspired all the youths of Pennsylvania with the love of arms, and diffused the principles of that military spirit which was afterwards exerted with so much effect against the erroneous policy of the mother country. West, soon after his drilling under young Wayne, visited Lancaster; and the boys of that town having formed themselves into a little corps, made choice of him for their commandant. Among others who caught the spirit of the time, was his brother Samuel, who possessed a bold character and an enterprising disposition. He was about six years older than the artist, and, being appointed a captain in Colonel Wayne's regiment, joined the troops under the command of General Forbes, who was sent to repair the disasters which had happened to the unfortunate Bradock.

"After the taking of Fort Duane, to which the new name of Pittsburgh was given in compliment to the minister of the day, General Forbes resolved to search for the relics of Bradock's army. As the European soldiers were not so well qualified to explore the forests, Captain West was appointed, with his company of American sharpshooters, to assist in the execution of this duty; and a party of Indian warriors, who had returned to the British interest, were requested to conduct him to the places where the bones of the slain were likely to be found. In this solemn and affecting duty several officers belonging to the 42d regiment accompanied the detachment, and with them Major Sir Peter Halket, who had lost his father and a brother in the fatal destruction of the army. It might have been thought

thought a hopeless task that he should be able to discriminate their remains from the common relics of the other soldiers; but he was induced to think otherwise, as one of the Indian warriors assured him that he had seen an officer fall near a remarkable tree, which he thought he could still discover; informing him at the same time, that the incident was impressed on his memory by observing a young subaltern, who, in running to the officer's assistance, was also shot dead on his reaching the spot, and fell across the other's body. The Major had a mournful conviction in his own mind that the two officers were his father and brother, and, indeed, it was chiefly owing to his anxiety on the subject, that this pious expedition, the second of the kind that History records, was undertaken.

"Captain West and his companions proceeded through the woods and along the banks of the river towards the scene of the battle. The Indians regarded the expedition as a religious service, and guided the troops with awe, and in profound silence. The soldiers were affected with sentiments not less serious; and as they explored the bewildering labyrinths of those vast forests, their hearts were often melted with inexpressible sorrow; for they frequently found skeletons lying across the trunks of fallen trees, a mournful proof to their imaginations that the men who sat there, had perished of hunger, in vainly attempting to find their way to the plantations. Sometimes their feelings were raised to the utmost pitch of horror by the sight of sculls and bones scattered on the ground—a certain indication that the bodies had been devoured by wild beasts; and in other places they saw the blackness of ashes amidst the relics,—the tremendous evidence of atrocious rites.

"At length they reached a turn of the river not far from the principal scene of destruction, and the Indian who remembered the death of the two officers, stopped; the detachment also halted. He then looked around in quest of some object which might recall, distinctly, his recollection of the ground, and suddenly darted into the wood. The soldiers rested their arms without speaking. A shrill cry was soon after heard; and the other guides made signs for the troops to follow them towards the spot from which it came. In the course of a short time they reached the Indian warrior, who, by his cry, had announced to his companions that he had found the place where he was posted on the day of battle. As the troops approached, he pointed to the tree under which the officers had fallen. Captain West halted his men round the spot, and with Sir Peter Halket and the other officers, formed a circle, while the Indians removed the leaves which thickly covered the ground. The skeletons were found, as the Indian expected, lying across each other. The officers having looked at them some time, the Major said, that as his father had an artificial tooth, he thought he might be able to ascertain if they were indeed his bones and those of his brother. The Indians were, therefore, ordered to remove the skeleton of the youth, and to bring to view that of the old officer. This was immediately done, and after a short examination, Major Halket exclaimed, "It is my father!" and fell back into the arms of his companions. The pioneers then dug a grave, and the bones

bones being laid in it together, a highland plaid was spread over them, and they were interred with the customary honours.

"When Lord Grosvenor bought the picture of the death of Wolfe, Mr. West mentioned to him the finding of the bones of Bradock's army as a pictorial subject capable of being managed with great effect. The gloom of the vast forest, the naked and simple Indians supporting the skeletons, the grief of the son on recognizing the relics of his father, the subdued melancholy of the spectators, and the picturesque garb of the Pennsylvanian sharpshooters, undoubtedly furnished topics capable of every effect which the pencil could bestow, or the imagination require in the treatment of so sublime a scene. His lordship admitted, that in possessing so affecting an incident as the discovery of the bones of the Halkets, it was superior even to that of the search for the remains of the army of Varus; the transaction, however, being little known, and not recorded by any historian, he thought it would not be interesting to the public. Other engagements have since prevented Mr. West from attempting it on his own account."

Mr. West's first Arrival at Rome.

"It was on the 10th of July, 1760, that he arrived at Rome. The French Courier conducted him to a hotel, and, having mentioned in the house that he was an American, and a Quaker, come to study the fine arts, the circumstance seemed so extraordinary, that it reached the ears of Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Grantham, who immediately found himself possessed by an irresistible desire to see him; and who, before he had time to dress or refresh himself, paid him a visit, and insisted that he should dine with him. In the course of dinner, that gentleman inquired what letters of introduction the Artist had brought with him; and West having informed him, he observed it was somewhat remarkable that the whole of them should be addressed to his most particular friends, adding, that as he was engaged to meet them at a party in the evening, he expected West would accompany him. This attention and frankness was acknowledged as it deserved to be, and is remembered by the Artist among those fortunate incidents which have rendered the recollection of his past life so pleasant, as scarcely to leave a wish for any part of it to have been spent otherwise than it was. At the hour appointed, Mr. Robinson conducted him to the house of Mr. Crispigné, an English gentleman who had long resided at Rome, where the evening party was held.

"Among the distinguished persons whom Mr. West found in the company, was the celebrated Cardinal Albani. His eminence, although quite blind, had acquired, by the exquisite delicacy of his touch, and the combining powers of his mind, such a sense of ancient beauty, that he excelled all the virtuosi then in Rome, in the correctness of his knowledge of the verity and peculiarities of the smallest medals and intaglios. Mr. Robinson conducted

conducted the Artist to the inner apartment, where the Cardinal was sitting, and said, "I have the honour to present a young American, who has a letter of introduction to your Eminence, and who has come to Italy for the purpose of studying the fine arts." The Cardinal fancying that the American must be an Indian, exclaimed, "Is he black or white?" and on being told that he was very fair, "What as fair as I am?" cried the Cardinal, still more surprised. This latter expression excited a good deal of mirth at the Cardinal's expense, for his complexion was of the darkest Italian olive, and West's was even of more than the usual degree of English fairness. For some time after, if it be not still in use, the expression of "as fair as the Cardinal" acquired proverbial currency in the Roman conversations, applied to persons who had any inordinate conceit of their own beauty.

"The Cardinal, after some other short questions, invited West to come near him, and running his hands over his features, still more attracted the attention of the company to the stranger, by the admiration which he expressed at the form of his head. This occasioned inquiries respecting the youth; and the Italians concluding that, as he was an American, he must, of course, have received the education of a savage, became curious to witness the effect which the works of art in the Belvidere and Vatican would produce on him. The whole company, which consisted of the principal Roman nobility, and strangers of distinction then in Rome, were interested in the event; and it was arranged in the course of the evening that on the following morning they should accompany Mr. Robinson and his protegé to the palaces.

"At the hour appointed, the company assembled; and a procession, consisting of upwards of thirty of the most magnificent equipages in the capital of Christendom, and filled with some of the most erudite characters in Europe, conducted the young Quaker to view the master-pieces of art. It was agreed that the Apollo should be first submitted to his view, because it was the most perfect work among all the ornaments of Rome, and, consequently, the best calculated to produce that effect which the company were anxious to witness. The statue then stood in a case, enclosed with doors, which could be so opened as to disclose it at once to full view. West was placed in the situation where it was seen to the most advantage, and the spectators arranged themselves on each side. When the keeper threw open the doors, the Artist felt himself surprised with a sudden recollection altogether different from the gratification which he had expected; and without being aware of the force of what he said, exclaimed, "My God, how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior." The Italians, observing his surprise, and hearing the exclamation, requested Mr. Robinson to translate to them what he said; and they were excessively mortified to find that the god of their idolatry was compared to a savage. Mr. Robinson mentioned to West their chagrin, and asked him to give some more distinct explanation, by informing him what sort of people the Mohawk Indians were. He described to him their education; their dexterity with the bow and arrow; the admirable

mirable elasticity of their limbs; and how much their active life expands the chest, while the quick breathing of their speed in the chace, dilates the nostrils with that apparent consciousness of vigour which is so nobly depicted in the Apollo. "I have seen them often," added he, "standing in that very attitude, and pursuing, with an intense eye, the arrow which they had just discharged from the bow." This descriptive explanation did not lose by Mr. Robinson's translation. The Italians were delighted, and allowed that a better criticism had rarely been pronounced on the merits of the statue. The view of the other great works did not awaken the same vivid feelings. Those of Raphael, in the Vatican, did not at first particularly interest him; nor was it until he had often visited them alone, and studied them by himself, that he could appreciate the fulness of their excellence. His first view of the works of Michael Angelo, was still less satisfactory: indeed, he continued always to think, that, with the single exception of the Moses, that Artist had not succeeded in giving a probable character to any of his subjects, notwithstanding the masterly hand and mind which pervade the weakest of his productions.

"Among the first object which particularly interested Mr. West, and which he never ceased to revisit day after day with increasing pleasure, were the celebrated statues ascribed to Phidias, on the Monte Cavallo. The action of the human figure appeared to him so majestic, that it seemed to throw, as it were, a visible kind of awe into the very atmosphere, and over all the surrounding buildings. But the smallness of the horse struck him as exceedingly preposterous. He had often examined it before the idea occurred to him that it was probably reduced according to some unknown principle of ancient art; and in this notion he was confirmed, by observing something of the same kind in the relative proportion of human figures and animals, on the different gems and bas-reliefs to which his attention was subsequently directed. The antient sculptors uniformly seemed to consider the human figure as the chief object, and sacrificed, to give it effect, the proportions of inferior parts. The author of the group on the Monte Cavallo, in the opinion of Mr. West, represented the horse smaller than the natural size, in order to augment the grandeur of the man. How far this notion, as the principle of a rule, may be sound, it would be unnecessary, perhaps impertinent, to inquire here; but its justness as applicable to the sculptures of antiquity, is abundantly verified by the bas-reliefs brought from the Parthenon of Athens. It is, indeed, so admitted a feature of antient art, as to be regarded by some critics as having for its object the same effect in sculpture, which is attained by light and shadow in painting.—In a picture, the Artist, by a judicious obscurity, so veils the magnitude of the car in which he places a victor, that notwithstanding its size, it may not appear the principal object; but this artifice is denied to the sculptor, who is necessitated to diminish the size of those things which are of least importance, in order to give dignity to the predominant figures. Raphael, in making the boat so small in the miraculous draught of fishes, is thought to have

have injudiciously applied this rule of antient sculpture; for he ought to have accomplished, by foreshortening, the same effect which he meant to produce by diminishing the size. It should, however, be observed, that great doubts are entertained if the statues on the Monte Cavallo were originally integral parts of the same group; but although this doubt may be well founded, it will not invalidate the supposed general principle of the antient sculptors, corroborated as it is by innumerable examples.

"In the evening, after visiting the palaces, Mr. Robinson carried Mr. West to see a grand religious ceremony in one of the churches. Hitherto he was acquainted only with the simple worship of the Quakers. The pomp of the papal ceremonies was as much beyond his comprehension, as the overpowering excellence of the music surpassed his utmost expectations. Undoubtedly, in all the spectacles and amusements of Rome, he possessed a keener sense of enjoyment, arising from the simplicity of his education, than most other travellers. That same sensibility to the beauty of forms and colours which had awakened his genius for painting, was, probably, accompanied with a general superior susceptibility of the other organs as well as the sight; for it is observed that a taste for any one of the fine arts is connected with a general predilection for them all. But neither the Apollo, the Vatican, nor the pomp of the Catholic ritual, excited his feelings to so great a degree as the spectacle which presented itself to his view around the portico of the church. Bred in the universal prosperity of Pennsylvania, where the benevolence of the human bosom was only employed in acts of hospitality and mutual kindness, he had never witnessed any spectacle of beggary, nor had he ever heard the name of God uttered to second an entreaty for alms. Here, however, all the lazars and the wretched in Rome were collected together; hundreds of young and old in that extreme of squalor, nakedness, and disease, which affrights the English traveller in Italy, were seen on all sides; and their importunities and cries, for the love of God, and the mercy of Christ, to relieve them, thrilled in his ears, and smote upon his heart to such a degree, that his joints became as it were loosened, and his legs scarcely able to support him. Many of the beggars knew Mr. Robinson, and seeing him accompanied by a stranger, an Englishman, as they concluded the Artist to be from his appearance, surrounded them with confidence and clamours.

"As they returned from the church, a woman somewhat advanced in life, and of a better appearance than the generality of the beggars, followed them, and Mr. West gave her a small piece of copper money, the first Roman coin which he had received in change, the relative value of which to the other coins of the country was unknown to him. Shortly afterwards they were joined by some of the Italians, whom they had seen in the morning, and while they were conversing together, he felt some one pull his coat, and turned round. It was the poor woman to whom he had given the piece of copper money. She held out in her hand several smaller pieces, and as he did not understand her language, he concluded that she was chiding him for having given her such a trifle,

trifle, and coloured deeply with the idea. His English friend, observing his confusion, inquired what he had given her, and he answered that he did not know, but it was a piece of money which he had received in change. Robinson, after a short conversation with the beggar, told Mr. West that she had asked him to give her a farthing. "But as you gave her a two-penny piece," said he, "she has brought you the change." This instance of humble honesty, contrasted with the awful mass of misery with which it was united, gave him a favourable idea of the latent sentiments of the Italians. How much, indeed, is the character of that people traduced by the rest of Europe! How often is the traveller in Italy, when he dreads the approach of robbers, and prepares against murder, surprised at the bountiful disposition of the common Italians, and made to blush at having applied the charges against a few criminals to the character of a whole people—without reflecting that the nation is only weak because it is subdivided."

ARTICLE V.—BIOGRAPHIA LITERARIA, *or Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions, by* S. T. COLERIDGE, Esq. 2 *Vols.*

THIS is a strange medley: mysticism, German metaphysics, or metaphysics, if possible, still more obscure and unintelligible; criticism some parts acute, in good taste, and sound; other parts as unintelligible as the metaphysics; and a very small portion of literary biography, make up this work. In the midst however of all this, there are passages written with very considerable powers of mind, and in a style of impressive eloquence; so that it may be characterised as exhibiting the genius, turn of thought, and peculiar feelings and opinions of the Author in a very striking manner.

CHARACTER OF MR. SOUTHEY.

"FIRST then, with regard to Mr. Southey. I well remember the general reception of his earlier publications: viz. the poems published with Mr. Lovell under the names of Moschus and Bion; the two volumes of poems under his own name, and the Joan of Arc. The censures of the critics by profession are extant, and may be easily referred to:—careless lines, inequality in the merit of the different poems, and (in the lighter works) a predilection for the strange and whimsical; in short, such faults as might have been anticipated in a young and rapid writer, were indeed sufficiently enforced. Nor was there at that time wanting a party-spirit to aggravate the defects of a poet, who with all the courage of uncorrupted youth had avowed his zeal for a cause, which he deemed that of liberty, and his abhorrence

of oppression by whatever name consecrated. But it was as little objected by others, as dreamt of by the poet himself, that he preferred careless and prosaic lines on rule and of forethought, or indeed that he pretended to any other art or theory of poetic diction, besides that which we may all learn from Horace, Quintilian, the admirable dialogue de Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ, or Strada's Prolusions; if indeed natural good sense and the early study of the best models in his own language had not infused the same maxims more securely, and, if I may venture the expression, more vitally. All that could have been fairly deduced was, that in his taste and estimation of writers Mr. Southey agreed far more with Warton, than with Johnson. Nor do I mean to deny, that at all times Mr. Southey was of the same mind with Sir Philip Sidney in preferring an excellent ballad in the humblest style of poetry to twenty indifferent poems that strutted in the highest. And by what have his works, published since then, been characterized, each more strikingly than the preceding, but by greater splendor, a deeper pathos, profounder reflections, and a more sustained dignity of language and of metre? Distant may the period be, but whenever the time shall come, when all his works shall be collected by some editor worthy to be his biographer, I trust that an excerpta of all the passages, in which his writings, name, and character have been attacked, from the pamphlets and periodical works of the last twenty years, may be an accompaniment. Yet that it would prove medicinal in after times, I dare not hope; for as long as there are readers to be delighted with calumny, there will be found reviewers to calumniate. And such readers will become in all probability more numerous, in proportion as a still greater diffusion of literature shall produce an increase of sciolists; and sciolism bring with it petulance and presumption. In times of old, books were as religious oracles; as literature advanced, they next became venerable preceptors; they then descended to the rank of instructive friends; and as their numbers increased, they sunk still lower to that of entertaining companions; and at present they seem degraded into culprits to hold up their hands at the bar of every self-elected, yet not the less peremptory, judge, who chooses to write from humour or interest, from enmity or arrogance, and to abide the decision (in the words of Jeremy Taylor) "of him that reads in malice, or him that reads after dinner."

"In the "Thalaba," the "Madoc," and still more evidently in the unique "Cid," the "Kehama," and as last, so best, the "Don Roderick;" Southey has given abundant proof, "se cogitâsse quàm sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum: nec persuadere sibi posse, non sæpe tractandum quod placere et semper et omnibus cupiat." Plin. Ep. Lib. 7, Ep. 17. But on the other hand I guess, that Mr. Southey was quite unable to comprehend, wherein could consist the crime or mischief of printing half a dozen or more playful poems; or to speak more generally, compositions which would be enjoyed or passed over, according as the taste and humour of the reader might chance to be; provided they contained nothing immoral. In the present age "perituræ parcere chartæ" is emphatically an unreasonable

sonable demand. The merest trifle, he ever sent abroad, had tenfold better claims to its ink and paper, than all the silly criticisms, which prove no more, than that the critic was not one of those, for whom the trifle was written; and than all the grave exhortations to a greater reverence for the public. As if the passive page of a book, by having an epigram or droggrel tale impressed on it, instantly assumed at once loco-motive power and a sort of ubiquity, so as to flutter and buz in the ear of the public to the sore annoyance of the said mysterious personage. But what gives an additional and more ludicrous absurdity to these lamentations is the curious fact, that if in a volume of poetry the critic should find a poem or passage which he deems more especially worthless, he is sure to select and reprint it in the review; by which, on his own grounds, he wastes as much more paper than the author, as the copies of a fashionable review are more numerous than those of the original book; in some, and those the most prominent instances, as ten thousand to five hundred. I know nothing that surpasses the vileness of deciding on the merits of a poet or painter (not by characteristic defects; for where there is genius, these always point to his characteristic beauties; but) by accidental failures or faulty passages; except the impudence of defending it, as the proper duty, and most instructive part, of criticism. Omit or pass slightly over, the expression, grace, and grouping of Raphael's figures; but ridicule in detail the knitting-needles and broom-twigs, that are to represent trees in his back grounds; and never let him hear the last of his gallipots! Admit, that the Allegro and Penseroso of Milton are not without merit; but repay yourself for this concession, by reprinting at length the two poems on the University Carrier! As a fair specimen of his sonnets, quote "a book was writ of late called Tetrachordon;" and as characteristic of his rhythm and metre cite his literal translation of the first and second psalm! In order to justify yourself, you need only assert, that had you dwelt chiefly on the beauties and excellencies of the poet, the admiration of these might seduce the attention of future writers from the objects of their love and wonder, to an imitation of the few poems and passages in which the poet was most unlike himself.

"But till reviews are conducted on far other principles, and with far other motives; till in the place of arbitrary dictation and petulant sneers, the reviewers support their decisions by reference to fixed canons of criticism, previously established and deduced from the nature of man; reflecting minds will pronounce it arrogance in them thus to announce themselves to men of letters, as the guides of their taste and judgment. To the purchaser and mere reader it is, at all events, an injustice. He who tells me that there are defects in a new work, tells me nothing which I should not have taken for granted without his information. But he, who points out and elucidates the beauties of an original work, does indeed give me interesting information, such as experience would not have authorised me in anticipating. And as to compositions which the authors themselves announce with "Hæc ipsi novimus esse nihil," why should we judge by a different rule two printed

works, only because the one author was alive, and the other in his grave? What literary man has not regretted the prudery of Spratt in refusing to let his friend Cowley appear in his slippers and dressing-gown? I am not perhaps the only one who has derived an innocent amusement from the riddles, conundrums, trisyllable lines, &c. &c. of Swift and his correspondents, in hours of languor, when to have read his more finished works would have been useless to myself, and, in some sort, an act of injustice to the author. But I am at a loss to conceive by what perversity of judgment, these relaxations of his genius could be employed to diminish his fame as the writer of "Gulliver's Travels," and the "Tale of a Tub." Had Mr. Southey written twice as many poems of inferior merit, or partial interest, as have enlivened the journals of the day, they would have added to his honour with good and wise men, not merely or principally as proving the versatility of his talents, but as evidences of the purity of that mind, which even in its levities never wrote a line which it need regret on any moral account.

"I have in imagination transferred to the future biographer the duty of contrasting Southey's fixed and well-earned fame, with the abuse and indefatigable hostility of his anonymous critics from his early youth to his ripest manhood. But I cannot think so ill of human nature as not to believe, that these critics have already taken shame to themselves, whether they consider the object of their abuse in his moral or his literary character. For reflect but on the variety and extent of his acquirements! He stands second to no man, either as an historian or as a bibliographer; and when I regard him, as a popular essayist, (for the articles of his compositions in the reviews are for the greater part essays on subjects of deep or curious interest, rather than criticisms on particular works,) I look in vain for any writer, who has conveyed so much information, from so many and such recondite sources, with so many just and original reflections, in a style so lively and poignant, yet so uniformly classical and perspicuous; no one in short who has combined so much wisdom with so much wit; so much truth and knowledge with so much life and fancy. His prose is always intelligible and always entertaining. In poetry he has attempted almost every species of composition known before, and he has added new ones; and if we except the highest lyric, (in which how few, how very few even of the greatest minds have been fortunate) he has attempted every species successfully: from the political song of the day, thrown off in the playful overflow of honest joy and patriotic exultation, to the wild ballad; from epistolary ease and graceful narrative, to the austere and impetuous moral declamation; from the pastoral claims and wild streaming lights of the "Thalaba," in which sentiment and imagery have given permanence even to the excitement of curiosity; and from the full blaze of the "Kehama," (a gallery of finished pictures in one splendid fancy piece, in which, notwithstanding, the moral grandeur rises gradually above the brilliance of the colouring and the boldness and novelty of the machinery) to the more sober beauties of the "Madoc;" and lastly, from the Madoc to his "Roderic," in which, retaining all his former excellencies

of

of a poet eminently inventive and picturesque, he has surpassed himself in language and metre, in the construction of the whole, and in the splendor of particular passages.

"Here then shall I conclude? No! The characters of the deceased, like the encomia on tombstones, as they are described with religious tenderness, so are they read, with allowing sympathy indeed, but yet with rational deduction. There are men, who deserve a higher record; men with whose characters it is the interest of their contemporaries, no less than that of posterity, to be made acquainted; while it is yet possible for impartial censure, and even for quick-sighted envy, to cross-examine the tale without offence to the courtesies of humanity; and while the eulogist detected in exaggeration or falsehood must pay the full penalty of his baseness in the contempt which brands the convicted flatterer. Publicly has Mr. Southey been reviled by men, who (I would feign hope for the honour of human nature) hurled fire-brands against a figure of their own imagination, publicly have his talents been depreciated, his principles denounced; as publicly do I therefore, who have known him intimately, deem it my duty to leave recorded, that it is Southey's almost unexampled felicity, to possess the best gifts of talent and genius free from all their characteristic defects. To those who remember the state of our public schools and universities some twenty years past, it will appear no ordinary praise in any man to have passed from innocence into virtue, not only free from all vicious habits, but unstained by one act of intemperance, or or the degradations akin to intemperance. That scheme of head, heart, and habitual demeanour, which in his early manhood, and first controversial writings, Milton, claiming the privilege of self-defence, asserts of himself, and challenges his calumniators to disprove; this will his school-mates, his fellow-collegians, and his maturer friends, with a confidence proportioned to the intimacy of their knowledge, bear witness to, as again realized in the life of Robert Southey. But still more striking to those, who by biography or by their own experience are familiar with the general habits of genius, will appear the poet's matchless industry and perseverance in his pursuits; the worthiness and dignity of those pursuits; his generous submission to tasks of transitory interest, or such as his genius alone could make otherwise; and that having thus more than satisfied the claims of affection or prudence, he should yet have made for himself time and power, to achieve more, and in more various departments than almost any other writer has done, though employed wholly on subjects of his own choice and ambition. But as Southey possesses, and is not possessed by, his genius, even so is he master even of his virtues. The regular and methodical tenour of his daily labours, which would be deemed rare in the most mechanical pursuits, and might be envied by the mere man of business, loses all semblance of formality in the dignified simplicity of his manners, in the spring and healthful cheerfulness of his spirits. Always employed, his friends find him always at leisure. No less punctual in trifles, than stedfast in the performance of highest duties, he inflicts none of those small pains and discomforts which irregular men scatter

scatter about them, and which in the aggregate so often become formidable obstacles both to happiness and utility; while on the contrary he bestows all the pleasures, and inspires all that ease of mind on those around him or connected with him, which perfect consistency, and (if such a word might be framed) absolute reliability, equally in small as in great concerns, cannot but inspire and bestow: when this too is softened without being weakened by kindness and gentleness. I know few men who so well deserve the character which an antient attributes to Marcus Cato, namely, that he was likest virtue, inasmuch as he seemed to act aright, not in obedience to any law or outward motive, but by the necessity of a happy nature, which could not act otherwise. As son, brother, husband, father, master, friend, he moves with firm yet light steps, alike unostentatious, and alike exemplary. As a writer, he has uniformly made his talents subservient to the best interests of humanity, of public virtue, and domestic piety; his cause has ever been the cause of pure religion and of liberty, of national independence and of national illumination. When future critics shall weigh out his guerdon of praise and censure, it will be Southey the poet only, that will supply them with the scanty materials for the latter. They will likewise not fail to record, that as no man was ever a more constant friend, never had poet more friends and honourers among the good of all parties; and that quacks in education, quacks in politics, and quacks in criticism were his only enemies."

Mr. Coleridge's first Outset as an Author.

"A learned and exemplary old clergyman, who many years ago went to his reward, followed by the regrets and blessings of his flock, published at his own expense two volumes octavo, entitled, a New Theory of Redemption. The work was most severely handled in the Monthly or Critical Review, I forget which, and this unprovoked hostility became the good old man's favourite topic of conversation among his friends. Well! (he used to exclaim) in the second edition, I shall have an opportunity of exposing both the ignorance and the malignity of the anonymous critic. Two or three years however passed by without any tidings from the bookseller, who had undertaken the printing and publication of the work, and who was perfectly at his ease, as the author was known to be a man of large property. At length the accounts were written for; and in the course of a few weeks they were presented by the rider for the house, in person. My old friend put on his spectacles, and holding the scroll with no very firm hand, began—Paper, so much: O moderate enough—not at all beyond my expectation! Printing, so much: well! moderate enough! Stitching, covers, advertisements, carriage, &c. so much.—Still nothing amiss. *Selleridge* (for orthography is no necessary part of a bookseller's literary acquirements) 3l. 3s. Bless me! only three guineas

neas for the what d'ye call it? the *selleridge?* No more, Sir! replied the rider. Nay, but that is too moderate! rejoined my old friend. Only three guineas for selling a thousand copies of a work in two volumes? O Sir! (cries the young traveller) you have mistaken the word. There have been none of them sold; they have been sent back from London long ago; and this 3l. 3s. is for the cellaridge, or warehouse-room in our book cellar. The work was in consequence preferred from the ominous cellar of the publishers', to the author's garret; and on presenting a copy to an acquaintance, the old gentleman used to tell the anecdote with great humour, and still greater good-nature.

"With equal lack of worldly knowledge, I was a far more than equal sufferer for it, at the very outset of my authorship. Toward the close of the first year from the time, that in an inauspicious hour I left the friendly cloisters, and the happy grove of quiet, ever-honoured Jesus College, Cambridge, I was persuaded by sundry philanthropists and anti-polemists to set on foot a periodical work, entitled The Watchman, that (according to the general motto of the work) all might know the truth, and that the truth might make us free! In order to exempt it from the stamp-tax, and likewise to contribute as little as possible to the supposed guilt of a war against freedom, it was to be published on every eighth day, thirty-two pages, large octavo, closely printed, and price only fourpence. Accordingly with a flaming prospectus, "Knowledge is Power," &c. to try the state of the political atmosphere, and so forth, I set off on a tour to the North, from Bristol to Sheffield, for the purpose of procuring customers, preaching by the way in most of the great towns, as an hireless volunteer, in a blue coat and white waistcoat, that not a rag of the woman of Babylon might be seen on me. For I was, at that time and long after, though a Trinitarian (i. e. ad normam Platonis) in philosophy, yet a zealous Unitarian in religion; more accurately, I was a *psilanthropist*, one of those who believe our Lord to have been the real son of Joseph, and who lay the main stress on the resurrection rather than on the crucifixion. O! never can I remember those days with either shame or regret. For I was most sincere, most disinterested! My opinions were indeed in many and most important points erroneous; but my heart was single. Wealth, rank, life itself then seemed cheap to me, compared with the interests of (what I believed to be) the truth and will of my Maker. I cannot even accuse myself of having been actuated by vanity; for in the expansion of my enthusiasm I did not think of myself at all.

"My campaign commenced at Birmingham; and my first attack was on a rigid Calvinist, a tallow-chandler by trade. He was a tall dingy man, in whom length was so predominant over breadth, that he might almost have been borrowed for a foundry poker. Of that face! a face *κατ'εμφασιν*! I have it before me at this moment. The lank, black, twine-like hair, pingui-nitescent, cut in a straight line along the black stubble of his thin gunpowder eye-brows, that looked like a scorched after-math from a last week's shaving. His coat collar behind in perfect unison, both of colour and lustre with the coarse yet glib cordage, that I suppose he called his hair, and which with a bend inward at

at the nape of his neck (the only approach to flexure in his whole figure) slunk in behind his waistcoat; while the countenance lank, dark, very hard, and with strong perpendicular furrows, gave me a dim notion of some one looking at me through a used gridiron, all soot, grease, and iron! But he was one of the thorough-bred, a true lover of liberty, and (I was informed) had proved to the satisfaction of many, that Mr. Pitt was one of the horns of the second beast in the Revelation, that spoke like a dragon. A person, to whom one of my letters of recommendation had been addressed, was my introducer. It was a new event in my life, my first stroke in the new business I had undertaken of an author, yea, and of an author trading on his own account. My companion after some imperfect sentences and a multitude of hums and haas abandoned the cause to his client; and I commenced an harangue of half an hour to Phileleutheros, the tallow-chandler, varying my notes through the whole gamut of eloquence, from the ratiocinative to the declamatory, and in the latter from the pathetic to the indignant. I argued, I described, I promised, I prophesied; and beginning with the captivity of nations I ended with the near approach of the millennium, finishing the whole with some of my own verses describing that glorious state out of the Religious Musings:

——— Such delights,
As float to earth, permitted visitants!
When in some hour of solemn jubilee
The massive gates of Paradise are thrown
Wide open: and forth come in fragments wild
Sweet echoes of unearthly melodies,
And odours snatch'd from beds of Amaranth,
And they that from the crystal river of life
Spring up on freshen'd wings, ambrosial gales!
Religious Musings, l. 356.

"My taper man of lights listened with perseverant and praise-worthy patience, though (as I was afterwards told on complaining of certain gales that were not altogether ambrosial) it was a melting day with him. And what, Sir! (he said after a short pause) might the cost be? Only four-pence (O! how I felt the anti-climax, the abysmal bathos of that four-pence!) only four-pence, Sir, each number, to be published on every eighth day. That comes to a deal of money at the end of a year. And how much did you say there was to be for the money? Thirty-two pages, Sir! large octavo, closely printed. Thirty and two pages? Bless me, why except what I does in a family way on the Sabbath, that's more than I ever reads, Sir! all the year round. I am as great a one as any man in Brummagem, Sir! for liberty and truth and all them sort of things, but as to this (no offence, I hope, Sir!) I must beg to be excused.

"So ended my first canvass: from causes that I shall presently mention, I made but one other application in person. This took place at Manchester, to a stately and opulent wholesale dealer in cottons. He took my letter of introduction, and having perused it, measured me from head to foot and again from foot to head, and then asked if I had any bill or invoice of the thing; I presented my prospectus to him; he rapidly skimmed and hummed over the first side, and still more rapidly the second and concluding page; crushed it within his fingers and the palm of his hand; then most deliberately and significantly rubbed and smoothed one part against the other; and lastly putting it into his pocket turned his back on me with an "overrun with these articles!" and so without another

another syllable retired into his counting-house. And I can truly say, to my unspeakable amusement.

"This I have said, was my second and last attempt. On returning baffled from the first, in which I had vainly essayed to repeat the miracle of Orpheus with the Brummagem patriot, I dined with the tradesman who had introduced me to him. After dinner he importuned me to smoke a pipe with him, and two or three other illuminati of the same rank. I objected, both because I was engaged to spend the evening with a minister and his friends, and because I had never smoked except once or twice in my life-time, and then it was herb tobacco mixed with Oronooko. On the assurance however that the tobacco was equally mild, and seeing too that it was of a yellow colour; (not forgetting the lamentable difficulty, I have always experienced, in saying, No! and in abstaining from what the people about me were doing) I took half a pipe, filling the lower half of the boll with salt. I was soon however compelled to resign it, in consequence of a giddiness and distressful feeling in my eyes, which as I had drank but a single glass of ale, must, I knew, have been the effect of the tobacco. Soon after, deeming myself recovered, I sallied forth to my engagement, but the walk and the fresh air brought on all the symptoms again, and I had scarcely entered the minister's drawing-room, and opened a small pacquet of letters, which he had received from Bristol for me, ere I sank back on the sofa in a sort of swoon rather than sleep. Fortunately I had found just time enough to inform him of the confused state of my feelings, and of the occasion. For here and thus I lay, my face like a wall that is white-washing, deathy pale and with the cold drops of perspiration running down it from my forehead, while one after another there dropt in the different gentlemen, who had been invited to meet, and spend the evening with me, to the number of from fifteen to twenty. As the poison of tobacco acts but for a short time, I at length awoke from insensibility, and looked round on the party, my eyes dazzled by the candles which had been lighted in the interim. By way of relieving my embarrassment one of the gentlemen began the conversation, with "Have you seen a paper to day, Mr. Colridge?" Sir! (I replied, rubbing my eyes) "I am far from convinced, that a Christian is permitted to read either newspapers or any other works of merely political and temporary interest." This remark so ludicrously inapposite to, or rather, incongruous with, the purpose for which I was known to have visited Birmingham, and to assist me in which they were all then met, produced an involuntary and general burst of laughter; and seldom indeed have I passed so many delightful hours, as I enjoyed in that room from the moment of that laugh to an early hour the next morning. Never, perhaps, in so mixed and numerous a party have I since heard conversation sustained with such animation, enriched with such variety of information, and enlivened with such a flow of anecdote. Both then and afterwards they all joined in dissuading me from proceeding with my scheme; assured me in the most friendly and yet most flattering expressions, that the employment was neither fit for me, nor I fit for the employment. Yet if I had determined

termined on persevering in it, they promised to exert themselves to the utmost to procure subscribers, and insisted that I should make no more applications in person, but carry on the canvass by proxy. The same hospitable reception, the same dissuasion, and (that failing) the same kind exertions in my behalf, I met with at Manchester, Derby, Nottingham, Sheffield, indeed, at every place in which I took up my sojourn. I often recall with affectionate pleasure the many respectable men who interested themselves for me, a perfect stranger to them, not a few of whom I can still name among my friends. They will bear witness for me, how opposite even then my principles were to those of jacobinism or even of democracy, and can attest the strict accuracy of the statement which I have left on record in the 10th and 11th Numbers of The Friend.

"From this rememberable tour I returned with nearly a thousand names on the subscription list of the Watchman; yet more than half convinced, that prudence dictated the abandonment of the scheme. But for this very reason I persèvered in it; for I was at that period of my life so completely hag-ridden by the fear of being influenced by selfish motives, that to know a mode of conduct to be the dictate of prudence was a sort of presumptive proof to my feelings, that the contrary was the dictate of duty. Accordingly, I commenced the work, which was announced in London by long bills in letters larger than had ever been seen before, and which (I have been informed, for I did not see them myself) eclipsed the glories even of the lottery puffs. But, alas! the publication of the very first Number was delayed beyond the day announced for its appearance. In the second Number an essay against fast days, with a most censurable application of a text from Isaiah for its motto, lost me near five hundred of my subscribers at one blow. In the two following Numbers I made enemies of all my Jacobin and Democratic Patrons; for disgusted by their infidelity, and their adoption of French morals with French *psilosophy*; and perhaps thinking, that charity ought to begin nearest home; instead of abusing the government and the Aristocrats chiefly or entirely, as had been expected of me, I levelled my attacks at "modern patriotism," and even ventured to declare my belief that whatever the motives of ministers might have been for the sedition (or as it was then the fashion to call them, the gagging) bills, yet the bills themselves would produce an effect to be desired by all the true friends of freedom, as far as they should contribute to deter men from openly declaiming on subjects, the principles of which they had never bottomed, and from "pleading to the poor and ignorant, instead of pleading for them." At the same time I avowed my conviction, that national education and a concurring spread of the gospel were the indispensable condition of any true political amelioration. Thus by the time the seventh Number was published, I had the mortification (but why should I say this, when in truth I cared too little for any thing that concerned my worldly interests to be at all mortified about it?) of seeing the preceding Numbers exposed in sundry old iron shops for a penny apiece. At the ninth Number I dropt the work. But from the London publisher I could not obtain a shilling; he was

a ——— and set me at defiance. From other places I procured but little, and after such delays as rendered that little worth nothing: and I should have been inevitably thrown into jail by my Bristol printer, who refused to wait even for a month, for a sum between eighty and ninety pounds, if the money had not been paid for me by a man by no means affluent, a dear friend who attached himself to me from my first arrival at Bristol, who has continued my friend with a fidelity unconquered by time or even by my own apparent neglect: a friend from whom I never received an advice that was not wise, or a remonstrance that was not gentle and affectionate.

"Conscientiously an opponent of the first revolutionary war, yet with my eyes thoroughly opened to the true character and impotence of the favourers of revolutionary principles in England, principles which I held in abhorrence (for it was part of my political creed, that whoever ceased to act as an individual by making himself a member of any society not sanctioned by his government, forfeited the rights of a citizen)—a vehement anti-ministerialist, but after the invasion of Switzerland a more vehement anti-gallican, and still more intensely an anti-jacobin, I retired to a cottage at Stowey, and provided for my scanty maintenance by writing verses for a London Morning Paper. I saw plainly, that literature was not a profession by which I could expect to live; for I could not disguise from myself, that whatever my talents might or might not be in other respects, yet they were not of the sort that could enable me to become a popular writer; and that whatever my opinions might be in themselves, they were almost equidistant from all the three prominent parties, the Pittites, the Foxites, and the Democrats. Of the unsaleable nature of my writings I had an amusing memento one morning from our own servant girl. For happening to rise at an earlier hour than usual, I observed her putting an extravagant quantity of paper into the grate in order to light the fire, and mildly checked her for her wastefulness; la, Sir! (replied poor Nanny) why, it is only "Watchmen."

"I now devoted myself to poetry and to the study of ethics and psychology; and so profound was my admiration at this time of Hartley's Essay on Man, that I gave his name to my firstborn. In addition to the gentleman, my neighbour, whose garden joined on to my little orchard, and the cultivation of whose friendship had been my sole motive in choosing Stowey for my residence, I was so fortunate as to acquire, shortly after my settlement there, an invaluable blessing in the society and neighbourhood of one, to whom I could look up with equal reverence, whether I regarded him as a poet, a philosopher, or a man. His conversation extended to almost all subjects, except physics and politics; with the latter he never troubled himself. Yet neither my retirement nor my utter abstraction from all the disputes of the day could secure me in those jealous times from suspicion and obloquy, which did not stop at me, but extended to my excellent friend, whose perfect innocence was even adduced as a proof of his guilt. One of the many busy sycophants of that day (I here use the word sycophant, in its original sense, as a wretch who flatters the prevailing party

party by informing againts his neighbours, under pretence that they are exporters of prohibited figs or fancies! for the moral application of the term it matters not which)—one of these sycophantic law-mongrels, discoursing on the politics of the neighbourhood, uttered the following deep remark: "As to Coleridge, there is not so much harm in him, for he is a whirl-brain that talks whatever comes uppermost; but that ——————! he is the dark traitor. You never hear him say a syllable on the subject."

Klopstock, the German Poet.

"Believe me, I walked with an impression of awe on my spirits, as W—— and myself accompanied Mr. Klopstock to the house of his brother, the poet, which stands about a quarter of a mile from the city gate. It is one of a row of little common-place summer-houses (for so they looked) with four or five rows of young meagre elm trees before the windows, beyond which is a green, and then a dead flat intersected with several roads. Whatever beauty (thought I) may be before the poet's eyes at present, it must certainly be purely of his own creation. We waited a few minutes in a neat little parlour, ornamented with the figures of two of the muses, and with prints, the subjects of which were from Klopstock's odes. The poet entered. I was much disappointed in his countenance, and recognized in it no likenesss to the bust. There was no comprehension in the forehead, no weight over the eye-brows, no expression of peculiarity, moral or intellectual, on the eyes, no massiveness in the general countenance. He is if any thing rather below the middle size. He wore very large half-boots which his legs filled, so fearfully were they swoln. However, though neither W—— nor myself could discover any indications of sublimity or enthusiasm in his physiognomy, we were both equally impressed with his liveliness, and his kind and ready courtesy. He talked in French with my friend, and with difficulty spoke a few sentences to me in English. His enunciation was not in the least affected by the entire want of his upper teeth. The conversation began on his part by the expression of his rapture at the surrender of the detachment of French troops under General Humbert. Their proceedings in Ireland with regard to the committee which they had appointed, with the rest of their organizing system, seemed to have given the poet great entertainment. He then declared his sanguine belief in Nelson's victory, and anticipated its confirmation with a keen and triumphant pleasure. His words, tones, looks, implied the most vehement Anti-Gallicanism. The subject changed to literature, and I inquired in Latin concerning the History of German Poetry, and the elder German Poets. To my great astonishment he confessed, that he knew very little on the subject. He had indeed occasionally read one or two of their elder writers, but not so as to enable him to speak of their merits. Professor Ebeling, he said, would probably give me every information of this kind: the subject had not particularly

larly excited his curiosity. He then talked of Milton and Glover, and thought Glover's blank verse superior to Milton's. W—— and myself expressed our surprize: and my friend gave his definition and notion of harmonious verse, that it consisted (the English iambic blank verse above all) in the apt arrangement of pauses and cadences, and the sweep of whole paragraphs,

——"with many a winding bout
Of linked sweetness long drawn out,"

and not in the even flow, much less in the prominence or antithetic vigour, of single lines, which were indeed injurious to the total effect, except where they were introduced for some specific purpose. Klopstock assented, and said that he meant to confine Glover's superiority to single lines. He told us that he had read Milton, in a prose translation, when he was fourteen. I understood him thus myself, and W—— interpreted Klopstock's French as I had already construed it. He appeared to know very little of Milton—or indeed of our poets in general. He spoke with great indignation of the English prose translation of his Messiah. All the translations had been bad, very bad—but the English was *no* translation—there were pages on pages not in the original: and half the original was not to be found in the translation. W—— told him that I intended to translate a few of his odes as specimens of German lyrics—he then said to me in English, "I wish you would render into English some select passages of the Messiah, and *revenge* me of your countrymen!" It was the liveliest thing which he produced in the whole conversation. He told us, that his first ode was fifty years older than his last. I looked at him with much emotion—I considered him as the venerable father of German poetry; as a good man; as a Christian; seventy-four years old; with legs enormously swoln; yet active, lively, cheerful, and kind, and communicative. My eyes felt as if a tear were swelling into them. In the portrait of Lessing there was a toupee periwig, which enormously injured the effect of his physiognomy—Klopstock wore the same, powdered and frizzled. By the bye, old men ought never to wear powder—the contrast between a large snow-white wig and the colour of an old man's skin is disgusting; and wrinkles in such a neighbourhood appear only channels for dirt. It is an honour to poets and great men, that you think of them as parts of nature; and any thing of trick and fashion wounds you in them as much as when you see venerable yews clipped into miserable peacocks. The author of the Messiah should have worn his own grey hair. His powder and periwig were to the eye what *Mr.* Virgil would be to the ear.

"Klopstock dwelt much on the superior power which the German language possessed of concentrating meaning. He said, he had often translated parts of Homer and Virgil, line by line, and a German line proved always sufficient for a Greek or Latin one. In English you cannot do this. I answered, that in English we could commonly render one Greek heroic line in a line and a half of our common heroic metre, and I conjectured that this line and a half would be found to contain no more syllables than one German or Greek hexameter. He did not understand me: and I who wished to hear his opinions, not to correct them, was glad that he did not.

"We

"We now took our leave. At the beginning of the French Revolution Klopstock wrote odes of congratulation. He received some honorary presents from the French Republic (a golden crown I believe) and, like our Priestley, was invited to a seat in the legislature, which he declined. But when French liberty metamorphosed herself into a fury, he sent back these presents with a palinodia, declaring his abhorrence of their proceedings: and since then he has been perhaps more than enough an Anti-Gallican. I mean, that in his just contempt and detestation of the crimes and follies of the Revolutionists, he suffers himself to forget that the revolution itself is a process of the Divine Providence; and that as the folly of men is the wisdom of God, so are their iniquities instruments of his goodness. From Klopstock's house we walked to the ramparts, discoursing together on the poet and his conversation, till our attention was diverted to the beauty and singularity of the sunset, and its effects on the objects round us. There were woods in the distance. A rich sandy light (nay, of a much deeper colour than sandy) lay over these woods that blackened in the blaze. Over that part of the woods which lay immediately under the intenser light, a brassy mist floated. The trees on the ramparts, and the people moving to and fro between them, were cut or divided into equal segments of deep shade and brassy light. Had the trees, and the bodies of the men and women, been divided into equal segments by a rule or pair of compasses, the portions could not have been more regular. All else was obscure. It was a fairy scene! and to increase its romantic character among the moving objects thus divided into alternate shade and brightness, was a beautiful child, dressed with the elegant simplicity of an English child, riding on a stately goat, the saddle, bridle, and other accoutrements of which were in a high degree costly and splendid. Before I quit the subject of Hamburg, let me say, that I remained a day or two longer than I otherwise should have done, in order to be present at the feast of St. Michael, the patron saint of Hamburg, expecting to see the civic pomp of this commercial Republic. I was however disappointed. There were no processions, two or three sermons were preached to two or three old women in two or three churches, and St. Michael and his patronage wished elsewhere by the higher classes, all places of entertainment, theatre, &c. being shut up on this day. In Hamburg, there seems to be no religion at all: in Lubec it is confined to the women. The men seem determined to be divorced from their wives in the other world, if they cannot in this. You will not easily conceive a more singular sight than is presented by the vast aisle of the principal church at Lubec seen from the organ loft: for being filled with female servants and persons in the same class of life, and all their caps having gold and silver cauls, it appears like a rich pavement of gold and silver.

"I will conclude this letter with the mere transcription of notes, which my friend W—— made of his conversations with Klopstock, during the interviews that took place after my departure. On these I shall make but one remark at present, and that will appear a presumptuous one, namely, that Klopstock's remarks on the venerable sage

sage of Koenigsburg are to my own knowledge injurious and mistaken; and so far is it from being true, that his system is now given up; that throughout the Universities of Germany there is not a single professor who is not either a Kantean, or a disciple of Fichte, whose system is built on the Kantean, and presupposes its truth; or lastly, who, though an antagonist of Kant as to his theoretical work, has not embraced wholly or in part his moral system, and adopted part of his nomenclature. 'Klopstock having wished to see the Calvary of Cumberland, and asked what was thought of it in England, I went to Remnant's (the English bookseller) where I procured the Analytical Review, in which is contained the review of Cumberland's Calvary. I remembered to have read there some specimens of a blank verse translation of the Messiah. I had mentioned this to Klopstock, and he had a great desire to see them. I walked over to his house, and put the book into his hands. On adverting to his own poem, he told me he began the Messiah when he was seventeen: he devoted three entire years to the plan without composing a single line. He was greatly at a loss in what manner to execute his work. There were no successful specimens of versification in the German language before this time. The first three cantos he wrote in a species of measured or numerous prose. This, though done with much labour and some success, was far from satisfying him. He had composed hexameters both Latin and Greek as a school exercise, and there had been also in the German language attempts in that style of versification. These were only of very moderate merit. One day he was struck with the idea of what could be done in this way—he kept his room a whole day, even went without his dinner, and found that in the evening he had written twenty-three hexameters, versifying a part of what he had before written in prose. From that time, pleased with his efforts, he composed no more in prose. To-day he informed me that he had finished his plan before he read Milton. He was enchanted to see an author who before him had trod the same path. This is a contradiction of what he said before. He did not wish to speak of his poem to any one till it was finished: but some of his friends who had seen what he had finished, tormented him till he had consented to publish a few books in a journal. He was then I believe very young, about twenty-five. The rest was printed at different periods, four books at a time. The reception given to the first specimens was highly flattering. He was nearly thirty years in finishing the whole poem, but of these thirty years not more than two were employed in the composition. He only composed in favourable moments; besides he had other occupations. He values himself upon the plan of his odes, and accuses the modern lyrical writers of gross deficiency in this respect. I laid the same accusation against Horace: he would not hear of it—but waived the discussion. He called Rousseau's Ode to Fortune a moral dissertation in stanzas. I spoke of Dryden's St. Cecilia; but he did not seem familiar with our writers. He wished to know the distinctions between our dramatic and epic blank verse. He recommended me to read his Hermann before I read either

either the Messiah or the odes. He flattered himself that some time or other his dramatic poems would be known in England. He had not heard of Cowper. He thought that Voss in his translation of the Iliad had done violence to the idiom of the German, and had sacrificed it to the Greek, not remembering sufficiently that each language has its particular spirit and genius. He said Lessing was the first of their dramatic writers. I complained of Nathan as tedious. He said there was not enough of action in it; but that Lessing was the most chaste of their writers. He spoke favourably of Goethe; but said that his "Sorrows of Werter" was his best work, better than any of his dramas: he preferred the first written to the rest of Goethe's dramas. Schiller's "Robbers" he found so extravagant, that he could not read it. I spoke of the scene of the setting sun. He did not know it. He said Schiller could not live. He thought Don Carlos the best of his dramas; but said that the plot was inextricable. It was evident, he knew little of Schiller's works: indeed, he said he could not read them. Burgher he said was a true poet, and would live; that Schiller, on the contrary, must soon be forgotten; that he gave himself up to the imitation of Shakespeare, who often was extravagant, but that Schiller was ten thousand times more so. He spoke very slightingly of Kotzebue, as an immoral author in the first place, and next, as deficient in power. At Vienna, said he, they are transported with him; but we do not reckon the people of Vienna either the wisest or the wittiest people of Germany. He said Wieland was a charming author, and a sovereign master of his own language: that in this respect Goethe could not be compared to him, or indeed could any body else. He said that his fault was to be fertile to exuberance. I told him the Oberon had just been translated into English. He asked me if I was not delighted with the poem. I answered, that I thought the story began to flag about the seventh or eighth book; and observed that it was unworthy of a man of genius to make the interest of a long poem turn entirely upon animal gratification. He seemed at first disposed to excuse this by saying, that there are different subjects for poetry, and that poets are not willing to be restricted in their choice. I answered, that I thought the *passion* of love as well suited to the purposes of poetry as any other passion; but that it was a cheap way of pleasing to fix the attention of the reader through a long poem on the mere *appetite*. Well! but said he, you see, that such poems please every body. I answered, that it was the province of a great poet to raise people up to his own level, not to descend to theirs. He agreed, and confessed, that on no account whatsoever would he have written a work like the Oberon. He spoke in raptures of Wieland's style, and pointed out the passage where Retzia is delivered of her child, as exquisitely beautiful. I said that I did not perceive any very striking passages; but that I made allowance for the imperfections of a translation. Of the thefts of Wieland, he said, they were so exquisitely managed, that the greatest writers might be proud to steal as he did. He considered the books and fables of old romance writers in the light of the ancient mythology, as a sort of common property, from

from which a man was free to take whatever he could make a good use of. An Englishman had presented him with the odes of Collins, which he had read with pleasure. He knew little or nothing of Gray, except his Essay in the Church-yard. He complained of the fool in Lear. I observed, that he seemed to give a terrible wildness to the distress; but still he complained. He asked whether it was not allowed, that Pope had written rhyme poetry with more skill than any of our writers—I said, I preferred Dryden, because his couplets had greater variety in their movement. He thought my reason a good one; but asked whether the rhyme of Pope were not more exact. This question I understood as applying to the final terminations, and observed to him, that I believed it was the case; but that I thought it was easy to excuse some inaccuracy in the final sounds, if the general sweep of the verse was superior. I told him that we were not so exact with regard to the final endings of lines as the French. He did not seem to know that we made no distinction between masculine and feminine (i. e. single or double) rhymes: at least he put inquiries to me on this subject. He seemed to think, that no language could ever be so far formed as that it might not be enriched by idioms borrowed from another tongue. I said this was a very dangerous practice; and added, that I thought Milton had often injured both his prose and verse by taking this liberty too frequently. I recommended to him the prose works of Dryden as models of pure and native English. I was treading upon tender ground, as I have reason to suppose that he has himself liberally indulged in the practice.

"The same day I dined at Mr. Klopstock's, where I had the pleasure of a third interview with the poet. We talked principally about indifferent things. I asked him what he thought of Kant. He said that his reputation was much on the decline in Germany. That for his own part he was not surprised to find it so, as the works of Kant were to him utterly incomprehensible—that he had often been pestered by the Kanteans; but was rarely in the practice of arguing with them. His custom was to produce the book, open it and point to a passage, and beg they would explain it. This they ordinarily attempted to do by substituting their own ideas. I do not want, I say, an explanation of your own ideas, but of the passage which is before us. In this way I generally bring the dispute to an immediate conclusion. He spoke of Wolfe as the first Metaphysician they had in Germany. Wolfe had followers; but they could hardly be called a sect, and luckily till the appearance of Kant, about fifteen years ago, Germany had not been pestered by any sect of philosophers whatsoever; but that each man had separately pursued his inquiries uncontrolled by the dogmas of a Master. Kant had appeared ambitious to be the founder of a sect; that he had succeeded; but that the Germans were now coming to their senses again. That Nicolai and Engel had in different ways contributed to disenchant the nation; but above all the incomprehensibility of the philosopher and his philosophy. He seemed pleased to hear, that as yet Kant's doctrines had not met with many admirers in England—did not doubt but that we had too much wisdom to be duped by a

writer who set at defiance the common sense and common understandings of men. We talked of tragedy. He seemed to rate highly the power of exciting tears—I said that nothing was more easy than to deluge an audience, that it was done every day by the meanest writers.

"I must remind you, my friend, first, that these notes, &c. are not intended as specimens of Klopstock's intellectual power, or even "*colloquial prowess*," to judge of which by an accidental conversation, and this with strangers, and those too foreigners, would be not only unreasonable, but calumnious. Secondly, I attribute little other interest to the remarks than what is derived from the celebrity of the person who made them. Lastly, if you ask me, whether I have read the Messiah, and what I think of it? I answer—as yet the first four books only: and as to my opinion (the reasons of which hereafter) you may guess it from what I could not help muttering to myself, when the good pastor this morning told me, that Klopstock was the German Milton——"a very *German* Milton indeed!!!"

ARTICLE VI.—CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE, Vol. 3.

ALTHOUGH this work is very miscellaneous, and we shall extract from it, under this division of our selections, only one article, yet it may be proper to characterize it here.

All the volumes of the Curiosities of Literature exhibit careful research into little known and scarce books, and considerable judgment in the use made of them to illustrate the manners, customs, and character of the age in general, or of celebrated individuals, or of particular classes of men. And when Mr. D'Israeli confines himself to this department of Literature, he must always be an amusing and instructive author; but in his attempts at original works, and even when he interweaves his own reflections or reasoning, he must not expect to satisfy a reader of sound judgment and pure taste: for his language is often finical, and sometimes extremely loose and incorrect; his thoughts are either very obvious and superficial, or do not follow in a train; and his reasoning is inconsequent.

ANECDOTES OF PRINCE HENRY THE SON OF JAMES I. WHEN A CHILD.

"PRINCE Henry, the son of James I. whose premature death was lamented by the people, as well as by poets and historians, unquestionably would have proved an heroic and military character. Had he ascended the throne, the whole face of our history might have been changed; the days of Agincourt and Cressy had been revived, and Henry IX. had rivalled Henry V. It is remarkable that Prince Henry resembled

resembled that monarch in his features, as Ben Jonson has truly recorded, though in a complimentary verse, and as we may see by his picture, among the ancient English ones at Dulwich College. Merlin, in a masque by Jonson, addresses Prince Henry,

"Yet rests that other thunderbolt of war,
Harry the Fifth; to whom in face you are
So like, as fate would have you so in worth."

"A youth who perished in his eighteenth year has furnished the subject of a volume, which even the deficient animation of its writer has not deprived of attraction. If the juvenile age of Prince Henry has proved such a theme for our admiration, we may be curious to learn what this extraordinary youth was, even at an earlier period. Authentic anecdotes of children are rare; a child has seldom a biographer by his side. We have indeed been recently treated with "Anecdotes of Children," in the "Practical Education" of the literary family of the Edgeworths; but we may presume, that as Mr. Edgeworth delights in pieces of curious machinery in his house, these automatic infants, poets, and metaphysicians, of whom afterwards we have heard no more, seem to have resembled so many looking-glasses, or echoes in a whispering-gallery, merely reflecting those objects which they had caught around them; and like other automata, moving indeed, but from no native impulse.

"Prince Henry at a very early age, not exceeding five years, evinced a thoughtfulness of character, singular in a child: something in the formation of this early character may be attributed to the Countess of Mar. This lady had been the nurse of James I. and to her care the King intrusted the Prince. She is described in a manuscript of the times, as "an ancient, virtuous, and severe lady, who was the Prince's governess from his cradle." At the age of five years the Prince was consigned to his tutor, Mr. (afterwards Sir) AdamNewton, a man of learning and capacity, whom the prince at length chose for his secretary. The severity of the old countess, and the strict discipline of his tutor, were not received without affection and reverence; although not at times without a shrewd excuse, or a turn of pleasantry, which latter faculty the princely boy seems to have possessed in a very high degree.

"The prince early attracted the attention, and excited the hopes of those who were about his person. A manuscript narrative has been preserved, which was written by one who tells us, that he was "an attendant upon the prince's person, since he was under the age of three years, having alway diligently observed his disposition, behaviour, and speeches." It was at the earnest desire of Lord and Lady Lumley, that the writer of these anecdotes drew up this relation. The manuscript is without date, but as Lord Lumley died in April 1609, and leaving no heir, his library was then purchased for the prince, Henry could not have reached his fifteenth year; this manuscript was evidently composed earlier: so that the latest anecdotes could not have occurred beyond his thirteenth or fourteenth year—a time of life, when few children can furnish a curious miscellany about themselves.

"The writer set down every little circumstance he considered worth noticing, as it occurred. I

shall attempt a sort of arrangement of the most interesting, to shew, by an unity of the facts, the characteristic touches of the mind and dispositions of the princely boy.

"Prince Henry in his childhood rarely wept, and endured pain without a groan. When a boy wrestled with him in earnest, and threw him, he was not "seen to whine or weep at the hurt." His sense of justice was early; for when his playmate, the little Earl of Mar, ill-treated one of his pages, Henry reproved his puerile friend: "I love you because you are my lord's son and my cousin; but, if you be not better conditioned, I will love such an one better," naming the child that had complained of him.

"The first time he went to the town of Stirling to meet the king, observing without the gate of the town a stack of corn, it fancifully struck him with the shape of the top he used to play with: and the child exclaimed, "That's a good top." "Why do you not then play with it?" he was answered; "Set you it up for me, and I will play with it." This is just the fancy we might expect in a lively child, with a shrewdness in the retort, above its years.

"His martial character was perpetually discovering itself. When asked what instrument he liked best? he answered, "a trumpet." We are told that none of his age could dance with more grace, but that he never delighted in dancing; while he performed his heroical exercises with pride and delight, more particularly when before the king, the constable of Castile, and other ambassadors. He was instructed by his master to handle and toss the pike, to march and hold himself in an affected style of stateliness, according to the martinets of those days; but he soon rejected such petty and artificial fashions; yet to shew that his dislike arose from no want of skill in a trifling accomplishment, he would sometimes resume it only to laugh at it, and instantly return to his own natural demeanour. On one of these occasions one of these martinets observing that they could never be good soldiers unless they always kept true order and measure in marching, "What then must they do," cried Henry, "when they wade through a swift-running water?" In all things freedom of action from his own native impulse, he preferred to the settled rules of his teachers; and when his physician told him that he rode too fast, he replied, "Must I ride by rules of physic?" When he was eating a cold capon in cold weather, the physician told him that that was not meat for the weather. "You may see, doctor," said Henry, "that my cook is no astronomer." And when the same physician observing him eat cold and hot meat together, protested against it, "I cannot mind that now," said the royal boy facetiously, "though they should have run at tilt together in my belly."

"His national affections were strong: When one reported to Henry that the King of France had said that his bastard, as well as the bastard of Normandy, might conquer England,—the princely boy exclaimed, "I'll to cuffs with him, if he go about any such means."—There was a dish of jelly before the prince in the form of a crown, with three lilies; and a kind of buffoon whom the prince used to banter, said to the prince that that dish was worth a crown. "Aye!" exclaimed the future English hero, "I would had

I had that crown!"—"It would be a great dish," rejoined the buffoon. "How can that be," replied the prince, "since you value it but a crown?"—When James I. asked him whether he loved Englishmen or Frenchmen better, he replied, "Englishmen, because he was of kindred to more noble persons of England than of France;" and when the king inquired whether he loved the English or Germans better? he replied, the English; on which the king observing that his mother was a German, the prince replied, "Sir, you have the wit thereof." A southern speech, adds the writer, which is as much as to say—you are the cause thereof.

"Born in Scotland, and heir to the crown of England, at a time when the mutual jealousies of the two nations were running so high, the boy often had occasion to express the unity of affection, which was really in his heart. Being questioned by a nobleman, whether, after his father, he had rather be king of England or Scotland? he asked, "which of them was best?" being answered, that it was England, "Then," said the Scottish-born prince, "would I have both!" And once in reading this verse in Virgil,

Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur,

the boy said he would make use of that verse for himself, with a slight alteration, thus—

"Anglus Scotusne mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

"He was careful to keep alive the same feeling for another part of the British dominions, and the young prince appears to have been regarded with great affection by the Welsh; for when once the prince asked a gentleman at what mark he should shoot? the courtier pointed with levity at a Welshman who was present. "Will you see then," said the princely boy, "how I will shoot at Welshmen?" Turning his back from him, the prince shot his arrow in the air.—When a Welshman, who had taken a large carouse, in the fulness of his heart and his head, in the presence of the king, said that the prince should have 40,000 Welshmen to wait upon him, against any king in Christendom; the king, not a little jealous, hastily inquired, "To do what?" the little prince turned away the momentary alarm by his facetiousness,—"To cut off the heads of 40,000 leeks."

"His bold and martial character was discovered in minute circumstances like these. Eating in the king's presence a dish of milk, the king asked him why he ate so much child's meat? "Sir, it is also man's meat," Henry replied;—and immediately after having fed heartily on a partridge, the king observed, that that meat would make him a coward, according to the prevalent notions of the age respecting diet; to which the young prince replied, "Though it be but a cowardly fowl, it shall not make me a coward."—Once taking up strawberries with two spoons, when one might have sufficed, our infant Mars gaily exclaimed, "The one I use as a rapier, and the other as a dagger."

"Adam Newton appears to have filled his office as preceptor, with no servility to the capricious fancies of the princely boy. Desirous, however, of cherishing the generous spirit and playful humour of Henry, his tutor encouraged a freedom of jesting with him, which appears to have been carried at times to a degree

gree of momentary irritability on the side of the tutor, by the keen humour of the boy. While the royal pupil held his master in equal reverence and affection, the gaiety of his temper sometimes twitched the equability or the gravity of the preceptor. When Newton, wishing to set an example to the prince in heroic exercises, one day practised the pike, and tossing it with such little skill as to have failed in the attempt, the young prince telling him of his failure, Newton obviously lost his temper, observing, that "to find fault was an evil humour." "Master, I take the humour of you." "It becomes not a prince," observed Newton. "Then," retorted the young prince, "doth it worse become a prince's master!" —Some of these harmless bickerings are amusing. When his tutor, playing at shuffle-board with the prince, blamed him for changing so often, and taking up a piece, threw it on the board, and missed his aim, the prince smiling, exclaimed, "Well thrown, master;" on which the tutor, a little vexed, said "he would not strive with a prince at shuffle-board." Henry observed, "Yet you gowtsmen should be best at such exercises, which are not meet for men who are more stirring." The tutor, a little irritated, said, "I am meet for whipping of boys." "You vaunt then," retorted the prince, "that which a ploughman or cart-driver can do better than you." "I can do more," said the tutor, "for I can govern foolish children." On which the prince, who, in his respect for his tutor, did not care to carry the jest farther, rose from table, and in a low voice to those near him said, "He had need be a wise man that could do that."—Newton was sometimes severe in his chastisements; for when the prince was playing at goff, and having warned his tutor who was standing by in conversation, that he was going to strike the ball, and having lifted up the goff-club, some one observing, "Beware, Sir, that you hit not Mr. Newton;" the prince drew back the club, but smilingly observed, "Had I done so, I had but paid my debts."—At another time, when the princely boy was amusing himself with the sports of a child, his tutor wishing to draw him to more manly exercises, amongst other things, said to him in good humour, "God send you a wise wife!" "That she may govern you and me!" said the prince. The tutor observed, that "he had one of his own;" the prince replied, "But mine, if I have one, would govern your wife, and by that means would govern both you and me."—Henry, at this early age, excelled in a quickness of reply, combined with reflection, which marks the precocity of his intellect. His tutor having laid a wager with the prince that he could not refrain from standing with his back to the fire, and seeing him forget himself once or twice, standing in that posture, the tutor said, "Sir, the wager is won, you have failed twice;" "Master," replied Henry, "Saint Peter's cock crew thrice."—A Musician having played a voluntary in his presence, was requested to play the same again. "I could not for the kingdom of Spain," said the musician, "for this were harder than for a preacher to repeat word by word a sermon that he had not learned by rote." A clergyman standing by, observed that he thought a preacher might

might do that: "Perhaps," rejoined the young prince, "for a bishoprick!"

"The natural facetiousness of his temper appears frequently in the good humour with which the little prince was accustomed to treat his domestics. The prince had two of opposite characters, who were frequently set by the ears for the sake of the sport; the one, Murray, nicknamed "the taylor," loved his liquor; and the other was a stout "trencherman." The king desired the prince to put an end to these brawls, and to make the men agree; and that the agreement should be written and subscribed by both. "Then," said the prince, "must the drunken taylor subscribe it with chalk, for he cannot write his name, and then I will make them agree upon this condition—that the trencherman shall go into the cellar and drink with Will Murray, and Will Murray shall make a great wallet for the trencherman to carry his victuals in."—One of his servants having cut the prince's finger, and sucking out the blood with his mouth, that it might heal the more easily, the young prince, who expressed no displeasure at the accident, said to him pleasantly, "If, which God forbid! my father, myself, and the rest of his kindred should fail, you might claim the crown, for you have now in you the blood royal."—Our little prince once resolved on a hearty game of play, and for this purpose only admitted his young gentlemen, and excluded the men: it happened that an old servant, not aware of the injunction, entered the apartment, onwhich the prince told him he might play too; and when the prince was asked why he admitted this old man rather than the other men, he rejoined, "Because he had a right to be of their number, for *Senex dis puer*."

"Nor was our little prince susceptible of gross flattery, for when once he wore white shoes, and one said that he longed to kiss his foot, the prince said to the fawning courtier, "Sir, I am not the Pope;" the other replied that he would not kiss the Pope's foot, except it were to bite off his great toe. The prince gravely rejoined; "At Rome you would be glad to kiss his foot, and forget the rest."

"It was then the mode, when the king or the prince travelled, to sleep with their suite at the houses of the nobility; and the loyalty and zeal of the host were usually displayed in the reception given to the royal guest. It happened that in one of these excursions the prince's servants complained that they had been obliged to go to bed supperless, through the pinching parsimony of the house, which the little prince at the time of hearing seemed to take no great notice of. The next morning the lady of the house, coming to pay her respects to him, she found him turning a volume that had many pictures in it; one of which was a painting of a company sitting at a banquet: this he shewed her. "I invite you, Madam, to a feast." "To what feast?" she asked. "To this feast," said the boy. "What, would your highness give me but a painted feast?" Fixing his eye on her, he said, "No better, Madam, is found in this house." There was a delicacy and greatness of spirit in this ingenious reprimand, far excelling the wit of a child

"According to this anecdote-writer, it appears that James I. probably did not delight in the martial

tial dispositions of his son, and whose habits and opinions were, in all respects, forming themselves opposite to his own tranquil and literary character. The writer says that, "his Majesty, with the tokens of love to him, would sometimes interlace sharp speeches, and other demonstrations of fatherly severity." Henry, who however lived, though he died early, to become a patron of ingenious men, and a lover of genius, was himself at least as much enamoured of the pike, as of the pen. The king, to rouse him to study, told him, that if he did not apply more diligently to his book, his brother, Duke Charles, who seemed already attached to study, would prove more able for government and for the cabinet, and that himself would be only fit for field-exercises and military affairs. To his father, the little prince made no reply: but, when his tutor one day reminded him of what his father had said, to stimulate our young prince to literary diligence, Henry asked, whether he thought his brother would prove so good a scholar? His tutor replied, that he was so likely to prove. "Then," rejoined our little prince, "will I make Charles archbishop of Canterbury."

"Our Henry was devoutly pious, and rigid, in never permitting before him any licentious language or manners. It is well known that James I. had a habit of swearing—innocent expletives in conversation, which, in truth, only expressed the warmth of his feelings; but, in that age, when Puritanism had already possessed half the nation, an oath was considered as nothing short of blasphemy. Henry once made a keen allusion to this verbal frailty of his father's; for when he was told that some hawks were to be sent to him, but it was thought the king would intercept some of them, the little prince replied, "He may do as he pleases, for he shall not be put to the oath for the matter." The king once asking him, what were the best verses he had learned in the first book of Virgil, the little prince answered, these:

Rex erat Æneas nobis quo justior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis.

"Such are a few of the puerile anecdotes of a prince who died in early youth, gleaned from a contemporary manuscript, by an eye and ear witness. They are trifles, but trifles consecrated by his name. They are genuine, and the philosopher knows how to value the indications of a great and heroic character. There are among them some, which may occasion an inattentive reader to forget, that they are all the speeches and the actions of a child!"

Voyages and Travels.

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF PEOPLE.

ARTICLE I.—*Loss of the American Brig Commerce, wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa, in the month of August* 1815; *with an Account of Tombuctoo, and of the hitherto undiscovered Great City of Wassanah. By* JAMES RILEY, *Late Master and Supercargo.*

THE first inquiry respecting every work that relates extraordinary adventures, and gives information on the subject of places hitherto unknown or unexplored, is very naturally directed to its authenticity. The claims of this book on that score are undoubted; and as exhibiting a picture of almost unparalleled hardships, and extending our knowledge of the interior of Africa, it may be safely recommended, as possessing a high degree of interest.

MR. RILEY'S SUFFERINGS IN THE DESERT OF SAHAHRAH.

"The Arabs had been much amused in observing our difficulty in ascending the height, and kept up a laugh while they were whipping us forward. Their women and children were on foot as well as themselves, and went up without the smallest difficulty or inconvenience, though it was extremely hard for the camels to mount; and before they got to the top they were covered with sweat and froth. Having now selected five camels for the purpose, one for each of us, they put us on behind the humps, to which we were obliged to cling by grasping its long hair with both hands. The back bone of the one I was set on was only covered with skin, and as sharp as the edge of an oar's blade; his belly distended with water, made him perfectly smooth, leaving no projection of the hips to keep me from sliding off behind, and his back or rump being as steep as the roof of a house, and so broad across as to keep my legs extended to their utmost stretch. I was in this manner slipping down to his tail every moment. I was forced however to keep on, while the camel, rendered extremely restive at the sight of his strange rider, was all the time running about among the drove, and making a most woeful bellowing,

ing, and as they have neither bridle, halter, or any other thing whereby to guide or govern them, all I had to do was to stick on as well as I could.

"The Arabs, both men and women, were very anxious to know where we had been thrown on shore, whether to the eastward or westward; and being satisfied by me on that point, as soon as they had placed us on the camels, and given the women directions how to steer, they mounted each his camel, seated themselves on the small round saddle, and then crossing their legs on the animal's shoulders, set off to the westward at a great trot, leaving us under the care of the women, some of whom were on foot, and urged the camels forward as fast as they could run. The heavy motions of the camel, not unlike that of a small vessel in a heavy head-beat sea, were so violent, aided by the sharp back-bone, as soon to excoriate certain parts of my naked body; the inside of my thighs and legs were also dreadfully chafed, so that the blood dripped from my heels, while the intense heat of the sun had scorched and blistered our bodies and the outside of our legs, so that we were covered with sores, and without any thing to administer relief. Thus bleeding and smarting under the most excruciating pain, we continued to advance in a S. E. direction on a plain flat hard surface of sand, gravel, and rock, covered with small sharp stones. It seemed as if our bones would be dislocated at every step. Hungry and thirsty, the night came on, and no indication of stopping; the cold night wind began to blow, chilling our blood, which ceased to trickle down our lacerated legs; but although it saved our blood, yet acting on our blistered skins, it increased our pains beyond description. We begged to be permitted to get off, but the women paid no attention to our distress nor entreaties, intent only on getting forward. We designedly slipped off the camels when going at a full trot, risking to break our necks by the fall, and tried to excite their compassion and get a drink of water, (which they call cherub,) but they paid no attention to our prayers, and kept the camels running faster than before.

"This was the first time I had attempted to walk bare-footed since I was a schoolboy: we were obliged to keep up with the camels, running over the stones, which were nearly as sharp as gun-flints, and cutting our feet to the bone at every step. It was here that my fortitude and philosophy failed to support me; I cursed my fate aloud, and wished I had rushed into the sea before I gave myself up to these merciless beings in human forms—it was now too late. I would have put an immediate end to my existence, but had neither knife nor any other weapon with which to perform the deed. I searched for a stone, intending if I could find a loose one sufficiently large, to knock out my own brains with it; but searched in vain. This paroxysm passed off in a minute or two, when reason returned, and I recollected that my life was in the hand of the Power that gave it, and that "the Judge of all the earth would do right." Then running with all my remaining might, I soon came up with the camels, regardless of my feet and of pain, and felt perfectly resigned and willing to submit to the will of Providence and the fate that awaited me.

"From that time forward, through

through all my succeeding trials and sufferings, I never once murmured in my heart, but at all times kept my spirits up, doing the utmost to obey and please those whom fortune, fate, or an overruling Providence had placed over me, and to persuade, both by precept and practice, my unhappy comrades to do the same. I had, with my companions, cried aloud with pain, and begged our savage drivers for mercy, and when we had ceased to make a noise, fearing, as it were, to lose us in the dark, they stopped the camels, and again placing us on them as before, drove them on at full speed until about midnight, when we entered a small dell or valley, excavated by the hand of nature, a little below the surface of the desert, about from fifteen to twenty feet deep. Here they stopped the camels, and made them lie down, bidding us to do the same. I judge we must have travelled forty miles this day to the S. E.: the place was hard and rocky, not even sand to lie on, nor any covering to shelter us or keep off the cold damp wind that blew strong from the sea.

"They soon set about milking, and then gave us each about a pint of pure milk, warm from the camels, taking great care to divide it for us; it warmed our stomachs, quenched our thirst in some measure, and allayed in a small degree the cravings of hunger. Mr. Savage had been separated from us, and I learned from him afterwards that he fared better than we did, having had a larger allowance of milk. Clark, Horace, and Dick the cook, were still with me. We lay down on the ground as close to each other as we could, on the sharp stones, without any lee to fend off the wind from us; our bodies all over blistered and mangled, the stones piercing through the sore naked flesh to the ribs and other bones. These distresses, and our sad and despondings reflections, rendered this one of the longest and most dismal nights ever passed by any human beings. We kept shifting births, striving to keep off some of the cold during the night, while sleep, that had hitherto relieved our distresses and fatigues, fled from us in spite of all our efforts and solicitude to embrace it; nor were we able to close our eyes.

"The morning of the 11th came on at last, and our industrious mistresses, having milked a little from the camels, and allowed the young ones to suck, gave us about half a pint of milk among four of us, being just enough to wet our mouths, and then made us go forward on foot and drive the camels. The situation of our feet was horrible beyond description, and the very recollection of it, even at this moment, makes my nerves thrill and quiver. We proceeded forward, having gained the level desert for a considerable time, when entering a small valley, we discovered three or four tents made of coarse cloth, near which we were met by our masters and a number of men whom we had not before seen, all armed with either a double-barrelled musket, a scimitar, or dagger. They were all of the same nation and tribe, for they shook hands at meeting, and seemed very friendly to each other, though they stopped and examined us, as if disposed to question the right of property.

"It now appeared there was still some difficulty in deciding to whom each one of us belonged; for seizing hold of us, some dragged one way and some another, disputing very

very loudly, and frequently drawing their weapons. It was however decided at last, after making us go different ways for the space of two or three hours with different men, that myself and the cook should remain, for the present, in the hands of our first master. They gave Clark to another, and Horace to a third. We had come near a couple of tents, and were certainly disgusting objects, being naked and almost skinless; this was some time about noon, when three women came out who had not before seen us, and having satisfied their curiosity by gazing at us, they expressed their disgust and contempt by spitting at us as we went along, making their faces still more horrid by every possible contortion of their frightful features; this we afterwards found to be their constant practice wherever we went until after we got off the desert.

"Towards evening a great number of the men having collected in a little valley, we were made to stop, and as our bodies were blistered and burnt to such a degree as to excite pity in the breasts of some of the men, they used means to have a tent cleared out for us to sit under. They then allowed all those of our crew present to sit under it; but Porter and Burns had been separated from me shortly after our capture, and, as may well be supposed, we were glad to meet one another again, miserable as we all were. A council was now held by the natives near the tent; they were about one hundred and fifty men, some very old, some middle aged, and some quite young. I soon found they were Mohamedans, and the proper names by which they frequently called each other were Mohamed, Hamet, Seid, Sidéullah, Abdallah, &c. so that by these and the female names, Fatima, Ezimah, Sarah, &c. I knew them to be Arabs or Moors.

"The council were deliberating about us; and having talked the matter over a long time, seated on the ground, with their legs crossed under them, in circles of from ten to twenty each, they afterwards arose and came to us. One of the old men then addressed me; he seemed to be very intelligent, and though he spoke a language which I was unacquainted with, yet he explained himself in such a plain and distinct manner, sounding every letter full like the Spaniards, that with the help of signs I was able to understand his meaning. He wanted to know what country we belonged to; I told him we were English; and as I perceived the Spanish language was in sound more like that which they spoke than any other I knew, I used the phrase Inglesis; this seemed to please him, and he said "O Fransah, O Spaniah;" meaning "or Frenchmen or Spaniards;" I repeated we were English. He next wanted to know which point of the horizon we came from, and I pointed to the North.

"They had seen our boat, which they called Zooerga, and wanted to know if we had come all the way in that boat: I told them no, and making a kind of coast, by heaping up sand, and forming the shape of a vessel, into which I stuck sticks for masts and bowsprit, &c. I gave him to understand that we had been in a large vessel, and wrecked on the coast by a strong wind; then by tearing down the mast and covering up the vessel's form with sand, I signified to him that she was totally lost. Thirty or forty of the other Arabs were sitting around

around us, paying the strictest attention to every one of my words and gestures, and assisting the old man to comprehend me. He wished to know where we were going, and what cargo the vessel (which I now found they called Sfenah) had on board. I satisfied them in the best way I could, on this point, telling them that I had on board, among other things, dollars: they wanted to know how many, and gave me a bowl to imitate the measure of them; this I did by filling it with stones and emptying it three times. They were much surprised at the quantity, and seemed to be dissatisfied that they had not got a share of them. They then wanted to know which way the vessel lay from us, and if we had seen any of the natives, whom they called Moslemin.

"This I took to be what we call Mussulmen, or followers of the Mohamedan doctrine, and in this I was not mistaken. I then explained to them in what manner we had been treated by the inhabitants; that they had got all our clothing, except what we had on when they found us; all our money and provisions; massacred one of our number, and drove us out to sea. They told me that they heard of the shipwreck of a vessel a great way North, and of the money, &c. but that the crew were drowned in the el M Bahar; this was so near the Spanish (La Mar) for the sea, that I could not misunderstand it. Thus having obtained what information they wanted on those points, they next desired to know if I knew any thing about Marocksh; this sounded something like Morocco: I answered yes: next of the Sooltaan, (the Sultan,) to which instead of saying yes, I made signs of assent, for I found they did no more themselves, except by a cluck with the tongue.

"They wanted me to tell his name, Soo Mook, but I could not understand them until they mentioned Moolay Solimaan; this I remembered to be the name of the present emperor of Morocco, as pronounced in Spanish, nearly. I gave them to understand that I knew him; had seen him with my eyes, and that he was a friend to me and to my nation. They next made me point out the direction towards his dominions, and having satisfied them that I knew which way his dominions lay from us, I tried to intimate to them, that if they would carry me there, I should be able to pay them for my ransom, and that of my crew. They shook their heads—it was a great distance, and nothing for camels to eat or drink on the way. My shipmates, who were with me, could not understand one syllable of what they said, or of their signs, and did not believe that I was able to communicate at all with them. Having finished their council, and talked the matter over among themselves, they separated, and our masters, taking each his slave, made off, every one his own way. Although from the conference I derived hopes of our getting ransomed, and imparted the same to my mates and crew, yet they all seemed to think I was deluding them with false expectations; nor could I convince them of the contrary. We took another leave of each other, when we parted for the night, having travelled this day, I should guess, about fifteen miles S. E.

"I had been so fully occupied since noon, that no thoughts of victuals or drink had occurred to mind. We had none of us eat or drunk

drunk any thing this day, except about half a gill of milk each in the morning at daylight, and about half a pint of black beach water near the middle of the day. I was delivered over to an Arab named Bickri, and went with him near his tent, where he made me lie down on the ground like a camel. Near midnight he brought me a bowl containing about a quart of milk and water; its taste was delicious, and as my stomach had become contracted by long hunger and thirst, I considered it quite a plentiful draught. I had been shivering with cold for a long time, as I had no covering or skreen, and not even one of my shipmates to lie near me to keep one side warm at a time. I was so far exhausted by fatigues, privations, &c. that my misery could no longer keep me awake. I sank into a deep sleep, and during this sleep I was troubled in the first place with the most frightful dreams.

"I thought I was naked and a slave, and dreamed over the principal incidents which had already actually passed. I then thought I was driven by Arabs with red hot iron spears pointed at me on every side, through the most dreadful fire I had ever imagined, for near a mile, naked and barefoot: the flames up to my eyes, scorched every part of my skin off, and wasted away my flesh by roasting, burning, and drying it off to the bones; my torments were inconceivable—I now thought I looked up towards heaven, and prayed to the Almighty to receive my spirit, and end my suffering; I was still in the midst of the flames; a bright spot like an eye, with rays around it, appeared above me in the firmament, with a point below it, reaching towards the N. E.—I thought if I went that way I should go right, and turned from the south to the N. E.; the fire soon subsided and I went on, still urged by them about me, with their spears pricking me from time to time, over high sand hills and rocky steeps, my flesh dropping off in pieces as I went,—then descending a deep valley, I thought I saw green trees—flowering shrubs in blossom—cows feeding on green grass, with horses, sheep, and asses near me, and as I moved on, I discovered a brook of clear running water; my thirst being excessive, I dragged my mangled limbs to the brook, threw myself down, and drank my fill of the most delicious water. When my thirst was quenched, I rolled in the brook to cool my body, which seemed still consuming with heat; then thanked my God in my heart for his mercies.

"My masters in the mean time kept hurrying me on in the way pointed out by the All-seeing eye, which was still visible in the heavens above my head, through crooked, thorny, and narrow paths, over high mountains and deep valleys—past hosts of armed men on horseback and on foot, and walled cities, until we met a tall young man dressed in the European and American manner, by the side of a brook, riding on a stately horse, who upon seeing me alighted, and rushing forward wild with joy, caught me in his arms, and pressed me to his breast, calling me by the most endearing name of brother, in my own language—I thought I fainted in his arms from excess of joy, and when I revived, found myself in a neat room, with a table set in the best manner before me, covered with the choicest meats, fruits, and wines, and my deliverer pressing

pressing me to eat and drink; but finding me too much overcome to partake of this refreshment, he said, 'Take courage, my dear friend, God has decreed that you shall again embrace your beloved wife and children.' At this instant I was called by my master—I awoke, and found it was a dream.

"Being daylight (Sept. 12th) he ordered me to drive forward the camels; this I did for about an hour, but my feet were so much swelled, being lacerated by the cutting of the stones, which seemed as if they would penetrate to my heart at every step—I could not help stooping and crouching down nearly to the ground. In this situation, my first master Hamet observed me; he was going on the same course, S. E. riding on his camel; he came near my present master, and after talking with him a good while, he took off the blanket from his back and gave it to Bickri—then coming close to me, made signs for me to stop. He next made his camel lie down; then fixing a piece of skin over his back behind the saddle, and making its two ends fast to the girths to keep it from slipping off, he bade me mount on it, while he got on his saddle and steadied me with his hand until the camel rose. He then went on the same course as before, in company with three or four other men, well armed and mounted. The sun beat dreadfully hot upon my bare head and body, and it appeared to me that my head must soon split to pieces, as it was racking and cracking with excruciating pain. Though in this horrible distress, yet I still thought of my dream of the last night—'a drowning man will catch at a straw,' says the proverb, and I can verily add, that the very faintest gleam of hope will keep alive the declining spirits of a man in the deepest distress and misery; for from the moment I began to reflect on what had passed through my mind when sleeping, I felt convinced that though this was nothing more than a dream, yet still remembering how narrowly and often I had escaped immediate apparent death, and believing it was through the peculiar interposition of Divine Providence, I could not but believe that the All-seeing eye was watching over my steps, and would in due time conduct me by his unerring wisdom, into paths that would lead to my deliverance, and restoration to my family.

"I was never superstitious, nor ever did I believe in dreams or visions, as they are termed, or even remembered them, so as to relate any I may have had; but this dream made such an impression on my mind, that it was not possible for me to remove it from my memory—being now as fresh as at the moment I awoke after dreaming it; and I must add, that when I afterwards saw Mr. *Willshire*, I knew him to be the same man I had seen in my sleep. He had a particular mark on his chin—wore a light-coloured frock coat, had on a white hat, and rode the same horse. From that time I thought if I could once get to the empire of Morocco, I should be sure to find a friend to relieve me and my companions, whose heart was already prepared for it by superior power. My mind was thus employed until we came to a little valley where half a dozen tents were pitched: as soon as we saw them, Hamet made his camel kneel down, and me to dismount—he was met by several women and children,

children, who seemed very glad to see him, and I soon found that they were his relations. He beckoned me to come towards his tent, for he lived there apparently with his mother, and brothers and sisters, but the woman and girls would not suffer me to approach them, driving me off with sticks, and throwing stones at me; but Hamet brought me a little sour milk and water in a bowl, which refreshed me considerably.

"It was about two o'clock in the day, and I was forced to remain broiling in the sun without either tree, shrub, or any other shade to shield me from its scorching rays, until night, when Dick (the cook) came in with the camels. Hamet had kept Dick from the beginning, and made him drive the camels, but allowed him to sleep in one corner of the tent, and gave him for the few first days as much milk as he could drink, once a day; and as he was a domestic slave, he managed to steal water, and sometimes sour milk when he was dry.

"In the evening of this day, I was joined by Hogan, and now found that he and myself had been purchased by Hamet that day, and that Horace belonged to an ill-looking old man, whose tent was pitched in company. This old villain came near me, and saluted me by the name of *Rais*, asking me the name of his boy (Horace); I told him it was Horace, which after repeating a few times, he learned so perfectly, that at every instant he was yelling out "*Hoh Rais*" for something or other. Hamet was of a much lighter colour than the other Arabs we were with, and I thought he was less cruel, but in this respect I found I was mistaken, for he made myself and Hogan lie on the ground in a place he chose, where the stones were very thick, and baked into the ground so tight that we could not pull them out with our fingers, and we were forced to lie on their sharp points, though at a small distance, not more than fifty yards, was a spot of sand. This I made him understand (pointing at the same time to my skinless flesh), but he signified to us that if we did not remain where he had ordered, we should get no milk when he milked the camels. I calculate we travelled this day about thirty miles.

"Here then we staid, but not to sleep, until about the midnight hour, when Hamet came to us with our milk—It was pure and warm from the camels; and about a pint for each. The wind blew as is usual in the night, and on that part of the Desert the air was extremely cold and damp; but its moisture on our bodies was as salt as the ocean. Having received our share of milk, when all was still in the tent, we stole to the sandy place, where we got a little sleep during the remaining part of the night. Horace's master would not permit him to come near me, nor me to approach him, making use of a stick, as well to enforce his commands in this particular, as to teach us to understand him in other respects.

"At daylight (Sept. 13th) we were called on to proceed. The families struck their tents, and packed them on camels, together with all their stuff. They made us walk and keep up with the camels, though we were so stiff and sore all over that we could scarcely refrain from crying out at every step: such was our agony;—still pursuing our route to the S.E. In the course of the morning, I saw Mr. Williams; he

he was mounted on a camel, as we had all been the first day, and had been riding with the drove about three hours—I hobbled along towards him; his camel stopped, and I was enabled to take him by the hand—he was still entirely naked; his skin had been burned off; his whole body was so excessively inflamed and swelled, as well as his face, that I only knew him by his voice, which was very feeble. He told me he had been obliged to sleep naked in the open air every night; that his life was fast wasting away amidst the most dreadful torments; that he could not live one day more in such misery; that his mistress had taken pity on him, and anointed his body that morning with butter or grease, but, said he, "I cannot live; should you ever get clear from this dreadful place, and be restored to your country, tell my dear wife that my last breath was spent in prayers for her happiness:" he could say no more; tears and sobs choked his utterance.

"His master arrived at this time, and drove on his camel, and I could only say to him, "God Almighty bless you," as I took a last look at him, and forgot, for a moment, while contemplating his extreme distress, my own misery. His camel was large, and moved forward with very heavy motions: as he went from me, I could see the inside of his legs and thighs—they hung in strings of torn and chafed flesh—the blood was trickling down the sides of the camel, and off his feet—"My God!" I cried, "suffer us not to live longer in such tortures."

"I had stopped about fifteen minutes, and my master's camels had gained a great distance from me, so that I was obliged to run that I might come up with them. My mind was so shocked with the distresses of Mr. Williams, that I thought it would be impious for me to complain, though the sharp stones continued to enter my sore feet at every step. My master saw me, and stopped the drove for me to come up; when I got near him, he threatened me, shaking his stick over my head, to let me know what I had to expect if I dared to commit another fault. He then rode off, ordering me and Hogan to drive the camels on as fast as we could. About an hour afterwards he came near us, and beckoned to me to come to him, which I did. A tall old man nearly as black as a negro, one of the most ill-looking and disgusting I had yet seen, soon joined my master, with two young men, whom I found afterwards were his sons—they were also joined by a number more on camels, and well armed.

"After some time bartering about me, I was given to the old man, whose features showed every sign of the deepest rooted malignity in his disposition. And is this my master? thought I. Great God! defend me from his cruelty! He began to go on—he was on foot; so were his two sons; but they walked faster than camels, and the old man kept snarling at me in the most surly manner, to make me keep up. I tried my very best, as I was extremely anxious to please him, if such a thing was possible, knowing the old adage of "the devil is good when he is pleased," was correct, when applied to human beings; but I could not go fast enough for him; so after he had growled and kept on a considerable time, finding I could not keep up with him, he came behind me and thrust me for-

ward with hard blows repeatedly applied to my exposed back, with a stout stick he had in his hand. Smarting and staggering under my wound, I made the greatest efforts to get on, but one of his still more inhuman sons (as I then thought him) gave me a double barrelled gun to carry, with his powder horn and other accoutrements: they felt very heavy, yet after I had taken them, the old man did not again strike me, but went on towards the place where he meant to pitch his tent, leaving me to follow on as well as I could.

"The face of the desert now appeared as smooth as the surface of the ocean when unruffled by winds or tempests. Camels could be seen in every direction, as soon as they came above the horizon, so that there was no difficulty in knowing which way to go, and I took care to keep sight of my new master's drove, until I reached the valley, in which he had pitched his tent. I was broiling under the sun and tugging along with my load, which weighed me down to the earth, and should have lain down despairing, had I not seen Mr. Williams in a still worse plight than myself.

"Having come near the tent about four P. M. they took the load from me, and bade me lie down in the shade of the tent. I then begged for water, but could get none. The time now came on for prayers, and after the old man and his sons had performed this ceremony very devoutly, they went away. I was in so much pain, I could scarcely contain myself, and my thirst was more painful than it had yet been. I tried to soften the hearts of the women to get me a little water, but they only laughed and spit at me; and to increase my distresses as much as they could, drove me away from the shade of the tent, so that I was forced to remain in the scorching sun for the remainder of this long day.

"A little after sunset my old and young masters returned; they were joined by all the men that were near, to the number of from twenty to thirty, and went through their religious ceremonies in a very solemn manner, in which the women and little children did not join them. Soon after this was over, Clark came in with the camels and joined me; it would have been pleasant to be together, but his situation was such that it made my heart-ache still worse than it did before; he was nearly without a skin; every part of his body exposed; his flesh excessively mangled, burnt and inflamed. "I am glad to see you once more, sir," said Clark, "for I cannot live through the approaching night, and now beg of you, if you ever get to our country again to tell my brothers and sisters how I perished." I comforted him all I could, and assured him he would not die immediately; that the nourishment we now had, though very little, was sufficient to keep us alive for a considerable time, and that though our skins were roasted off and our flesh inflamed, we were yet alive without any signs of putrefaction on our bodies; that I had great hopes we should all be carried in a few days from this desert to where we might get some food to nourish us, and as I had learned a little of the language of these people, (or savages,) I would keep trying to persuade them that if they would carry us up the Moorish dominions, I should be able to pay them a great ransom for all the crew; for an old man had told me

me that as soon as it should rain they would journey to the N. E. and sell us.

"The night came on; cold damp winds succeeded to the heat of the day, and I begged of my old master to be permitted to go under the corner of his tent, (for it was a large one,) and he seemed willing, pointing out a place for us to lie down in, but the women would not consent, and we remained outside until the men had milked the camels. They then gave us a good drink of milk, near a quart each, and after the women were asleep, one of my young masters, named Omar, (the same that made me carry his gun the preceding day, to keep his father from beating me,) took pity on our distresses, and came and made us creep under one corner of the tent, without waking the women, where some soft sand served us for a bed, and the tent kept off the cold air from us; and here we slept soundly until morning. As soon as the women awoke, and found us under the tent, they were for thrusting us out with blows, but I pretended to be asleep, and the old man looking on us, seemed somewhat concerned, fearing (as I thought) he might lose his property. He told his women to let us alone, and as he was absolute, they were forced to obey him, though with every appearance of reluctance.

"After they had milked the camels, and took a drink themselves, they gave us what remained, that is to say, near a pint between us. They did not move forward this day, and suffered us to remain under the corner of the tent in the shade all the while and the next night, and even gave us a piece of a skin to cover us with in part, and keep off the night wind. They gave us a good drink of milk when they drank themselves on the second night, and Omar had given us about a pint of water each, in the middle of the day; so that the inflammation seemed to have subsided in a great degree from our flesh and feet.

"This attention, together with the two good nights' rest, revived us very much—these were the 14th and 15th days of September. I had not seen any of my unfortunate shipmates except Clark, and did not know where they were during the day we remained still. The camels were driven off early in the morning by a negro slave and two of the small boys, and did not return until the night—they went out to the east to find shrubs for them to feed on. Clark was obliged near night to go out and pull up some dry thorn bush shrubs and roots to make a fire with. At the return of the camels, the negro slave (who was a stout fellow, named Boireck) seated himself by the fire, stretching out his legs on each side of it, and seeing us under the tent, thought to drive us out: but as he was not permitted by our old master, he contented himself by pointing at us and making comparisons: then sneeringly addressing me by the name of Rais, or chief, would set up a loud laugh, which, with the waggery he displayed in his remarks on us, kept the whole family and several strangers who had assembled on the occasion, in a constant roar of laughter until midnight, the hour for milking the camels. He would poke our sore flesh with a sharp stick, to make sport, and show the Arabs what miserable beings we were, who could not even bear the rays of the sun (the image of God, as they term it) to shine upon us.

"Being tormented in this manner, my companion Clark could scarcely contain his wrath: "it was bad enough, (he said,) to be reduced to slavery by the savage Arabs; to be stripped, and skinned alive and mangled, without being obliged to bear the scoffs and derision of a d——d negro slave." I told him I was very glad to find he still had so much spirit left, and could feel as if he wished to revenge an insult—it proved to me that he felt better than he did the preceding night, and I was so much relieved myself, my hopes of being able to endure our tortures and privations increased, adding, "Let the negro laugh if he can take any pleasure in it; I am willing he should do so, even at my expense: he is a poor slave himself, naked and destitute, far from his family and friends, and is only trying to gain the favour of his masters and mistresses, by making sport of us, whom he considers as much inferior to him as he is to them." Clark could not be reconciled to this mode of mockery and sport, but the negro kept it up as long as we remained with his master, every night, and always had plenty of spectators to admire his wit, and laugh at his tricks and buffoonery. This reminded me of the story of Samson, when the Philistines wished to make sport with him; he was blind, and they supposed him harmless; but he became so indignant, that he was willing to suffer death to be revenged of them; the difference was, he had strength to execute his will,—we had not.

"From the 15th to the 18th, we journied every day to the S. E. about thirty miles a day, merely to find a few shrubs in the small scattered valleys for the camels, and consequently for the inhabitants to subsist on. As we went on in that direction, the valleys became less frequent and very shallow; the few thorn bushes they produced were very dry; and no other shrubs to be found; the camels could not fill their stomachs with the leaves and shrubs, nor with all that they could crop off, though they pulled away the branches as thick as a man's finger. The milk began to fail, and consequently we had to be scanted, so that our allowance was reduced to half a pint a day, and as all the water they had taken from the well was expended, they could give us no more of that precious article. There was belonging to this tribe four mares that were the general property; they were very clear limbed, and very lean; they fed them on milk every day, and every one took his turn in giving them as much water every two days as they would drink. These mares drank up the last of our water on the 19th, nor would my master allow me to drink what little was left in the bowl, not exceeding half a pint, and it was poured out as a drink-offering before the Lord, while they prayed for rain, which indeed they had reason to expect, as the season they knew was approaching, when some rain generally happens. I supposed our distance from the sea, or the well that we had left, to be three hundred miles in a direct line, and feared very much that we should not find water at any other place. The sustenance we received was just sufficient to keep the breath of life in us, but our flesh was less inflamed than in the first days, for we had continued to lie under a part of the tent at night, and also in the day-time when it was pitched, which was generally the case about two o'clock

o'clock in the afternoon. We had, however, become so emaciated, that we could scarcely stand, and they did not attempt to make me nor Clark do any kind of work, except gather a few dry sticks, towards evening, to light a fire. The swellings had also gone down in some measure from our feet, as there was not substance enough in us to keep up a running sore; all the moisture in them seemed to dry away, and we could support the prickings and cuttings of the stones better as we became lighter, and more inured to it. We had endeavoured to find some of the kind of root that was met with near the sea coast, but none could be procured. In every valley we came to, the natives would run about and search under every thorn bush, in hopes to find some herb, for they were nearly as hungry as ourselves. In some places a small plant was found, resembling what we call shepherd's sprout; they were torn up by them and devoured in an instant. I got one or two, but they proved very bitter, and were impregnated, in a considerable degree, with salt: these plants were so rare as to be scarcely of any benefit. There were also found by the natives, in particular places, a small ground root, whose top showed itself like a single short spear of grass, about three inches above the ground; they dug it up with a stick; it was of the size of a small walnut, and in shape very much like an onion; its taste fresh, without any strong flavour; but it was very difficult to find, and afforded us very little relief, as we could not get more than half a dozen in a whole day's search, and some days none at all.

"On the 19th of September, in the morning, the tribe having held a council the night before, at which I could observe my old master was looked up to as a man of superior judgment and influence, they began a route back again towards the sea, and the well near which we were first made slaves;—this convinced me that no fresh water could be procured nearer, and as the camels were almost dry, I much feared that myself and companions must perish before we could reach it. I had been in the habit every day since I was on the desert, of relieving my excessive thirst by the disagreeable expedient before mentioned; but that resource now failed me for the want of moisture, nor had any thing passed through my body since the day I left the well. We had journeyed for seven and a half days S.E. and I concluded it would require the same time to return; but on the 18th we steered N.E. and on the 19th we took a N.W. direction, and in the course of the day we entered a very small valley, where we found a few little dwarf thorn bushes, not more than two feet high; on these we found some snails, most of which were dead and dry, but I got about a handful that were alive, and when a fire was kindled, roasted and ate them—Clark did the same, and as we did not receive more than a gill of milk each in twenty-four hours, this nourishment was very serviceable.

"On the morning of the 20th we started as soon as it was light, and drove very fast all the day. We had no other drink than the camels' urine, which we caught in our hands as they voided it; its taste was bitter, but not salt, and it relieved our fainting spirits. We were forced to keep up with the drove, but in the course of the day

day found a handful of snails each, which we at night roasted and ate. Our feet, though not swollen, were extremely sore; our bodies and limbs were nearly deprived of skin and flesh, for we continually wasted away, and the little we had on our bones was dried hard, and stuck fast to them. My head had now become accustomed to the heat of the sun, and though it remained uncovered, it did not pain me. Hunger, that had preyed upon my companions to such a degree as to cause them to bite off the flesh from their arms, had not the same effect on me. I was forced in one instance to tie the arms of one of my men behind him, in order to prevent his gnawing his own flesh; and in another instance, two of them having caught one of the boys, a lad about four years old, out of sight of the tents, were about dashing his brains out with a stone, for the purpose of devouring his flesh, when luckily at that instant I came up and rescued the child, with some difficulty, from their voracity. They were so frantic with hunger, as to insist upon having one meal of his flesh, and then they said they would be willing to die; for they knew that not only themselves, but all the crew would be instantly massacred as soon as the murder should be discovered. I convinced them that it would be more manly to die with hunger than to become cannibals and eat their own or other human flesh, telling them, at the same time, I did not doubt but our masters would give us sufficient nourishment to keep us alive, until they could sell us. On the 20th, we proceeded with much speed towards the N.W. or sea shore; but on the 21st, we did not go forward.

"This day I met with Mr. Savage, Horace, Hogan, and the cook; their masters' tents were pitched near ours; they were so weak, emaciated, and sore, that they could scarcely stand, and had been carried on the camels for the last few days. I was extremely glad to see them, and spoke to all but Horace, whose master drove me off with a stick one way, and Horace another, yelling most horribly at the same time, and laying it on Horace's back with great fury. I soon returned to our tent, and felt very much dejected; they all thought they could not live another day—there were no snails to be found here, and we had not one drop of milk or water to drink. Horace, Hogan, and the cook were employed in attending their masters' camels, in company with one or two Arabs, who kept flogging them nearly the whole of the time.

"My old master did not employ me or Clark in the same way, because he had two negro slaves to do that work; he was a rich man among them, and owned from sixty to seventy camels; he was also a kind of priest, for every evening he was joined, in his devotions, by all the old and most of the young men near his tent. They all first washed themselves with sand in place of water; then wrapping themselves up with their strip of cloth, and turning their faces to the east, my old master stepped out before them, and commenced by bowing twice, repeating at each time "*Allah Houakibar*;" then kneeling and bowing his head to the ground twice; then raising himself up on his feet, and repeating, "*Hi el Allah Sheda Mohamed Rahsool Allah*," bowing himself twice; and again prostrating himself on the earth as many

many times, then "Allah Houakbar;" was three times repeated. He was always accompanied in his motions and words by all present who could see him distinctly, as he stood before them. He would then make a long prayer, and they recited all together what I afterwards found to be a chapter in the Koran; and then all joined in chanting or singing some hymn or sacred poetry for a considerable time. This ceremony being finished, they again prostrated themselves with their faces to the earth, and the service concluded.

"About the middle of this day two strangers arrived, riding two camels loaded with goods: they came in front of my master's tent, and having made the camels lie down, they dismounted, and seated themselves on the ground opposite the tent, with their faces turned the other way. There were in this valley six tents, besides that of my master."

Account of Tombuctoo and Wassanah.

(As given to Mr. Riley, by his late Arab Master, Sidi Hamet.)

"Tombuctoo is a very large city, five times as great as Swearah: it is built on a level plain, surrounded on all sides by hills, except on the south, where the plain continues to the bank of the same river we had been to before, which is wide and deep, and runs to the east; for we were obliged to go to it to water our camels, and here we saw many boats made of great trees, some with negroes in them paddling across the river. The city is strongly walled in with stone laid in clay, like the towns and houses in Suse, only a great deal thicker: the house of the king is very large and high, like the largest house in Mogadore, but built of the same materials as the walls: there are a great many more houses in that city built of stone, with shops on one side, where they sell salt and knives, and blue cloth, and haicks, and an abundance of other things, with many gold ornaments. The inhabitants are blacks, and the chief is a very large and grey-headed old black man, who is called Shegar, which means sultan, or king. The principal part of the houses are made with large reeds, as thick as a man's arm, and stand upon their ends, and are covered with small reeds first, and then with the leaves of the date trees: they are round, and the tops come to a point like a heap of stones.—Neither the Shegar nor his people are Moslemins, but there is a town divided off from the principal one, in one corner, by a strong partition wall, and one gate to it, which leads from the main town, like the Jews' town, or Millah in Mogadore: all the Moors or Arabs who have liberty to come into Tombuctoo are obliged to sleep in that part of it every night, or go out of the city entirely, and no stranger is allowed to enter that Millah without leaving his knife with the gate-keeper; but when he comes out in the morning it is restored to him. The people who live in that part are all Moslemins. The negroes, bad Arabs, and Moors, are all mixed together, and marry with each other, as if they were all of

of one colour: they have no property of consequence, except a few asses: their gate is shut and fastened every night at dark, and very strongly guarded both in the night and in the day-time. The Shegar or king is always guarded by one hundred men on mules, armed with good guns, and one hundred men on foot, with guns and long knives. He would not go into the Millah, and we only saw him four or five times in the two moons we stayed at Tombuctoo, waiting for the caravan: but it had perished on the Desert—neither did the yearly caravan from Tunis and Tripoli arrive, for it had also been destroyed. The city of Tombuctoo is very rich as well as very large; it has four gates to it; all of them are opened in the day-time, but very strongly guarded and shut at night. The negro women are very fat and handsome, and wear large round gold rings in their noses, and flat ones in their ears, and gold chains and amber beads about their necks, with images and white fish-bones, bent round, and the ends fastened together, hanging down between their breasts: they have bracelets on their wrists and on their ancles, and go barefoot. I had bought a small snuff-box filled with snuff in Morocco, and showed to the women in the principal street of Tombuctoo, which is very wide: there were a great many about me in a few minutes, and they insisted on buying my snuff and box;—one made me one offer, and another made me another, until one, who wore richer ornaments than the rest, told me, in broken Arabic, that she would take off all she had about her and give them to me for the box and its contents. I agreed to accept them, and she pulled off her nose-rings and ear-rings, all her neck chains, with their ornaments, and the bracelets from her wrists and ancles, and gave them to me in exchange for it: these ornaments would weigh more than a pound, and were made of solid gold at Tombuctoo, and I kept them through my whole journey afterwards, and carried them to my wife, who now wears a part of them. Tombuctoo carries on a great trade with all the caravans that come from Morocco and the shores of the Mediterranean sea. From Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. are brought all kinds of cloths, iron, salt, muskets, powder, and lead, swords or scimitars, tobacco, opium, spices, and perfumes, amber beads and other trinkets, with a few other articles; they carry back in return elephants' teeth, gold dust, and wrought gold, gum senegal, ostrich feathers, very curiously worked turbans, and slaves; a great many of the latter, and many other articles of less importance: the slaves are brought in from the south west, all strongly ironed, and are sold very cheap; so that a good stout man may be bought for a haick, which costs in the empire of Morocco about two dollars. The caravans stop and encamp about two miles from the city in a deep valley, and the negroes do not molest them: they bring their merchandise near the walls of the city, where the inhabitants purchase all their goods in exchange for the above-mentioned articles; not more than fifty men from any one caravan being allowed to enter the city at a time, and they must go out before others are permitted to enter. This city also carries on a great trade with Wassanah, (a city far to the south-east,) in all the articles that are brought to it by caravans, and

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get returns in slaves, elephants' teeth, gold, &c. The principal male inhabitants are clothed with blue cloth shirts, that reach from their shoulders down to their knees, and are very wide, and girt about their loins with a red and brown cotton sash or girdle: they also hang about their bodies pieces of different coloured cloth and silk handkerchiefs: the king is dressed in a white robe of a similar fashion, but covered with white and yellow gold and silver plates, that glitter in the sun;—he also has many other shining ornaments of shells and stones hanging about him, and wears a pair of breeches like the Moors and Barbary Jews, and has a kind of white turban on his head, pointing up, and strung with different kinds of ornaments; his feet are covered with red Morocco shoes; he has no other weapon about him than a large white staff or sceptre, with a golden lion on the head of it, which he carries in his hand: his whole countenance is mild, and he seems to govern his subjects more like a father than a king. The whole of his officers and guards wear breeches that are generally died red, but sometimes they are white or blue: all but the king go bareheaded. The poor people have only a single piece of blue or other cloth about them, and the slaves a breech cloth. The inhabitants in Tombuctoo are very numerous; I think six times as many as in Swearah, besides the Arabs and other Moslemin or Mohammedans, in their Millah, or separate town; which must contain nearly as many people as there are altogether in Swearah."

[*Note by the Author.*—SWEARAH or Mogadore contains about thirty-six thousand souls; that is, thirty thousand Moors and six thousand Jews: this may be a high estimation for Tombuctoo; making it two hundred and sixteen thousand inhabitants; yet considering the commercial importance of the place, and the fertility of the country around it, there can be no doubt but it contains a vast number of inhabitants; and I must also observe, that if it was a small town, and contained the riches attributed to it, they would require a very strong force to prevent the Arabs from the Desert, together with the caravans, from taking it by surprize or by storm.]

"The women are clothed in a light shirt or under-dress, and over it a green, red, or blue covering, from their breasts to below their knees—the whole girt about their waists with a red girdle; they stain their cheeks and foreheads red or yellow on some occasions, and the married women wear a kind of hood on their heads, made of blue cloth, or silk, and cotton handkerchiefs of different kinds and colours, and go barefoot. The king and people of Tombuctoo do not fear and worship God, like the Moslemins, but like the people of Soudan, they only pray one time in twenty-four hours, when they see the moon, and when she is not seen they do not pray at all: they cannot read or write, but are honest, and they circumcise their children like the Arabs: they have no mosques, but dance every night, as the Moors and Arabs pray. The Shegar or king had collected about one thousand slaves, some gums, elephants' teeth, gold dust, &c. to be ready for the yearly caravans; but as three moons had passed away since the time they ought to have arrived, he gave them up for lost, and

and concluded to send a caravan with part of his goods that came across the Desert; viz. some salt, iron, cloths, &c. to a large city at a great distance from Tombuctoo: and having formed a body of about three thousand men, well armed with muskets, long knives, and spears, and three thousand asses, and about two hundred camels, which were all loaded with heavy goods, such as iron, salt, tobacco, &c., he hired my brother Seid and myself (with ten more of our companions) to carry loads on our two camels to Wassanah, for which he was to give us, when we came back, two haicks each and some gold. As we were completely in his power, we did not dare to refuse to go, and he put us under the care of his brother, whose name was Shelbaa, who had command of the whole caravan. It was in the month of Shual (——) when we departed from Tombuctoo for a place we had never before heard of. We had in company about two hundred Moslemins, but the master of the caravan would not permit us Moslemins to keep our guns, for fear we should turn against him, if he was obliged to fight."

"All being prepared, we went from Tombuctoo, about two hours' ride, towards the south, to the bank of the river, which is called at that place Zolibib, and was wider than from Mogadore to the island; (i. e. about five hundred yards;) here was a miserable village, built with canes, and mudded over: it had about two hundred small houses in it, but no walls: we then set off near the side of the river, and travelled on in a plain even country for six days, every day within sight of the river, which was on our right hand, and running the same way we travelled, and our course was a little to the south of east; when we came to a small town, called Bimbinah, walled in with canes and thorn-bushes, and stopped two days near it, to get provisions and rest our beasts: here the river turned more to the south-eastward, because there was a very high mountain in sight to the eastward: we then went from the river side, and pursued our journey more southwardly, through a hilly and woody country, for fifteen days, when we came to the same river again. Every night we were obliged to make up large fires all around the caravan to keep off the wild beasts, such as lions, tigers, and others, which made a dreadful howling. Here was a small town of black people belonging to another nation, who were enemies to the King of Tombuctoo, but were friendly to the king of Wassanah; and not being strong, they did not molest us, but furnished us with what corn we wanted, and twenty oxen. We saw a large number of armed black men, nearly naked, on the other side of the river, who seemed to be hostile, but they could not get across to attack us: we also saw two very large towns, but walled in like the others we had passed: we stopped here, and rested our camels and asses five days, and then went onward again in about a S. E. direction, winding, as the river ran, for three days; and then had to climb over a very high ridge of mountains, which took up six days, and when we were on the top of them, we could see a large chain of high mountains to the westward: those we passed were thickly covered with very large trees, and it was extremely difficult to get up and down them; but we could not

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go any other way, for the river ran against the steep side of the mountain; so having gotten over them, we came to the river's bank again, where it was very narrow and full of rocks, that dashed the water dreadfully: then finding a good path, we kept on to the S. E. winding a little every day, sometimes more to the east, then to the south again: we kept travelling this way for twelve days after leaving the mountains, during which time we had seen the river nearly every day on our right hand, and had passed a great many small streams that empty into it: it was now very wide, and looked deep—here we saw many trees dug out hollow, like the boats at Tombuctoo, and they were used to carry negroes across the river, and were pushed along with flat pieces of wood: we also saw the high mountains on the west side of the great river, very plainly. Having rested seven days at the ferrying-place, we then travelled on for fifteen days, most of the time in sight of the river. When we came close to the walls of the city of Wassanah, the king came out with a great army, consisting of all his soldiers, to meet us, but finding we had only come to trade by the orders of, and with the goods of, his friend Shegar of Tombuctoo, he invited the chief, and the whole of the caravan, to abide within a square enclosure, near the walls of the city: here we remained two moons, exchanging our goods for slaves, gold, elephants' teeth, &c.

"The city of Wassanah is built near the bank of the river, which runs past it nearly south, between high mountains on both sides, though not very close to the river, which is so wide there that we could hardly see a man across it on the other side: the people of Tombuctoo call it Zolibib, and those of Wassanah call it Zadi. The walls of the city are very large, and made of great stones, laid up like the stone fences in the province of Hah Hah, in Morocco, but without any clay or mud amongst them: they are very thick and strong, and much higher than the walls of Tombuctoo. I was permitted to walk round them in company with six negroes, and it took me one whole day: the walls are built square, and have one large gate on each side. The country all around the city is dug up, and has barley, corn, and other vegetables planted on it; and close by the side of the river, all the land is covered with rice, and there are a great many oxen, and cows, and asses, belonging to the city, but no camels, nor horses, mules, sheep, nor goats, but all about and in the city, speckled fowls abound, and there are plenty of eggs. The people of the caravan were allowed to enter the city, but only twenty at a time, and they were all obliged to go out again before night.

"We had been there more than a moon, when it came to my turn to go in. I found almost the whole of the ground inside of the walls was covered with huts made of stones piled up without clay, and some reeds, laid across the tops, covered over with the large leaves of the date or palm tree, or of another tree which looks very much like a date tree, and bears a fruit as large as my head, which has a white juice in it sweeter than milk; the inside is hard, and very good to eat: the trees that bear this big fruit grow in abundance in this country, and their fruit is very plenty: their huts have narrow passages between them:

them: the king or chief is called Oleeboo, which means, in the negro talk, good sultan: he is a very tall, and quite a young man; his house is very large, square, and high, made of stone, and the chinks filled up with something white like lime, but not so hard: they would not let me go into his house, and told me he had one hundred and fifty wives, or more, and ten thousand slaves: he dresses in a white shirt, that looks like the one worn by Mr. Willshire, and long trowsers made like them you have on, and coloured like an orange." Those I then had on were common wide sailor's trowsers. "He has over his shirt a caftan or robe with sleeves to it, made of red cloth, tied about with a girdle that goes from his breast to his hips, made of silk handkerchiefs of all colours, and has slips of fine coloured silk tied round his arm and legs: his hair is also tied in small bunches, and he wears on his head a very high hat made of canes, coloured very handsomely, and adorned with fine feathers: he has sandals on his feet, bound up with gold chains, and a great gold chain over his shoulder, with a bunch of ornaments made of bright stones and shells, that dazzle the eyes, hanging on his breast, and wears a large dagger by his side in a gold case. He rides on the back of a huge beast, called Ilfement, three times as thick as my great camel, and a great deal higher, with a very long nose and great teeth, and almost as black as the negroes: he is so strong, that he can kill an hundred men in a minute when he is mad—this is the animal that the teeth grow in which we bring from Tombuctoo to Widnoon, which you call elephant's teeth, and this was the only one of the animals I ever saw, but they told me these creatures were very plenty down the river from Wassanah." This answers to the description of, and no doubt is, the elephant.

"The king of Wassanah has a guard of two hundred negroes on foot, one hundred of them armed with muskets, fifty with long spears, and fifty with great bows and arrows, with long knives by their sides: they always attend him when he goes out on his beast; he has also a very large army: they fight with guns, spears, and bows and arrows. The city has twice as many inhabitants in it as Tombuctoo, and we saw a great many towns near it on the other side of the river, as well as several small settlements on the same side below. The king nor the people do not pray like the Moslemins, but they jump about, fall down, tear their faces as if they were mad when any of their friends die, and every time they see the new moon, they make a great feast, and dance all night to music made by singing and beating on skins tied across a hollow stick, and shaking little stones in a bag or shell; but they do not read nor write, and are heathens. Though the free people in this place do not steal, and are very hospitable, yet I hope the time is near when the faithful, and they that fear God and his prophet, will turn them to the true belief, or drive them away from this goodly land.

"The principal inhabitants of Wassanah are dressed in shirts of white or blue cloth, with short trowsers, and some with a long robe over the whole, tied about with a girdle of different colours: the free females are generally very fat, and dress in blue or white coverings tied about their waists with girdles of all colours:

colours: they wear a great many ornaments of gold, and beads, and shells, hanging to their ears and noses, necks, arms, ancles, and all over their hair; but the poorer sort are only covered about their loins by a cloth which grows on the tree that bears the big fruit I have told you about before." This fruit, I imagine, must be the cocoa-nut, and I have often in the West Indies, and elsewhere, observed the outer bark of this singular palm-tree: it is woven by nature like cloth, each thread being placed exactly over and under the others. It appears like regular wove coarse bagging, and is quite strong: it loosens and drops from the trunk of the tree of its own accord, as the tree increases in size and age. I had long before considered that this most singular bark must have suggested to man the first idea of cloth, and taught him how to spin, and place the threads so as to form it of other materials that have since been used for that purpose, and this first hint from nature has been improved into our present methods of spinning and weaving.

"The male slaves go entirely naked, but the women are allowed a piece of this cloth to cover their nakedness with: they are very numerous, and many of them kept chained: they are obliged to work the earth round about the city. The inhabitants catch a great many fish: they have boats made of great trees, cut off and hollowed out, that will hold ten, fifteen, or twenty negroes, and the brother of the king told one of my Moslemin companions who could understand him, (for I could not,) that he was going to set out in a few days with sixty boats, and to carry five hundred slaves down the river, first to the southward, and then to the westward, where they should come to the great water, and sell them to pale people who came there in great boats, and brought muskets and powder, and tobacco, and blue cloth, and knives, &c.—He said it was a great way, and would take him three moons to get there, and he should be gone twenty moons before he could get back by land, but should be very rich." I then asked him how many boats he supposed there were in the river at Wassanah? he said:—"A great many, three or four hundred, I should think; but some of them are very small." We saw a great many of these people who had been down the river to see the great water, with slaves and teeth, and came back again: they said, the pale people lived in great boats, and had guns as big as their bodies, that made a noise like thunder, and would kill all the people in a hundred negro boats, if they went too near them: we saw in the river and on the bank a great number of fish, with legs and large mouths, and these would run into the water in a minute, if any man went near them, but they told us they would catch children, and sometimes men, when in the boats: [these are, no doubt, crocodiles or hippopotamuses:] the negroes are very kind, and would always give us barley, corn, or rice, milk or meat, if we were hungry, though we could not speak a language they understood. While we stopped at Wassanah, it rained almost every day. Having traded away all the goods we carried there, Shelbaa took three hundred slaves and a great many teeth, dazzling stones, and shells, and gold; with these we set off again, and went the same way back to Tombuctoo,

Tombuctoo, which took us three moohs, and we we gone from the time we left it, to the time we returned, eight moons. On my arrival at Tombuctoo, we were paid by the chief of the caravan according to promise, and a few days afterwards a caravan arrived there from Tunis, which we joined to return by that way to our own country."

ARTICLE II.—FRANCE. *By Lady Morgan.* 2 *Vols.*

THIS work is evidently made up for the Booksellers, and it is acknowledged, that in order to meet the market, it was written in a very hurried manner. It has all the marks of such a work; but at the same time it contains several very lively and characteristic traits of France and the French people, of all classes—particularly the old noblesse. It is in fact such a work as might be expected from an Irish woman, who had engrafted on the bad taste, rapid and unconnected movements of thought, impetuous and warm feelings, and excursive imagination, that distinguish her Country, a large portion of French levity, fondness for show and effect, and laxity of principle.

PEASANTRY OF FRANCE.

"The agricultural surface of France is divided into what is called, in the language of the country, '*le pays de grande, et de petite culture.*' In the former, the size of the farms has been little affected by the revolution: the only difference that has occurred is, that several farms belonging to one landlord may have been purchased by the farmers who formerly cultivated them, or by a small proprietor, whose exertions are confined to the ground he has bought. The possession of small plots of ground by the day-labourers has become very frequent; and it is sometimes usual in these countries to let them to the great farmers who are desirous of having them, to complete the quantity of land which the size of their establishment demands.

"The *pays de petite culture* is composed of small farms, for the cultivation of which the landlord finds the tenant in horses and ploughs, and divides with him the profits. Upon the large farms the condition of the tenant is very much like that of our own English farmers; and in the *pays de petite culture* there exists a race, long disappeared from England, of poor but independent yeomen, who rear their families in a degree of comfort as perfect, as it is remote from luxury. The dwelling of a French farmer presents the same scene of rural bustle, activity, and industry, as is usually found in the English farm-house.

house. The women always appear full of occupation and energy, and share, in common with their husbands, fathers, and brothers, the toil and anxiety of their condition.

"While we were on a visit in the canton of La Beauce, at the chateau D'Orsonville, the seat of the marquis and marquise de Colbert Chabanais (and it is a delightful link in the chain of association, which leads me back to days so happily passed), we accompanied *la belle châtelaine*, the lady of the castle, on a visit to a rural bride, the wife of one of their farmer-tenants. We found her already deeply engaged in all the bustle of housewifery, standing in the midst of a pile of brown loaves, which she was preparing for the labourers.

"*Vous voilà déjà occupée du ménage, ma bonne Madelaine*" said marquise de Colbert, as we entered.

"*Eh! mais, mon Dieu, oui, Madame, pourquoi pas?*" replied Madelaine, shaking the flour from what Madame de C—— called "*son luxe de jupe*,"——the superfluous quantity of her well-plaited cloth petticoat well meriting the epithet. Madelaine then, with evident pride in her newly acquired opulence, did the honours of her house, by requesting us to walk into the *grande chambre*, or best parlour, and to leave "*la maison*," as she called the kitchen, or place of general reception; where an immense marmite, bubbling over the wood fire, sent forth the fume of the savoury ragout preparing for the family supper.

"*La grande chambre* exhibited one of those excessively high and excellent beds, which it is the ambition of every French peasant to possess; and its old brocaded hangings seemed to boast a nobler origin, than the fresh and snowy counterpane which accompanied them. An *armoire*, antecedent (by its structure) to the days of Boule, held the bridal wardrobe, or rustic *trousseau*. Madelaine drew our attention also to the high chimney-piece, where ticked a handsome pendule, in order to point out to us her taste and her piety, exhibited in a piece of ornamental wax-work, representing two young lovers burning in red worsted flames, fond and devoted as the death-enamoured martyrs of M. Chateaubriand; "*Ah, qu'elle est gentile! n'est-ce pas, Mesdames?—c'est vraiement une cöeffure charmante!*" There was in this dwelling of the farmer every appearance of competency and comfort; and though it wanted those finishing touches of neatness to be found in an English farm-house, there was no absence of accommodation. Good beds, stout furniture, well-sashed windows, and spacious hearths, secured to its inhabitants all the prime necessaries of an habitual dwelling, which was never to be exchanged for the chilling misery of a parish poor-house; except, indeed, a new order of things should provide such an asylum against that indigence, which the increased taxation, and contributions levied on the savings of industry, for the maintenance of foreign troops, may draw down upon the prosperous peasantry of the land at some future day.

"In the course of a morning's walk in the neighbourhood of the chateau D'Orsonville, a sudden shower of rain obliged us to take shelter in the cottage of a *fermier*. We found two young women busied in folding up linen of an excellent quality and colour; and when we had reckoned twelve pair of sheets,

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we could not help observing they were rich in house-linen. "*Mais ce n'est rien, cela,*" replied one of the girls, and took some pains to convince us that what we saw would go but a very short way in providing beds for the labourers in harvest time. Mentioning this circumstance to Monsieur de C—— at dinner that day, he assured me that it was not unusual for a *fermier* to have one hundred and fifty pair of sheets for the use of his family; for that, in general, the French farmers were sufficiently opulent to indulge in a luxury, indispensable in France among all classes, good linen and good beds Among his own tenantry, he added, there were some who were supposed to be worth two or three thousand pounds, English money; and that a few days before, one of his *fermiers* had given a portion of a thousand Napoleons with his daughter in marriage.

"Such is the condition of these small proprietors of lands, of which their fathers were considered the *live stock*, when "*nulle terre, sans seigneur,*" was the maxim of the times.

"There is something exquisitely gracious in the contemplation of that state of things, that true golden age of a country, "where every rood of ground maintains its man," and "*les petits propriétaires*" of France enjoyed by the most numerous class of the peasantry, whether purchased by the savings of the *fermier* or *vigneron*, or whether obtained in the early part of the Revolution from the sale of the national domains, present a state of rural independence, extremely favourable to the views, and highly gratifying to the feelings of philanthropy.

"We were travelling to the *château* of one of our hospitable French friends, when an accident, which happened to our carriage, obliged us to stop for an hour in the little village, which stands at the entrance of the valley Dorsai. We resolved to turn our misadventure to account, by visiting the chateau of the celebrated Madame Cottin, which, we understood, was but at a walking distance. She, indeed, was no more! But the dwelling which has once been consecrated by the residence of *Genius* (be it palace or hovel), is a shrine to which the mind and imagination naturally turn with pilgrim devotion; and the valley of Dorsai, amidst whose shades the character of Malek Adel was created, will long preserve an interest independent of its own loveliness and romantic beauty.

"Having ordered "*une petite collation*" (as the *aubergiste* called a fillet of veal roasting at the fire for the breakfast of accidental travellers), we walked down towards the valley. Our steps were soon arrested by the appearance of a very handsome chateau, which hung over a pretty river, and which, as a large placard informed us, was "*en vente.*" We asked a young peasant (who was eating his *goûté* of raw artichokes and bread and butter at the gates) who had been its late owner. He answered "Le Marechal Arrighi, the cousin of the Emperor, now an *exile*," and the chateau and grounds were to be sold immediately. He could give us no further information, and we proceeded on our ramble. The sultriness of the weather had produced an insupportable thirst, which trees bowed down with fruit on every side tempted us to allay: but as this is a depredation rarely committed in France, and as property of this description

scription is held sacred, in proportion as it lies exposed, we thought it wisest to offer ourselves as purchasers of the "golden produce" of a *verger*, which nearly surrounded a very neat cottage by the pathway-side we had accidentally pursued.

"To the threshold of a French cottage there is no barrier: it is entered not, indeed, without ceremony, for there are certain forms of courtesy never dispensed with in France by any rank; but it is entered by the stranger, as by the neighbour, without hesitation, in the certainty of a civil, if not of a cordial reception.

"We found the interior of the cottage infinitely superior to its external appearance: a clean and lofty bed occupied a little alcove in the outside room; some articles of old china ornamented one shelf, and a few books another: while the "*pot au feu*" was bubbling over a clear fire under the special superintendance of an aged dame, who received us very good humouredly. To our question, whether we could get any fruit to purchase, she replied "*mais trés volontiers-ouez*;" and she hobbled to a little door which opened into a very small farm-yard, where a cow, a mule, and a pig, were lying amicably together under a sort of shed, on which some flax lay drying in the sun—"*tenez, Monsieur, et Madame!*" "You will have the goodness to cross that little *basse cour*, you will then find yourselves in the *verger*, where my son-in-law and my daughter will have the honour to receive your commands: they are both at work there." We found the daughter (a middle-aged woman) at her distaff, under a tree laden with green-gages, of which she gave us the plunder for the sum of *six sous* (threepence), exhorting us to fill our handkerchiefs, with repeated "*prenez-en donc, ne vous gênez pas!*"

"We observed that the little domain of which she was mistress was composed of a *potagerie*, a vineyard, and a quantity of fruit trees and flowers. It was a delicious spot, and placed in a most delicious situation. We asked her, by what tenure her husband held it. She replied with vivacity, "*mais c'est à nous; c'est un petit propriétaire; tenez, voici notre mari—il vous racontera tout ca.*"

"*Notre mari*" was a tall robust well-looking man. He approached us with a low voice, and a spade over his shoulder. To our questions, repeated by his wife, he replied with the intelligence and frankness peculiar to the lower classes of France.

"This little estate of a few "*arpens de terre*" had been obtained by his father on the sale of the national domains. He had himself served in all the wars of the republic, and under the Emperor; but on the death of his father he had left the army, and took possession of his little patrimony, for he had no brothers or sisters to divide it with, according to the new law of succession. He said their chief means of subsistence arose from the cultivation of their vines, which enabled them to have "un morceau de cochonnerie, dans le pot, et un peu de vin dans le petit caveau;" but he added, it required great industry to render their vines productive, during a six months' constant cultivation; and that he had little hopes of deriving much profit from this year, on account of the unparalleled humidity of the season. "But what was a bad season," he

added, "to the depredation committed by foreign troops?—Sacré," and he ground his teeth, "les coquins de Prussiens;" they drank up all the wine wherever they found it. We asked him whether, in some respects, the conduct of the Prussians was not a war of reprisals.

"Comment donc?" he replied, almost jumping with a sudden fit of passion, which his wife endeavoured to reprove with "mais quelle vivacité, mon ami!"

"Comment donc! une guerre de représailles?" The Prussians were the first aggressors:—"pourquoi se mêler de nos affaires, dans le tems de la révolution? sacré!" "But that is an *affaire finie!* they came as the allies of our king, as our friends; and they plundered, they ravaged, they destroyed. Allez, monsieur, allez dans la Perche, go to la Perche, to Sevres, to St. Cloud, hear what husbands and fathers have to say there! Ah, seigneur Dieu! cela fait dresser les cheveux sur la tête! cela fait frémir!"

"I observed, that, as a soldier, he must be aware that such horrors were the natural consequences of war, under whatever colours it was carried on. "Si fait," he replied petulantly, "pour la guerre ouverte, cela s'entende; mais nos amis, les alliés, madame, voilà notre refrain!" On this subject it seems, indeed, to be the *refrain* of the nation.

"Oh, in those moments of desolation and carnage, when foreign armies, under the white standard of peace and of the Bourbons, ravaged the fertile plains and vine-covered hills of France; when the nation saw itself the victim of that force, which approached its frontiers under the guise of amity—was there no royal arm to rush between the sword of the foreigner and the life of the subject? Was there no royal voice to raise its cry of protection, and, like the founder of the Bourbon dynasty, shout along the charging line, "Sauvez mes François?"

"There is scarcely any transition more instantaneous than the extremes of choler and good-humour in an irritated Frenchman. The subject of our conversation had thrown all the angry elements of our military proprietor into activity. A few complimentary phrases on the beauty of his little domain, and the probable happiness of his simple and industrious life, brought back all the gaiety, mildness, and urbanity of the French character. He bowed and smiled, and said he had no reason to complain of his lot; that if things would go on as they had done, all would be well. He said he knew us at once to be "des Anglais, par notre tournure;" and added, the English troops had shown great discipline, and behaved with much more moderation, than any other of the foreign armies.

"Although he talked with singular intelligence on the actual agricultural state of the canton he inhabited, he was less alive to its literary interests; for of the celebrated Madame de Cottin he had never heard, nor knew any lady "qui travailla beaucoup," (wrote much) who had ever possessed a chateau in the Valée D'Orsai. We mentioned the circumstance of her unfortunate kinsman and lover having shot himself in the grounds of her chateau, as an event likely to have attracted rustic attention: "Eh! mais mon Dieu, oui!" replied his wife, "je me rappelle de cela," and she pointed out to us a chateau in the distance, where a gentleman shot himself in consequence of suspecting the attachment of

of his wife for his own particular friend. For this information she was, I thought, reproved by her husband with a delicacy rather beyond the ordinary tone of rustic feeling: "Ma femme, c'est inconcevable, tu vas faire courir une histoire comme cela! une affaire de famille! fi donc, qu'est-ce que ça te regard?"

"The wife stood abashed; and the chateau of the suicide husband not being the chateau we sought, we were obliged to return to our inn in the village, much pleased with having thus accidentally lighted on one of those little proprietors whose means of subsistence and happy independence lie within the compass of a few roods cultivated by their own hands, and whose condition has arisen out of the fermentation of revolutionary conflict. —"Misery," said a French gentleman to me, speaking of the severity of the season, and the depredation of the troops, "misery already attacks us, and presents a prospect of its increase, by the four years' contributions we have yet to pay you;" mais encore elle n'atteint presque pas l'habitant de campagne, qui est généralement devenu propriétaire."

"When Arthur Young travelled through France, in 1789, he observed that not only cottages, but well-built houses, were without glass windows, and had no other light than what the door admitted. This true model of an Irish cabin would now, I believe, scarcely be found in any part of France, not even in the north, where the peasantry are in a less prosperous condition than elsewhere. There is, in the whole appearance of an excellent English cottage, an air of indescribable comfort, a sort of picturesque neatness that goes beyond the line of mere cleanliness and accommodation, and which speaks as much to the eye of taste, as to the feelings of philanthropy. To this character the French habitations, as far as my observation extends, do not attain; although I heard much of the flat-roofed cottages of Quercy, and of the exterior neatness and interior comfort of the peasant residence in the south. The nearest approach to English comfort, which we saw, was in Normandy, where the compact buildings, composed of brick, interspersed with traverse beams painted black, and deeply buried in their "bouquet d'arbres," or knots of fruit and forest trees, strongly resemble the farming tenements of Staffordshire and Shropshire.

"The modern French cottages, however, are strong, and well-built; and are covered with a thatch peculiarly excellent, and perfectly adapted to render their lofts warm, and to repel the inclemency of their severe winters. Their chimnies are well constructed, their windows neatly sashed, and their doors well hung: the latter, I observed, were generally kept shut. The floor is almost universally of clay, beaten down to the consistency of stone. In the "grande chambre," or interior room, on which the prosperous owner displays his refinement and taste, there is occasionally to be found a *plancher*, or boarded floor. The ordinary cottage is, for the most part, divided into two apartments: the common room, which serves as kitchen, and a better apartment, in which the best bed and best furniture are placed. The lofts afford good sleeping rooms for the servants and younger part of the family. Every

cottage has its little *basse-cour*, its piggery, and cow-shed; and too many exhibit their high estimation of a good *fumier*, by accumulating the manure, which is to enrich their little demesne, nearly opposite to their doors.

"One of the first objects with a French peasant, when he becomes master of a cottage, is to furnish it with an excellent bed. This luxury is carried to such an excess, that in many provinces, and in the west particularly, they ascend their beds by steps. Not to have a lofty bed is a sign of poverty, both in taste and in circumstances, which all are anxious to avoid; and to meet the "qu'en dira-t-on?" of the *commune*, on this subject, the sumptuousness of this piece of furniture is procured at the expense of other comforts, or sometimes even of necessaries. In this article, at least the peasantry are wonderfully improved, since the "beau siécle of Louis XIV." that golden age, which all "royalistes purs" wish to see restored. In the best æra of that prosperous reign, when Madame de Sevigné arrived at an inn, kept by a peasant, near the town of Nantes, she found only straw to lie on; and she describes it as a place "plus pauvre, plus misérable qu'on ne peut le représenter; nous n'y avons trouvé que de la paille fraiche, sur quoi nous avons tous couché, sans nouis déshabiller;" and this was in the most splendid reign that France ever witnessed; and this was in the very provinces, in which the peasant is now such a coxcomb, that he ascends his bed by steps.

"I have frequently reckoned three or four beds under the same roof, generally placed in a little recess in the wall, and hung with faded tapestry, or curtains of tarnished damask, the second-hand finery of some fripier of the nearest great town, whose stores are even still but too well supplied from the spoils of revolutionary depredation.

"Whatever spiritual grace may exist in the family of a French peasant, will be found exhibited in "the outward and visible signs," which decorate the bed's head. There hangs the bénitier, with its holy water, a sort of domestic altar. There too is frequently suspended some thrice-blessed relic, which, though it may have lost much of its miraculous efficacy, preserves its station; there also a maimed virgin, or headless saint, which infidelity has neglected, or time dismembered, still remains at least for ornament, if not for use. I have frequently observed, that the bed of *Javotte*, under her straw roof, and the bed of the *petite maîtresse* of Paris, were precisely on the same model, each exhibiting her stock of vanity and superstition, in an article the least calculated for the display of either.

"The *pendule*, or time-piece, which nearly excited an insurrection in *la Bretagne*, when introduced into that harassed province, in the days of Louis XIV. (as being some portentous engine of the *gabelle*), is now not only an ornament, but an indispensable piece of furniture, and is to be found in every better sort of cottage. Those, so much in use among the peasantry of the south, are fabricated in the Jura, or the Vosge, and are purchased at a very moderate price. To count time by its artificial divisions, is the resource of inanity. The unoccupied ignorance of the very lowly, and the inevitable *ennui* of the very elevated, alike find their account in consultations with a time-piece. It

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is in the hour-glass of energy and of occupation, that the sand is always found lying neglected at the bottom.

"One of our most liberal and most recent English travellers in France, Mr. Birkbeck, describes in his brief journal a French peasant eating with a silver fork; and I observed that we never stopped even at the poorest *hôtelerie* on the cross roads, or in the smallest village (which we frequently did, as much to talk to the host as obtain refreshment), that we had not our fruit and *fromage de cochon* served with massy silver forks and spoons. Indeed, with those few exceptions, which must be every where found to arise out of the peculiar circumstances of individual misfortune, the French cottage always indicates the dwelling of a thriving and prosperous population.

"I have often heard it remarked by English travellers, who had visited France before the revolution, that the peasantry were, at that period, as dishonest as they were necessitous, and yielded to temptations of theft the more readily, as the severity of the punishment universally prevented prosecution. This branch of morals, which depends so much more upon the condition of those who violate or respect it, than upon any abstract principle, is necessarily improved in France with the amended state of the lower classes. Morals are inevitably bettered by the competency which excludes temptation; and property, universally if not equally diffused, begets a respect for property, seconded by that law of self-preservation, which imposes the necessity of "doing as we would be done by." In this respect I have heard it allowed, even by the most exaggerated royalists, that the lower classes in France are infinitely improved, both in the towns and country: and the rarity of executions in France for crimes of dishonesty, forms a singular contrast to their melancholy frequency in England. I remember our having alighted from our carriage to spare its springs in a sort of "crackskull-common road," that wound through a wilderness of fruit-trees, which might have passed for the original Eden, and which presented such temptations to the lips of the traveller, as she, "who for an apple damned mankind," would have found irresistible. I asked a boy, who with a little comrade was lying reading under one of these prolific trees, whether I might take an apple: he replied coolly, "cela ne me regarde pas;"—they are not mine. "But you sometimes help yourself, I dare say." He raised his head, and looking at me with an expression of humorous sarcasm, he replied, "Vous voulez dire, VOLER: n'est-ce pas, Madame? Non, Madame, il vaut mieux en demander, que de se faire voleur, pour une pomme." I know not whether this little anecdote be any illustration of the rustic morals of the country; but I saw nothing, during my residence in France, that could induce me to consider it as a rare or splendid instance of probity. A more remarkable instance, in point with the present subject, occurred to an Irish friend. He was leaving Paris during the reign of terror, and dropped down the Seine in a small boat, which just contained himself and his baggage. Within a mile of the town he was hailed by a *bon citoyen*, who mistook him for a "député, qui s'étoit évadé avec de l'or de la république," and was forced

forced to land. After it had been determined by the mob that it would not be right to kill him without examination, he was dragged away to the *maire de commune*, where he was detained nearly an hour, before he could show his passports, and be admitted to proceed. Yet on his return to his boat, he found his gold-headed cane, silver saucepan, baggage, every thing in short, *in statu quo*, without injury, and without violation. Even then the lower classes began to feel they had a character to support, and guilty of crime, they already disdained the vices of slaves.

"Sobriety is a constitutional virtue with the French; and drunkenness a vice strictly confined to the very refuse of the very lowest orders, which always infest great and populous cities. I remember asking an old female peasant in Picardy, whether les bonnes méres du village were ever guilty of this failing? She replied with indignation:—"Dame! elles seroient chassées de notre commune."

"The thin light *vin du pays* is the table-drink of the poorest peasantry; and there are few so poor as not to have a little store of superior quality in the *petit caveau*, or cellar, to celebrate the many "festins," which enjoyment steals from labour, under the sanctified terms of epochs and commemorations.

"To estimate the virtue of temperance, in the lower classes of any nation, it is necessary, perhaps, to have lived in a country so conditioned, that drunkenness becomes almost a venial resource against inevitable misery—where the policy, by which the land is ruled, exhibits such a complete tissue of error, both in its legislation and administration, that much of its power is derived from the perpetuation of a vice, which keeps the people degraded, and at the same time pours money into the exchequer.

"The modes of every-day life in France, even among the peasantry and lowest classes, are powerfully influenced by the happy and genial temperament of the people. And though the peasantry are not without a certain *brusquerie* of manner, arising out of their condition, it is tempered by a courtesy, which indicates an intuitive urbanity, beyond the reach of art to teach, or the means of cunning to acquire; and it explains what Cæsar meant, when he declared, he found the Gauls "the politest barbarians he had conquered." There is, however, among the peasantry of the present day, as among all the lower classes, a certain tone of independence, which almost seems to claim equality with the superior person they address, and which is evidently tinged with the republican hue so universally adopted during the revolution. A French peasant, meeting his brother peasant, takes off his hat, with the air of a *petit-maître*; and I have seen two labourers argue the ceremonies of their bare-headed salutation with as many stipulations as would go to a treaty of peace.

"Mais monsieur, mon ami, couvrez-vous, je vous en prie."—"Eh, mais vous, monsieur, parbleu! si vous l'ordonnez; là."—And both, with a bow and a scrape, after a few more compliments, resume their hats and their conversation together. Equally polite to his superior, but not less independent in his manner than when addressing his equal, "l'homme du peuple" now looks "l'homme comme il faut'

faut" full in the face, when he addresses him; and there is indeed a mixture of intelligence and frankness in his manner, extremely pleasant to witness, and at once foreign from familiarity and meanness. Oh! in listening to their sensible questions, and frank replies, how often, and how unavoidably, have I contrasted their deportment with that of the peasantry of my own country, where a whole population seem condemned to exhibit, in their unregulated conduct and manners, the extremes of lawless resistance, and of groveling servility; —where he, who for some trifling benefit to-day kneels in the dust at your feet, in exaggerated gratitude, with "long may you reign! may you have a happy death!" (for power and death are familiar images to the Irish mind) will, perhaps, to-morrow, in the midnight meetings of his wretched hovel, in the desperation of poverty and inebriety, plan the violation of your property, or the destruction of your life. Slave of his passions, and victim of his wrongs; in good or ill, equally governed by their tyranny, he reacts upon the policy which made him what he is, with a faithful, but frightful influence.

"The domestic manners of the French peasantry, like their domestic affections, are mild and warm; and the possessive pronoun, which denotes the strong binding interest of property in the object to which it is attached, is profusely given to all the endearing ties of kindred. "Notre mari," or more frequently "notre maître," is the term which the wife uses, when speaking of or to her husband; and the adjectives of "bon," or "petit," are generally attached to every member of the family, according to their rank, or age. The grandsire is always "le bon papa," and all sisters and brothers are "petite" and "petit."

"During my most pleasant residence at the Chateau D'Orsonville, I remember one morning accompanying Mad. de C—— in a walk into the village, to visit an ancient *vigneron*, who had, in his youth, been a gardener in the family, and who was now a sort of little *propriétaire*, cultivating his own *petite terre*, and supporting a family of three generations, by its produce.

"The cottage of this little landholder was inclosed within a low mud wall, immediately opposite to it; and within the same court was the smaller cottage of his son's family. A flower knot, in which we found the old man working, although it was Sunday, was the ornament of both. "Bon jour, père Marin," said Madame de C——, as we entered the wicket gate. "Bon jour, mademoiselle," returned *père Marin*, throwing aside his spade, and approaching us with a low bow, not ungracefully performed for a man of years. "Et, la bonne femme?" asked Madame de C——.

"La voilà, notre femme," replied *père Marin*, pointing to the cottage—"Elle apprend à notre petit bon homme à prier le bon Dieu;" and, in fact, we found *notre petit bon homme*, a fine boy of four years old, on his knees before his ancient grandmother. She arose at our entrance, and replacing her missal and beads on a shelf which contained some gardeners' calendars, and an old volume of Bossuet, welcomed us with great courtesy. Madame de C—— inquired for all the members of her family (and she asked for each by their name): the old woman replied, "pour notre fils,

fils, il est allé s' égayer au jeu de bague, au château—et notre bru, elle est auprès du berceau de notre petite, petite; et pour le petit bon homme, le voilà, le voilà, le magot!"

"Madame de Chabanais asked "le magot," whether he would accompany her back to the château. —"Mais trés voluntiers," he replied, and nodding to his grandfather and grandmother, he added, "adieu, notre bonne maman; adieu, maman," to his young mother, who was seated at the door of her cottage, rocking the cradle of an infant child, and engaged in making a shirt for her husband.

"The peasantry submit with difficulty to the *ennui* of idleness, imposed on them by the new regulations, which enforce the strict observance of the sabbath—an observance unknown in most Catholic countries.

"Before I take leave of the family of notre bon pére Marin, I must notice an incident, which struck me forcibly. The book-shelf of the grandfather was filled with books of devotion and agriculture. The books on the shelves, in the son's cottage (which were pretty numerous) consisted of some odd volumes of Voltaire, Moliére, Rousseau, and la Bruyére. I asked the young woman, whether her husband read much? She said, always when he had time. After we had walked in père Marin's garden, which was large and well stocked, he hobbled after me with some fine carnations, apologizing that his grapes were not ripe. I have preserved these flowers; for I know no specimen in the hortus siccus of Linnæus more precious, than the flowers gathered from among the cabbages of a peasant's garden.

"I observed in the cottage of le père Marin, as indeed I did wherever I had an opportunity of conversing with the French peasantry, a primitive simplicity of manner, united to natural quickness and evident tendency to a sort of quaint humour. In Auvergne, la Bretagne, and the Bearnois, I am told this is particularly observable; and that among these truly pastoral people the subject of many modern idylliums may be found, not less touching or less naïve than the ancient. Nor, indeed, are the Theocriti and Sannazaris of the Théatres des Vaudevilles, et de la Variètè, unfaithful to their originals; though, perhaps, they do not always take the most poetical view of their subjects.

"The *tu-toyer* has no equivalent in the primitive *thee* and *thou* of the English translation. The tu-toyer universal in France, in all the intercourse of friendship and intimacy, is always used among the peasants, except to their superiors, to whom, during the revolution, it was also applied in the then reigning grammar of French equality. "Ici on se tu-toit" was frequently seen written over the doors of the public *bureaux*. Perhaps it was a remains of the rustic education received by the royal mountaineer, Henry IV. which made him not only tu-toyer his wife, as he called his queen, but his minister of state—

"Je bois a *toi*, Sully,
Mais j'ai failli:
Je devois dire à *vous*, adorable
duchesse!
Pour boire à vos appas,
Faut mettre chapeau bas."

"By this little chanson à boire, the *tu* and *toi* were even then evidently deemed vulgarisms, which offended the pride of the haughty Duchesse de Sully, whom the royal poet dignifies with the stately pronoun

noun "vous." I have heard Napoleon's roturier origin quoted by the royalistes purs, as explaining the vulgar circumstance of his using the "tu-toyer" to the daughter of the Cæsars, who, however, was so little hurt by the coarse familiarity, as to call the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, in return, "mon petit raton!"

"All the ties of kindred are peculiarly sacred among the French peasantry; and parental feelings are so strong as to have given rise to a custom, which, however touching, in a pastoral tale, would perhaps, in real life, be more "honoured in the breach than the observance."

"When the aged parent beholds the prospects of life closing dimly on his view, he endeavours to catch one parting ray from its sinking sun by an act which rallies all the best feelings of humanity to the heart. He gives up his all to his children, and throws himself on their generosity and gratitude for future comfort, maintenance, and support. He thus affords them the opportunity of repaying the cares he lavished on their helpless state, by consigning his feebleness to their protection: and as he is led from the cottage of one child to that of another, his arrival and departure awaken all that yet remains vital at the heart of the old sire, and renew emotions, which usually slumber or die in the independent selfishness, by which the egotism of age excludes itself from gratuitous kindness.

"This imprudent, but benevolent custom of an affectionate and primitive people (for the French peasants are extremely primitive), is sometimes, though very rarely, a test of human virtue too much for the proof, and evinces in the father's wrongs "how much sharper than a serpent's tooth is an ungrateful child." The destitute and ill-requited parent may sometimes appeal to the friend's protection, or the stranger's spmpathy, and cry, in the affecting words of Lear, "I gave them all." It is delightful, however, to believe, what I was constantly assured, that such instances of turpitude are very rare; and that splendid examples of filial devotion and filial gratitude are of every-day occurrence. A peasant father, who had thus generously, but incautiously, distributed his little property, during his lifetime, among his children, was met by a neighbour, as he was returning from his first visit to the house of his son—"Eh; comment vous ont-ils reçu?" asked his friend. "Comme leur enfant!" was the touching reply.

Domestic Servants.

"The femme-de-chambre is at this moment the same familiar, shrewd, important, and ostensible person, in a French family, as she appears in the Toinettes and Dorines, the inimitable suivantes of Moliere Sometimes the director-general of the establishment, she is always the cabinet-minister of her lady; who generally brings her into the family on the wedding-day, and she is not unfrequently the only female servant in the house.

"As it is less the fashion with French

French ladies to "courir les boutiques," than it is with English ladies "to shop," almost all purchases are made by the femme-de-chambre, except matters of mere taste or fancy. And I have generally heard it observed, by women of my acquaintance, that the attachment and fidelity of these persons rendered them perfectly worthy of the trust reposed in them.

"The suivante of the young married lady, frequently becomes in time la bonne of the matron; and to her care the children are entrusted; even the first rudiments of their education are committed. La bonne is a charming character, peculiar to France; something between the Grecian nurse and the Spanish duenna: with all the affectionate devotion of the one, and all the official dignity of the other. Respected by the servants, beloved by the children, and treated with consideration by her employers, la bonne generally remains in the family after her young charge is consigned to the care of superior instructors. Voltaire is said to have submitted to the jurisdiction of his bonne, at the moment that he exercised an absolute authority over the opinions of more than one-half of literary Europe.

"In one of the many delightful conversations I had with Madame la Marquise de Vilette, on the subject of Voltaire, her adopted father, she related to me some pleasant anecdotes of the influence which Barbara, or, as he called her, Baba, his ancient bonne, held over him. Barbara was an old Savoyard, peevish, irritable, and presuming; but devoted to her illustrious charge, and watching with maternal solicitude over those infirmities of his age, which her own was exempt from. "One day," said Mad. de Vilette, "during my residence at Ferney, while I was making my toilette, I was startled by the violent ringing of Voltaire's bell. I flew to his apartment, while Barbara (who always sat in his anti-chamber) hobbled after me. 'Je sonne mon agonie!' vociferated Voltaire, as we entered together. 'Je me meure,'—he then explained to us, that he had drank a cup of rose water by mistake, and was almost poisoned. 'Comment donc!' exclaimed the provoked Barbara, released from her fears, and restored to her ill-temper.

"Comment donc! Il faut être la bête des bêtes, pour faire une telle sottise.'

"Bête, ou non,' replied Voltaire, with the subdued tone of a chided school-boy; 'il n'est guerre plaisant d'être empoisonné même par l'esprit de rose!"

"Moliere had also his bonne, and Baba, and la Foret, belong as much to posterity, as the illustrious geniuses whom they had the honour to serve in the responsible character of "la bonne!"

"The state of domestic servitude in France, has, from the earliest times, evinced the inherently amiable and mild disposition of the people; a disposition which alone ameliorated and rendered durable the severity of the feudal system. The term *domestique* rarely carried with it any sense of degradation. In the days of Charlemagne, many of the great officers of the crown bore the same epithet as the domestic servants of the court. The ancient nobility placed their children in a sort of domestic servitude in the families of noblemen, more opulent and more powerful than themselves. Bayard, the "chevalier sans tache et

et sans peur," was conducted, while yet a boy, by his father, to the castle of his rich and powerful uncle the bishop of Grenoble, to enrol him among the youth of the prelate's establishment; when, after mass, "On le mit à table, où derechef chacun fit très bonne chére, et y servoit le bon chevalier, tant sagement et honnêtement, que tout le monde en disoit du bien." The young Bayard, soon learnt the graces of his office, with all the address of the young Cyrus; and when the Duke of Savoy came to dinner at the bishop's, "Bayard," says Theodore Godfroy, "le servoit très migonnement."

"It is not very long since the Duc de Bouillons paid to the Noailles a pension, "parce qu'elle étoit la récompense des services domestiques rendus par un Noailles à maison de Turenne;" and Louis XIV. talks of sending a "grand seigneur, qui est mon domestique," on an embassy to the Pope.

"Modern servitude in France, less dignified and respectable than in more primitive times, is still softened by many indulgences, and rendered more tolerable, by the mutual good-will which usually exists between the master and the domestic. The health and comfort of the servants in France are much more attended to than in any part of Great Britain. They are not confined, the greater portion of the day, under ground, in unwholesome vaults, dignified by the name of kitchen and offices. The French office is on the ground-floor; or, frequently, every étage has its little kitchen, where the chef-de-cuisine and the garçon d'office only inhabit, all the rest of the domestics occupy the anti-room, which is too near the apartment of the superior of the family, to admit of boisterous mirth, or coarse impropriety.

"This chamber, generally spacious, looks into the court-yard, and is simply furnished with necessary accommodations: its stove is the foyer of domestic sociality in winter, and in summer the open windows are equally attractive. Here the femme-de-chambre, always seated at her work-table, glances her shrewd look, from under the eye, at the guest who passes on to the apartment of her lady: here the maître d'hôtel looks over his accounts; and the valet-de-chambre reads his novel, or his play, ready to perform his office of groom of the chamber; while the more bustling frotteur, who in the evening assists as laquais, or footman, is engaged in all the active service of the house during the day. Here too are received all the servants who may arrive with the carriages of the guests; for the lady and her footman walk up together; and each have an equally comfortable apartment to receive them. A poor gentleman in boots, or a prince covered with all the insignia of rank and royalty, seem to excite the same sensation in the anti-room. The servants all keep their seats, and no one attempts to rise at the entrance of the most distinguished guest, but the maître d'hôtel or valet, who is to throw open les grands battans, with a theatrical air, and announce, with a most stentorial voice, the rank and name of the stranger.

"There is no contrast more shocking and violent, in English society, than that presented by the situation of master and servants during the hours of social intercourse of fashionable London. For the one, the air is perfumed with roses, and the chill atmosphere of winter

winter expelled by every artificial contrivance; and comfort, enjoyment, and accommodation, are studiously accumulated. For the other, all is hardship, suffering, and endurance. Exposed for hours to all the inclemency of the season, in listless idleness, or in vicious excess (the necessary and inevitable alleviation of their degraded situation), this large and useless class of persons gratify the ostentation of their masters, at the expense of health, and of every better feeling and higher consideration.

"In France, the health, comfort, and morals of the servants gain by an arrangement, which good taste, and good feeling, seem alike to have instituted. When the guests of the evening assembly arrive at the porte-cochére, the porter assigns a place, either in a vacant remise, or in the court-yard, for the carriage and horses, which, generally sheltered from the weather, and shut up under the care of the porter, leave no further anxiety on the minds of the masters or servants, who usually ascend together the vast open staircase. While the former pass on to the saloon, the latter join the circle of second-hand high life, in the anti-room, which, well lighted and well warmed, generally presents a card-table, where some round game is playing. Or, perhaps, little groups assemble, while some one reads aloud the journals of the day, or some novel, tale, or vaudeville; for every body reads in Paris, and the servants are neither last nor least among the studious.

"I believe, indeed, it is peculiar to France, that there exists in it a branch of literature, which, if not very extensive, is solely appropriated to the use and benefit of servants. 'Le vrai régime du gouvernement des Bergers et des Bergéres," by Le Bon Berger, is a very ancient production, applicable to the rustic ménage. "Le pafait cocher," supposed to have been written by the Duke de Nevers; "L'Auteur laquais;" "La vie de Jasmin, le bon laquais;" "La maison réglée;" "Les Devoirs généreux des domestiques de l'un et l'autre sexe envers Dieu, et leur maîtres et maîtresses, par un domestique;" and "Le moyen de former un bon domestique;" are all works of great utility, written with appropriate simplicity; and making but a small part of the domestic library.

"I was one day walking on the quai Voltaire, followed by our laquais de place, when he suddenly stept up to me, and, pointing to a bookseller's shop, "Au grand Voltaire," he observed; "Voilà, Madame, une maison consacrée au génie!" There died Voltaire—in that apartment with the shutters closed. "There," he added, emphatically, "died the first of our great men; perhaps also the last."

"Upon all occasions, indeed, this intelligent attendant exhibited a knowledge of French literature, which, from a discovery he once incidentally made, appeared to me the more surprising.

"I was one morning writing a note to the baron Denon, and being a little doubtful of the purity of my French, I was reading aloud my billet to my husband, for the benefit of his grammatical experience; when our valet, Charles, who was arranging some flowers in the room, paused in his work to listen to me. Before I had got half through my note, he interrupted me with, "Mille pardons, mais—Madame—" and he hesitated "This is not French, then," I observed · "is it not

not so, Charles?" "Mais, oui, Madame, c'est Française si vous voulez; mais ce n'est par pur, et puis, pour le style c'est froid."

"As for instance, Charles?"

"Eh bien, madame, par exemple, you begin by saying, you regret that you cannot have the pleasure, &c. &c. and you should say, "je suis au désespoir."

"I proposed to Charles to write the letter himself, and that I would copy it.

"You may write it, at my dictation, if you please, miladi," said Charles, "but for reading and writing, "he added, "voilà une branché de mon éducation, qu'on a fait négligée."

"The note, as dictated by Charles, was sent to Mons. Denon, and I believe holds a place among the other curiosities of his collection.

"The circumstance of this illiterate literatus quoting, and occasionally alluding, to works of celebrity, notwithstanding his having neglected the more vulgar attainment of reading and writing, induced me to make some inquiry as to his mode of study. Charles informed me that it was usual for the lower classes, in his quartier, to assemble at each other's doors in the summer's evenings, for the purpose of listening to some "lecture." All who could read, took the book in turn; and those who could not, listened, marked, learned, and inwardly digested.

"The number, however, who cannot in turn contribute to the instruction of their friends, is very small. Nothing is more usual than to see the hackney-coachmen reading on their stands, and even the "commissionnaires," and the porteurs d'eau, drawing a duodecimo from their pockets, and perusing it with the most profound attention, in the intervals of their labour. It is impossible to visit "les Halles," the Parnassus of the comic Vadée, without being struck with the market, opened equally for poetry and potatoes, for philosophy and fish, for herbs and history. There the cries of "Haricots verts," and "voyez, voyez, monsieur, des masqueraux frais," are mingled with "voilà les fables de la Fontaine, voilà le Télemaque de Fenelon! voilà les contes de Mons. de Voltaire!" Food for the mind and for the body is here bought with equal facility, and both are adapted to the means of the humble purchasers; for it is certain that these hawkers would not carry their classical ware to the haunts of the lowly and the vulgar, if they did not find a ready market even among fish-wives and marchandes des herbes.

"The benevolent Mons. Chamousset, the Howard of France, projected a society for servants so early as in 1754, under the name of "L'établissement pour les domestiques malades, et l'asyle pour les servantes hors de condition." Other similar establishments have arisen since the revolution, to improve their condition, and to provide against the inevitable evils of age and infirmity.

"There is no class, in France, whose manners so strongly retain the marks of the short-lived day of "liberty and equality," as the domestic servants. There is indeed a certain line of deference and respect which they never pass; but within that boundary, they are communicative, easy, and almost familiar; and with their masters, as with their friends, they consult, advise, forewarn, condole and rejoice, with undisguised sympathy and interest.

I have

I have frequently noticed, in the first houses, a servant tap his master on the shoulder, to direct his attention to some guest who stood in need of it. It would be there quite unnecessary to make exception for a licensed risibility, in favour of "old Grouse, in the gun-room," as Diggory does with M. Hardcastle. A French laquais feels the merit of a good story, to the full as much as his master; and is almost as audible, in testifying his approbation. I have sometimes seen the servants almost convulsed with laughter, at the pleasantries and humourous stories that circulated among the guests upon whom they were attending.

"The familiarity and influence of the servants at a certain period of society, in France, their acuteness, dexterity, and finesse, furnished the old dramatic poets and novel writers with their leading characters and plots. And though the general diffusion of knowledge, occupation of time, and improvement of morals, must naturally lessen the influence of low cunning, and dispense with the agency of unprincipled ability, still great quickness of perception, and shrewdness of observation, may be traced in the successors of the Scapins, the Mascarils, and Scagnarelles, of the older times.

"Shortly before I left Paris, a friend of mine told me that his valet-de-chambre, one morning while dressing his hair, perceiving that he was reading La Bruyére, observed, "Cet homme là avait grande connoisance du cœur humain; mais il lui manqua une chose, c'est d'avoir été valet-de-chambre."

Royal Bridal Wardrobe.

"From the Majesty of France down to the most insignificant of his subjects, every bridegroom in the kingdom presents the "trousseau," or bridal wardrobe, to the fair object of his election; and I observed that I never entered the morning apartment (which consists of the bed-room and the boudoir) of any young married woman, that the elegant corbeille and sultane did not present themselves among its most splendid decorations.

"When the day of the royal nuptials of the Duc and Duchesse de Berri approached, the royal trousseau appeared to me to have become an object of national concern; at least to the court party. Wherever I went, I heard nothing but "when is the trousseau to be seen? Where is the trousseau to be seen? Have you got tickets for the trousseau?" &c. &c. &c. Field-marshals talked of it; ministers discussed it; veterans guarded it; poets sung it; and journalists eulogized it. It ran through all the alphabetical distinctions of "A was an apple pie;" and peers and deputies, ordonnances and budgets, were forgotten in its discussions.

"The first day of its exhibition was reserved for the royal family, who found in this revived ceremony, in favour of caps and petticoats, the return of that glorious reign, which so solemnly took cognizance of parasols. The next day was for the court and French nobility. The four following days were given to the gratification of such of the public, as had influence or interest, to obtain tickets of admission from the

the Thuilleries. Of these, there was no lack; as it was a sort of state policy to revive a taste for gauzes and flowers, and "leather and prunella," in a degenerated people, who for twenty years back had been formed

"De se donner l'air d'aimer sa patrie,"

and to think as little of these important accessories of legitimate power, as if their ancestors had not bled at every pore, to provide them for the best dressed kings in Europe.

"The population of Paris make the most accommodating and the civilest crowd of any metropolis in the world. I never on any occasion saw the French character forfeit its politeness and urbanity, but on the occasion of the "trousseau." There the importance of the object overcame all forms and ceremonies; and the efforts, the struggles, that agitated the crowds which filled the court-yard of the palais des menus plaisirs, occupied its vestibule, and climbed its great stairs; the frightful press; the irresistible crush; the interference of the generals, too often unavailing; the cries, the ejaculations, the prayers, the fears, altogether rendered the entrance to the royal trousseau one of the most awful, as well as most dangerous scenes, I ever witnessed.

"At last, after full two hours' efforts, and more suffering from heat and apprehension than I ever endured, we passed the last barrier (for there were four to overcome, all guarded by mousquetaires, with their bayonets fixed), and arrived at the palladium of the royal toilette. A long suite of beautiful rooms were thrown open, whose lofty walls were thickly covered with robes of every hue, tint, web, and texture, from the imperial drapery of coronation splendour, to the simple robe-de-chambre of British lace and British muslin; from the diamond coronet to the bonnet-de-nuit; while platforms or counters surrounding each room, were guarded off from the unhallowed touch of plebeian curiosity by silken cords, and placed under the surveillance of the priests and priestesses of the toilette, in grand pontificals. These formed the sanctuary of all the minor attributes of the royal wardrobe. Every article of female dress, from the most necessary to the most superfluous, was here arranged, not by dozens, but by hundreds. Here queen Sheba might have died of envy,—here the treasures of the "forty thieves," or the "cave of Baba Abdalla," were rivalled or surpassed, not only in splendour but in quantity. The life of the old Countess of Dumond would have been too short, though spent in dressing, to exhaust such a wardrobe as here presented itself; and if such was the sumptuous provision to be made for the future daughters of France, it may be truly said, that "Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these."

"Among the spectators of these fairy treasures, I observed many of the new old French military. The croix de St. Louis sparkled on every side, and ambulating ribbons vied with those which hung stationary on their silken lines. "Mais, c'est du dernier gôut!" "c'est du dernier galant!" "c'est superbe!" "c'est magnifique!" was echoed from the lips of those, who may be soon called on to give the word of command, which is to succeed to the "en avant" of a more energetic leader.

"The triumph evident in the looks

looks of these "chevaliers de la bonne cause," and of the dames who accompanied them, as they surveyed all the "pomp and circumstance of glorious" dress, was a proof how strongly it recalled to their memory or imagination that millennium for which they have so long sighed, and now beheld fast arriving. This was going back at once to the halcyon days of Louis XIV. when more money was expended in fitting out the trousseaux of the nieces of the king's mistress, than would have pacified the murmurs of the famished people, who loaded the favourite with execration, and withdrew from the sovereign the title of "GREAT," which he had never truly merited, and which he long survived."

"While France, degraded by her actual position, groans with ill-stifled indignation, as she beholds herself in the thraldom of those powers she so lately held in subjection; while she is urged by her necessities to seek her resources in foreign wealth, to pay the foreign troops, under whose jurisdiction she exists, the policy may be questioned, as well as the taste, of thus exposing to the eye of a divided people proofs of such boundless extravagance and idle vanity.

"When the marriage of the future queen of England lately took place, no such insult was offered to the people. The idol and the hope of a free nation, her look of health and smile of joy were the sole exhibition it sought and hailed with manly, heartfelt satisfaction. The people of England demand only in their legitimate rulers the accomplishment of those promises which obtained the throne for their family, who were not legitimate; and who, elected by the people, expelled from the nation the frivolous, bigoted, and oppressive race, who were so. For the rest, for "purple and gold, and fine linen;" for princely wardrobes, and royal toilettes, they have no respect; and, interested in concerns of dearer moment, they leave such "unsubstantial pageants" to the admiration of the waiting-women and valets-de-chambre of the royal household. Idle and degraded as the crowds, who darkened the courts and chambers of the Palais des menus plaisirs, during the exhibition of the Dutchess de Berri's toilette, must have appeared in the eyes of strangers, and particularly of English strangers, it may be said upon this occasion, as upon all others, which call the character of the French nation into question, that Paris has a population for every thing:—for royal trousseaux, and free constitutions; and that, amidst the various, motley groupings of its extensive society, will be found some of

"The brightest, wisest, meanest of mankind."

ARTICLE 3.—*Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea, and the Great Loo-choo Island, with an Appendix containing Charts, and Various Hydrographical and Scientific Notices; by Captain* BASIL HALL, *Royal Navy, F. R. S. and a Vocabulary of the Loo-choo Language, by* H. J. CLIFFORD, *Esq. Lieutenant of the Royal Navy.*

MOST of our readers are probably acquainted with the issue of the late Embassy to China. So far as that country is concerned, the Embassy has added very little to our information; but the accounts of the Loo Choo islands, published by Mr. M'Leod and Captain Hall, will in some measure atone for our disappointment. They are both delightful books; giving a most pleasing description of a most interesting people. In reading their account of Loo Choo, we have none of those misgivings that crossed the thoughts when reading Keat's account of the Pelew islands; we are perfectly satisfied that the truth has been told without the smallest exaggeration, and with that engaging simplicity of style, which best becomes the truth.

These remarks are particularly applicable to Captain Hall's work; and we do not think we can pay him and his officers and crew higher praise, than by saying, that by their whole intercourse with and conduct towards the inhabitants of Loo Choo, they must have impressed on their feelings and their memory, the most honourable and pleasing ideas of the British nation.

DESCRIPTION OF A LOO-CHOO VILLAGE.

"In the mean time Mr. Clifford, who had been unwell, and felt unequal to the labour of climbing the hill, proceeded in one of the boats towards a large village on the eastern side of the lake. He was met by a number of the inhabitants, whose dress and appearance were inferior to what we had been accustomed to see at Napakiang; on his asking them in Loo-choo for some water, they gave it cheerfully; but they shewed little curiosity, and the party which followed wherever he went, seemed to have no other object than to prevent disturbance. They made no objection to his going into the village, where he saw in one inclosure a complete farm-yard. The principal house was closed, but to the offices there was free access. In the stable were two handsome bay ponies; there was also a well stocked pigsty, and a poultry-house. In another quarter stood a mill for husking corn, consisting of a grooved solid cylinder of wood, fitting neatly into a hollow cylinder, the sides of which were also grooved: near this lay a hand flour-mill and several baskets of cotton. In another part of the court was a

granary erected on posts about six feet above the ground, having billets of fire-wood piled below it. At another place, under a tree in the village, he saw a blacksmith's anvil fixed in a block; the forge was of masonry, having an air hole, but the bellows was wanting.

"In the centre of the village stood a building like a temple, surrounded by a stone wall. It was filled with elegant vases of different shapes and sizes, closed up and ranged in rows on the floor; the verandah encircling the building was also covered with vases. According to the account of the natives, the remains of the dead are deposited in these jars. Round the building bamboo poles were placed so as to lean against the thatched roof, having notches cut in them, to which bundles of flowers were hung, some fresh, others decayed, apparently funereal offerings; but their exact import Mr. Clifford was not able to learn. The elegant shape of the vases, and the tasteful way in which they were arranged, with the flowers hanging all round, gave to this cemetery an air of cheerfulness, which we are in the habit of thinking unsuitable to a depository of the dead.

"This village, which is at the head of a bay, is sheltered from the north wind by a row of trees between it and the beach; behind it is sheltered by a range of hills. A broad road runs between it and the water; trees are planted among the houses, so as nearly to conceal them. In the middle of the village near the cemetery, in an open square, there is a cluster of granaries, like the one described above; the walls are made of wattled rattan, and overhang the lower part.

"Mr. Clifford tried in vain to see the Chief of the village; but either there was no such person, or he was out of the way: the inhabitants pointed out a man on horseback as a Chief, who passed on to another village; this was probably the same man who offered his horse to Mr. Hall, the officer of the boat. Mr. Clifford went to the top of the range behind the village, and afterwards into the valley on the other side, which he found highly cultivated.

"From the heights we saw that the large space which was at first considered a lake, communicates with the sea to the north-eastward, as well as by the narrow passage through which we had come, but there was not time to allow of its being fully examined. As we returned by the narrow straits, we called at some of the small villages on the eastern side. At one of these, the people of the village, headed by a man who appeared to be superior to the rest, came towards the boat, and stopped for some minutes at the distance of fifty yards; after which, appearing to have gained confidence, they came on, with the old man in front, carrying a green bough in his hand. He would not come close, however, till invited by Mr. Clifford in Loochoo to look at the boat; he then advanced and presented his bough, in return for which we broke a branch from a tree, and gave it to him with the same formality he had used towards us. Soon after this exchange was made, they left us, and went to examine the boat—to fishermen always an object of great interest.

"On our entering the village we were met by a man who appeared to be the principal person of the place; he was very polite, shewed

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us through the village, and took us over his garden, where he had some sugar-canes growing; this we admired very much, upon which he ordered one of the finest of the canes to be taken up by the roots and presented to us; we immediately gave him a few buttons off our jackets, with which he was quite pleased. On its beginning to rain while we were in the garden, he invited us into his house, which, from the walls being of wattled cane, looked like a large basket. Rude pictures and carved woodwork figures were hanging on the walls, together with some inscriptions in Chinese characters.

On returning to the lower harbour of all, we went to the large village before spoken of, which is by far the most finished of any that we have seen on this island. The streets are regular and clean swept; each house has a neat cane wall, as well as a screen before the door; plantain and other trees are growing so thickly in the inside of the fence, that they completely shade the house. Near the beach were several large houses, in which a number of people were seated writing: on going up to them they gave us tea and cakes, and afterwards allowed us to go over the village without restraint; they were curious to know whether the brig was coming into the harbour or not, and if so, how many days we meant to stay; they expressed neither pleasure nor regret when we said that we were not coming in. In front of the village, and parallel with the beach, there is a splendid avenue thirty feet wide, formed by two rows of large trees, whose branches join overhead, and effectually screen the walk from the sun; here and there are placed wooden benches, and at some places stone seats are fixed near the trees: this space, which is about a quarter of a mile long, is probably used as a public walk.

"A range of hills of a semicircular form embraces the village, and limits its extent: at most places it is steep, but at the point where the north end joins the harbour, there is an overhanging cliff about eighty feet high, the upper part of which extends considerably beyond the base; at eight or ten yards from the ground on this inclined face, a long horizontal gallery has been hewn out of the solid rock: it communicates with a number of small square excavations still deeper in the rock, for the reception of the vases containing the bones of the dead.

"The trees and creepers on the edge of the precipice hung down so as to meet the tops of those which grew below, and thus a screen was formed which threw the gallery into deep shade: every thing here being perfectly still, the scene was very solemn and imposing. It took us somewhat by surprise, for nothing in its external appearance indicated the purpose to which the place was appropriated: happening to discover an opening amongst the trees and brushwood, and resolving to see what it led to, we entered by a narrow path winding through the grove. The liveliness of the scenery without, and the various amusements of the day, had put us all into high spirits, but the unexpected and sacred gloom of the scene in which we suddenly found ourselves had an instantaneous effect in repressing the mirth of the whole party."

Interview with the Prince of Loo-Choo.

"A deputation of the chiefs went on board the Alceste early this morning to say, that the Prince of the island, who was the next person in rank to the King, and heir to the throne, meant to come on board the frigate this afternoon, as well for the purpose of paying a visit of ceremony, as of enquiring into the state of Captain Maxwell's health after the accident.

"At noon the four senior chiefs, dressed in their state robes and hatchee-matchees, came to announce the Prince's approach, and in about half an hour afterwards he was brought in a closed sedan-chair to the boat, through a concourse of people, to whom he seemed as much a show as to us. The state boat was a large flat-bottomed barge, covered with an awning of dark blue, with white stars on it, the whole having much the appearance of a hearse. It was preceded by two boats bearing flags with an inscription upon them, having in the bow an officer of justice carrying a lackered bamboo, and in the stern a man beating a gong. A vast number of boats were in attendance, some bearing presents, and others following out of mere curiosity. One of the Chiefs came on board with the Prince's card, which was of red paper forty-eight inches long, and eleven wide, and shortly afterwards the Prince's barge put off from the shore; upon which the rigging of both ships was manned, and a salute of seven guns fired; when he came on board he was received with a guard, and under a like salute. Captain Maxwell, who had been confined to the cabin ever since his accident, desired me to receive the Prince. No arrangement having been made with us respecting the ceremony of reception, I merely took off my hat and bowed: but all the chiefs fell on their knees the instant he came on the quarter-deck. I took his hand from one of the chiefs who had assisted him up the accommodation ladder, and led him to the cabin.

"When seated beside Captain Maxwell, the Prince made several anxious enquiries about his finger, expressing much regret that so disagreeable an accident should have occurred at Loo-choo. He then called to his pipe-bearer, and having prepared a pipe, presented it to Captain Maxwell, who returned him this compliment, by giving him one of his own. The usual questions as to our ages and families, and various complimentary speeches, having passed, he said he had heard much of the wonders of the ship, and should like to see them himself: he rose upon this and went to the globes, which he examined with great care. He begged to be shewn Ingeree, Loo-choo, Quantoong (China); Niphon (Japan); Manilla, and Pekin. The chiefs would not sit down in his presence, and never spoke to him without kneeling. On his expressing a wish to look at the different parts of the ship, he was conducted all round the decks. He observed every thing with attention, but without betraying any great degree of curiosity: he had heard of the boatswain's wife, and asked to see her; the lady,

lady, in her best dress, was presented to him; he stood for about half a minute looking at her with a sort of pleased surprise, and then, as if suddenly recollecting that this was somewhat rude, he drew his fan from his breast, and with an air of the utmost politeness, held it towards her, and upon Mrs. Loy curtsying in acknowledgment, he sent it to her by Mádera. He asked to see the fire-engine worked, and appeared much gratified by seeing the water thrown to so great a height. He had heard of the African negro, and begged that he might be sent for. When the black man was brought before him he looked exceedingly surprised, and probably was in doubt whether the colour was natural, as one of his people was sent to rub his face, as if to discover whether it was painted or not. The natives, who had flocked on board in crowds, fell on their knees whenever the Prince passed.

"On returning to the cabin, the Prince was invited to a collation prepared for him in the foremost cabin: for a long time he refused to sit down, nor could we conjecture what his objection was; at length, however, he complied, while the chiefs, who are neither allowed to sit down nor eat in his presence, retired to the after-cabin. He tasted every thing which was offered him, but seemed afraid of the wines, having probably heard of the proceedings on the evening of the 19th. In about half an hour he rose and went to the after-cabin; the chiefs and the people of his suite, to the number of fifteen, then sat down at the table he had left, and made ample amends for the temperance and moderation of his royal highness.

"As soon as they rejoined the party in the after-cabin, business was entered upon by Captain Maxwell's returning thanks, in the name of the English government, for the liberal way in which we had been supplied with every kind of refreshment, and for the other assistance which had been given to us. The Prince replied, that the King of Loo-choo was anxious to do every thing in his power for the King of England's ships. Upon this Captain Maxwell observed, that he was very desirous of seeing his majesty, for the purpose of expressing in person his gratitude for the kindness we had received in this country. The Prince answered, that it was contrary to the laws and customs of Loo-choo, for any foreigner to see the king, unless sent by his own sovereign, and charged with complimentary presents. Coming from such high authority, this assurance was conclusive, and as nothing further could now be said on the subject, the hope of opening a communication with this court, which had been so anxiously desired, seemed now destroyed. The prince, however, unexpectedly resumed the subject, by saying that a letter would be written to the king of England, if Captain Maxwell would undertake to deliver it; his answer was, that nothing could give him more satisfaction than being made the bearer of such a communication: that he had earnestly desired the honour of paying his respects to his majesty, but from the moment that he had heard that it was contrary to the customs of the country, he had ceased to think of it. As soon as it was interpreted that Captain Maxwell was willing to carry the letter alluded to, and that he no longer urged his desire to see the king, the Prince rose and pressed Captain Maxwell's

Maxwell's hand and mine between his, while all the chiefs fell on their knees in a circle round us, shewing by the expression of their countenances, how great the anxiety had been from which they were relieved by Captain Maxwell's ready acquiescence with their wishes: the Prince in particular, who had hitherto looked full of anxiety, became all cheerfulness, and his manner assumed a totally different character.

"The inference from this curious scene is, that the real object of the Prince's visit was to dissuade Captain Maxwell from urging his request to be allowed an interview with the king; and we conjectured that the circumstance of his accident was taken advantage of to pay a visit to the Alceste, where they naturally thought that the remonstrances of a man of such high rank as the heir apparent to the throne, would carry more weight than any which had yet been tried.

"When the Prince again alluded to the letter, it appeared that it was to be written by the minister, and not by the king. This altered the case materially, and Captain Maxwell most respectfully informed the Prince, that such a letter as he described could not be received, as it would be an indignity to our sovereign to offer his majesty a letter written by another king's minister. The Prince at once seemed sensible of the propriety of what Captain Maxwell had said, and calling the chiefs round him, entered into a long discussion with them: at the close of which, he declared himself incompetent to decide upon so important an occasion, but said that he would consult with the king, whose pleasure would be communicated in a few days. Captain Maxwell expressed his willingness to abide by his majesty's decision as far as was consistent with the respect due to his own sovereign. The Prince seemed entirely satisfied with this answer, and said something to the chiefs, upon which they again fell on their knees before Captain Maxwell, notwithstanding all his efforts to prevent them. Nothing more of any consequence passed.

"In the early part of the interview the present was brought in, or at least such parts of it as were capable of being thus displayed. The whole consisted of two bullocks, three hogs, three goats, and a quantity of vegetables and fruit; besides fifteen webs of the cloth of the island, thirty fans, and twelve pipes. The Prince said he had sent a present to me, which I found to consist of half the above mentioned things. He shortly afterwards rose to take leave. The rigging was manned on his going away, and similar honours were paid him as were shewn when he came on board.

"The Prince of Loo-choo, whose name is Shang Pung Fwee, and title Pochin Tay Foo, belongs to the highest of the nine orders of chiefs on the islands, the distinction of which rank is a hatchee-matchee of a pink ground, with perpendicular rows of black, yellow, blue, white, and green spots. He was clothed in a robe of light blue silk, lined with silk a shade lighter, over which he wore a girdle richly embossed with flowers of gold and different coloured silks: in other respects his dress was like that of the chiefs. He is about fifty years old, his beard is full and white, and his figure well proportioned. In manners he is genteel and sedate, but occasionally a little awkward, which his retired habits sufficiently

ciently account for. Towards the close of his visit, when his reserve had in some degree worn off, we observed him smile for an instant, now and then, with a shrewd expression in his eyes, as if he was observing what was passing more narrowly than we at first suspected. It was thought, too, that in making inquiries about different things on board, he shewed more discrimination than most of those who had preceded him; but, on the whole, there was nothing very interesting in him besides his rank. While he was looking over the books and other things in the cabin, a picture of his majesty King George the Third was shewn to him. As the interpreter was not present, we could not immediately explain who it was intended to represent, till it occurred to us to join our hands and bow to it in the Loo-choo manner: the Prince instantly saw what was meant, and turning towards the picture, made a low and respectful obeisance.

"His suite consisted of several chiefs whom we had not seen before, and six or seven personal attendants, two of whom stood behind to fan him and light his pipe. It is curious that these men, who from their dress and manner were certainly servants, derived a sort of rank from being about the Prince's person; for when the chiefs sat down to table after he had left it, they all stood by as if expecting to be invited to sit down also; but Mr. Clifford, to whom Captain Maxwell had given the party in charge, having observed how particular they were with respect to the distinctions of rank, did not think of asking them to be seated, till Jeema requested him to do so; still suspecting some mistake, he applied to Mádera, who said it was perfectly correct, and they were accordingly asked to sit down with the rest."

Customs, &c. of the Inhabitants.

"Of their literature we could get but few satisfactory accounts; they say that they have few books in their own language, the greater number on the island being Chinese. The young men of rank are sometimes sent to China to be educated. Jeeroo had been there when a boy. None but the upper classes understand the spoken Chinese, and the peasantry are in general ignorant both of the spoken and written Chinese language.

"They appear to have no money, and from all we could see or hear, they are even ignorant of its use. Those, however, who have visited China cannot be so ill informed, and yet none of them set any value upon Spanish dollars, or upon any gold coins that we had. Though we were incessantly trying to make out from Mádera and the others, what their medium of exchange was, we could never learn any thing distinct upon the subject, nor could they be made to comprehend our questions about money; a difficulty, it may be observed, which we should expect to meet with among people whose only mode of purchase was by barter. The only circumstance which came to our knowledge bearing at all upon this question, was during the time when the garden was under preparation for

for the reception of the Alceste's stores; it was then remarked that each of the labourers employed had a little piece of paper stuck in his hair, with a single character written on it; this naturally excited our curiosity, but the inquiries we were enabled to make at that early stage of our knowledge of the language, led to nothing conclusive. Afterwards, when our means in this respect were more ample, we could not recal the circumstance to the recollection of the chiefs. As these papers were called by the people wearing them, "hoonátee," and as "hoónee" means ship, Mr. Clifford has conjectured that they may have been written passes to enable them to enter the gate on the ship's business.

"We saw no arms of any kind, and the natives always declared that they had none. Their behaviour on seeing a musket fired certainly implied an ignorance of firearms. In a cottage at the north end of the island, we saw a spear which had the appearance of a warlike weapon, but we had every reason to believe that this was used for the sole purpose of catching fish, having seen others not very dissimilar actually employed in this way. They looked at our swords and cutlasses, and at the Malay creeses and spears, with equal surprise, being apparently as little acquainted with the one as with the other. The chiefs carried little case-knives in the folds of their robes, or in the girdle, and the lower orders had a larger knife; but these were always of some immediate practical utility, and were not worn for defence nor as ornaments. They denied having any knowledge of war, either by experience or by tradition.

"We never saw any punishment inflicted at Loo-choo: a tap with the fan, or an angry look, was the severest chastisement ever resorted to, as far as we could discover. In giving orders, the chiefs were mild though firm, and the people always obeyed with cheerfulness. There seemed to be great respect and confidence on the one hand, and much consideration and kind feeling on the other. In this particular, more than in any other that fell under our notice, Loo-choo differs from China, for in the latter country we saw none of this generous and friendly understanding between the upper and lower classes.

"One day when we were drinking tea and smoking pipes with the chiefs, on the top of the hill, a boy began to exhibit feats of tumbling before us; in a short time all eyes were turned towards him, and his modesty caused him to desist. We offered him buttons and various things, but he would not resume his tumbling: we then asked Jeema to interfere; he did so, and told the youngster to go on; but he kept his seat, and Jeema became angry, or rather pretended to be so, yet the tumbler sat obstinately still. "Well," said Jeema to us, "what is to be done? It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his amusement he will do so again." The boy, when left alone, in a short time resumed his tumbling. I mention this to shew Jeema's good sense in not forcing the boy to do that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education

cation that the children became at once familiar with us. One day while I was employed sketching the village and trees near the bridge, a boy stopped near me, and without saying any thing, endeavoured to attract my notice by performing various gambols before me. I took no notice of him for some time, but at last looked up and smiled; upon which the boy cried out in perfectly good English, "How do you do? Very well, I thank you;" and ran off, quite delighted at having displayed his proficiency in English.

"The chiefs were generally accompanied by one or two of their sons, who took their places near them, and were always put forward when there was any thing curious to be seen. In this way they were encouraged to make themselves acquainted with every thing, and yet nothing could be more respectful or affectionate than they always were. Great pains were taken to form the manners of the children, and we never observed an instance of rudeness in any one of them, though they were as full of life and spirits as the wildest English schoolboys. John the Chinaman afforded them much amusement: he was a great coxcomb, and therefore fair game for the boys; they used to surround him and pretend to pull his long tail; but they never actually pulled it, but merely teased him a little, and then ran away. These little traits seem worthy of notice, as they belong to a style of education quite different from what we had seen in China and some other eastern countries, where the children are made to look like men in miniature.

"During our intercourse with these people, there did not occur one instance of theft. They were all permitted to come on board indiscriminately; to go into the cabins, store-rooms, and wherever they liked, unattended. At the temple the Alceste's stores of every kind were lying about, as well as the carpenter's and armourer's tools; and in the observatory, the instruments, books, and pencils were merely placed under cover; yet there was not a single article taken away, though many hundreds of people were daily admitted, and allowed to examine whatever they pleased. This degree of honesty is a feature which distinguishes the people of Loo-choo from the Chinese, as well as from the inhabitants of the islands in the South Sea and of the Malay Archipelago; among whom even fear, as was ascertained by Captain Cook and other Voyagers, is altogether insufficient to prevent theft. At Loo-choo the people are considerably civilised; but they have few wants, and they appear to be perfectly contented. Honesty is perhaps the natural consequence of such a state of society.

"We saw no musical instruments of any kind; they were, however, aware of their use. The natives almost all sing, and we heard several very sweet airs, principally plaintive: they had many jovial drinking songs, one of which we wrote down from their singing; it was inscribed on a drinking cup, and is as follows:

"Tywack koo, tawshoo, shee kackoofing,
Chaw ung, itchee shaw, shoolia neebooroo;
Ting shee, you byee, chee tarooshoo ninnee
Nooboo cadsee meesee carra shaw jeeroo
Shing coodee sackee oochee noo shing."

"The Chinese characters on the drinking-cup were thus translated in China, "Tywack hoo, inspired by a jar of wine, writes an hundred pages of odes or verses without end.

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At the market town of Chaw-ung he entered a wine shop to sleep. The emperor summoned him to appear; in his haste to obey the summons, he forgot to put on his neck-cloth, and rushing into the royal presence, exclaimed, "I am the wine-loving immortal."

"The Loo-choo dress has been so frequently mentioned, that a brief notice, in recapitulation, will suffice in this place. Their loose robe was generally made of cotton, and of a great variety of colours. The robe of a grown-up person was never flowered or printed over with figures, being generally of a uniform colour, though instances occurred of striped cloths being worn by the chiefs. This robe opened in front, but the edges overlapped, and were concealed by the folds, so as to render it difficult to say whether or not the robe was continued all round: the sleeves were about three feet wide: round the middle was bound a belt or girdle about four or five inches wide, always of a different colour from the dress, and in general richly ornamented with wrought silk and gold flowers. The folds of the robe overhang the belt, but not so much as to hide it: the whole of the dress folds easily, and has a graceful and picturesque appearance. The garments worn by the children were often gaudily printed with flowers. In rainy or cold weather, a sort of great coat was worn by the chiefs only, of thick blue cloth, buttoning in front over the robe, and tighter both in body and sleeves than the other. This cloth resembled the coarse cloth used in China; and it looked like woollen manufacture, and may possibly have been originally brought from England. The sandals worn by all ranks were exactly the same; they were formed of straw wrought into a firm mat to fit the sole of the foot, smooth towards the foot, and ragged underneath: a stiff smooth band of straw, about as thick as one's little finger, passes from that part of the sandal immediately under the ancle and over the lower part of the instep, so as to join the sandal at the opposite side; this is connected with the foremost part of the sandal by a short small straw cord which comes between the great toe and the next one. The upper classes wore stockings of white cotton, not unlike our half stockings, except that they button at the outside, and have a place like the finger of a glove for the great toe.

"Their hair is of a jet black, and is kept glossy by juice expressed from a leaf. There is no variety in the fashion of dressing it; it is pulled tight up all round, and is formed at top into a compact knot, so as to conceal the crown of the head, which is shaved; through the knot are thrust two metal pins, one of which has a square point and flowered head, consisting of six leaves or divisions: the other pin has one end sharp, and the other shaped like a scoop: the length of these pins is from four to six inches. We did not see the prince's, as he remained covered during all the time of his visit; but the chief of high rank, who visited the Alceste on the 23d of September, had the flowered end of one pin studded with precious stones. The higher orders wear, on state occasions, what they called a "hatchee-matchee," which is a kind of turban, apparently made by winding a broad band round a cylinder, in such a way, that a small segment of each fold is shewn at every turn, in front above, and behind below; this is effected

effected by giving a slight diagonal direction to each fold. The lower orders occasionally tie a coloured cloth or handkerchief round the head; this they call "sadjee:" next the body they wear a thin cotton dress. The men wear no ornaments through their flesh, nor are they tattooed: we saw, indeed, some fishermen who had fish spears marked on their arms, but this does not prevail generally. An etching of these marks is given by Mr. Clifford in the second part of the Vocabulary.

"The cattle on this island, which are of a small black breed, are used exclusively for agricultural purposes. Hogs, goats, and poultry, with rice and a great variety of vegetables, form the food of the inhabitants: milk is never used. We saw no geese, so that those left by Captain Broughton most probably did not thrive. They have no sheep nor asses. Their horses are of a small slight make, and the natives are very fond of riding. We saw no carts or wheeled carriages of any kind, horses being used to carry loads; for this purpose the roads are numerous, and kept in excellent order, being from six to ten feet wide.

"Their mode of dressing the ground is neat, and resembles the Chinese, particularly in manuring and irrigating it. This is most attended to where the sugar-cane is cultivated: they have, besides, tobacco, wheat, rice, Indian corn, millet, sweet potatoes, brinjals, and many other vegetables. The fields, which are nicely squared, have convenient walks on the raised banks running round each. Along the sides of the hills, and round the villages, the bamboo and rattan grow to a considerable size. The pine is the most conspicuous tree on the island, growing to a great height and size, which we infer from seeing canoes built with planks several feet wide; the trees, however, near the temple at Napakiang were not above ninety feet high, and from three to four in girt. The banyan-tree of India was seen at several places; the finest one overhung the small temple at Napakiang, which circumstance led to the inquiry whether, as in India, this tree is held sacred, but we could gain no information on this subject.

"In a little plot of ground in the temple garden, Mr. Phillips, purser of the Alceste, sowed mustard-seed, peas, and a variety of other seeds, the natives taking his directions for their culture. Our total ignorance of botany prevented our making any observations on this subject while at Loo-choo; but to supply this deficiency, we collected specimens of every plant at the place. These were preserved between sheets of brown paper, and given afterwards to Mr. Abel, the naturalist of the embassy, in order to be arranged; but they were subsequently lost, along with the whole of that gentleman's collection.

"Of their manufactures it is difficult to speak with certainty. By their own account the silks which they wear are Chinese, but the cotton cloths are made on this and the neighbouring islands; the printed patterns of these are not without elegance. We saw no weaving looms, but as we were only in a few houses, this is not surprising: the webs are thirty-six feet long, and fourteen inches broad. Tobacco-pipes and fans are made at Loo-choo; as well as the sepulchral vases, of which there is a manufactory at Napakiang, from whence they

they are exported to Oonting, and other parts of the island. Some of the pouches of the chiefs were made of cloth, which they say comes from China; it is exactly like our broad cloth. We tried in vain to learn what goods they send to China in exchange for silks: perhaps sulphur forms a part, which these islands are said to produce, as well as tin. From the number of vessels constantly sailing out and in, it appears that they must have some trade, but our inquiries on this and many other topics, though sedulously pursued, led to nothing satisfactory, owing probably rather to our ignorance of the language, than to any wish on their part to withhold information; because, on topics which had no reference to the royal family or the women, they in general spoke freely.

"We had frequent opportunities of seeing their method of making salt, and an account of it may, perhaps, be interesting. Near the sea, large level fields are rolled or beat so as to have a hard surface. Over this is strewn a sort of sandy black earth, forming a coat about a quarter of an inch thick. Rakes and other implements are used to make it of a uniform thickness, but it is not pressed down. During the heat of the day, men are employed to bring water in tubs from the sea, which is sprinkled over these fields by means of a short scoop. The heat of the sun, in a short time, evaporates the water, and the salt is left in the sand, which is scraped up and put into raised receivers of masonry about six feet by four, and five deep. When the receiver is full of the sand, sea water is poured on the top, and this, in its way down, carries with it the salt left by evaporation. When it runs out below at a small hole, it is a very strong brine; this is reduced to salt by being boiled in vessels about three feet wide and one deep. The cakes resulting from this operation are an inch and an half in thickness.

"Of the population of this island we know nothing satisfactory: the natives invariably pleaded ignorance themselves; and as we had no precise data, our estimates were made at random, and as they never agreed with each other, they are not worthy of notice. From the south point of this island, to five or six miles north of Napakiang, an extent of sixteen or eighteen miles, the country is highly cultivated, and is almost entirely covered with villages. All round Port Melville too there are populous villages, but the north, north-east and eastern places are thinly peopled, and not cultivated to any extent. We saw nothing like poverty or distress of any kind: every person that we met seemed contented and happy. We saw no deformed people, nor any who bore indications of disease, except a few who were marked with the small-pox.

"The style of living of those with whom we associated is generous and free; their custom of carrying about their dinner in boxes, and making little pic-nic parties, is peculiarly striking, and they appeared fully sensible of the advantage of bringing people together in this way, and expressed much satisfaction at the ready way in which we fell into a custom from which all formality was dismissed. They shewed, moreover, a good deal of discernment, and could adapt themselves to the character of the particular person they happened to be in company with, in a manner very remarkable; but this was evidently the result not of cunning, but of correct

correct feelings, and of a polite habit of thinking.

"Of their manners, little need be added here to what every page of the narrative will show. It ought to be particularly noticed; however, that they are an exceedingly timorous people, and naturally suspicious of foreigners. A stranger visiting Loo-choo ought therefore to keep these features of their character constantly in mind. By imitating Captain Maxwell's wise plan of treating the natives with gentleness and kindness, and shewing every consideration for their peculiarities, he will stand the best chance of gaining their good-will and confidence. But if he should betray any impatience, or be at all harsh in treating with them, he may rest assured that he will lose much time, and in all probability fail at last in his attempts to establish an unreserved and friendly intercourse.

"As Loo-choo, however, lies quite out of the track of trading ships, and does not appear to produce any thing of value itself, and as the inhabitants seem indifferent about foreign commodities, and if they wished to possess them, are without money to make purchases, it is not probable that this island will be soon revisited."

BELLES LETTRES,

AND

Antiquities.

ARTICLE I.—*Character of Shakespear's Plays:* BY WILLIAM HAZLITT.

ALL the works of this Author are so characteristic of him, in almost every sentence, that he could never expect to conceal himself by publishing anonymously; and there is scarcely any author of the present day, about whose merits there is such a decided difference of opinion. By some he is held up as a most original, profound, and eloquent critic, endowed with great power of language; by others, he is scouted as a man full of conceit and affectation, with taste, judgment, and principles alike erroneous.

The truth seems to be, that his excellencies and his faults as an author are both equally glaring and obtrusive; and that whichsoever of these, from prepossession, prejudice, or other circumstances, strikes the reader first, fills his mind so completely, and fixes on it so powerfully, that he cannot perceive, or will not acknowledge the opposite qualities.

We must confess, that we do not entertain a very high opinion of Mr. Hazlitt's powers as a critic: he seems to us to possess no clear, comprehensive, and fixed principles on which his praise or his censure proceeds. Those passages in this and all his works, in which he attempts to lay down such principles, are vague and obscure. He is also unequal to the regular developement of his thoughts; and is more anxious, or better able to surprise the reader into his own opinions, by the singularity of his remarks, or of the style in which they are conveyed, than to lead him gradually to coincide with him, by the force of his reasoning, or to win him over, by an appeal to his feelings.

His style is often pertly familiar, and sometimes offensively egotistical; and a great many of his remarks are well suited to such a style. At other times, his style is overloaded with metaphorical language, to such a degree, that the thought, if good or original, is so concealed as not to be seen, or so disfigured as not to be recognised. This style however has its advantages; for it often deceives the reader

reader into a belief that he has met with something new, acute, or profound, whereas no such thing exists; and we strongly suspect that if the outrageous admirers of Mr. Hazlitt would examine into the source of their admiration, they would find it to spring much more from the manner than the substance of his writings. At the same time, we are decidedly of opinion, that he possesses considerable acuteness of intellect; a vivid but not a pure perception of the powers and beauties of genius, and occasionally an originality of thought; all of which would appear to much greater advantage if they were accompanied, aided, and directed by greater simplicity of mind, and a more chaste and refined taste; and if they were not degraded and weakened by conceit, affectation, pertness, illiberality, and prejudice.

Criticism on Hamlet.

"This is that Hamlet the Dane, whom we read of in our youth, and whom we may be said almost to remember in our after-years; he who made that famous soliloquy on life, who gave the advice to the players, who thought "this goodly frame, the earth, a steril promontory, and this brave o'er-hanging firmament, the air, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours;" whom "man delighted not, nor woman neither;" he who talked with the grave-diggers, and moralised on Yorick's skull; the school-fellow of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern at Wittenberg; the friend of Horatio; the lover of Ophelia; he that was mad and sent to England; the slow avenger of his father's death; who lived at the court of Horwendillus five hundred years before we were born, but all whose thoughts we seem to know as well as we do our own, because we have read them in Shakespear.

"Hamlet is a name; his speeches and sayings but the idle coinage of the poet's brain. What then, are they not real? They are as real as our own thoughts. Their reality is in the reader's mind. It is we who are Hamlet. This play has a prophetic truth, which is above that of history. Whoever has become thoughtful and melancholy through his own mishaps or those of others; whoever has borne about with him the clouded brow of reflection, and thought himself "too much i' th' sun;" whoever has seen the golden lamp of day dimmed by envious mists rising in his own breast, and could find in the world before him only a dull blank with nothing left remarkable in it; whoever has known "the pangs of despised love, the insolence of office, or the spurns which patient merit of the unworthy takes;" he who has felt his mind sink within him, and sadness cling to his heart like a malady, who has had his hopes blighted and his youth staggered by the apparitions of strange things; who cannot be well at ease, while he sees evil hovering near him like a spectre; whose powers of action have been eaten up by thought, he to whom the universe seems infinite, and himself nothing; whose bitterness of soul makes him careless of consequences, and who goes to a play

as his best resource to shove off, to a second remove, the evils of life by a mock representation of them—this is the true Hamlet.

"We have been so used to this tragedy that we hardly know how to criticise it any more than we should know how to describe our own faces. But we must make such observations as we can. It is the one of Shakespear's plays that we think of the oftenest, because it abounds most in striking reflections on human life, and because the distresses of Hamlet are transferred, by the turn of his mind, to the general account of humanity. Whatever happens to him we apply to ourselves, because he applies it to himself as a means of general reasoning. He is a great moraliser; and what makes him worth attending to is, that he moralises on his own feelings and experience. He is not a common-place pedant. If Lear is distinguished by the greatest depth of passion, Hamlet is the most remarkable for the ingenuity, originality, and unstudied developement of character. Shakespear had more magnanimity than any other poet, and he has shewn more of it in this play than in any other. There is no attempt to force an interest: every thing is left for time and circumstances to unfold. The attention is excited without effort, the incidents succeed each other as matters of course, the characters think and speak and act just as they might do, if left entirely to themselves. There is no set purpose, no straining at a point. The observations are suggested by the passing scene—the gusts of passion come and go like sounds of music borne on the wind. The whole play is an exact transcript of what might be supposed to have taken place at the court of Denmark, at the remote period of time fixed upon, before the modern refinements in morals and manners were heard of. It would have been interesting enough to have been admitted as a by-stander in such a scene, at such a time, to have heard and witnessed something of what was going on. But here we are more than spectators. We have not only "the outward pageants and the signs of grief;" but "we have that within us which passes shew." We read the thoughts of the heart, we catch the passions living as they rise. Other dramatic writers give us very fine versions and paraphrases of nature; but Shakespear, together with his own comments, gives us the original text, that we may judge for ourselves. This is a very great advantage.

"The character of Hamlet stands quite by itself. It is not a character marked by strength of will or even of passion, but by refinement of thought and sentiment. Hamlet is as little of the hero as a man can well be: but he is a young and princely novice, full of high enthusiasm and quick sensibility—the sport of circumstances, questioning with fortune and refining on his own feelings, and forced from the natural bias of his disposition by the strangeness of his situation. He seems incapable of deliberate action, and is only hurried into extremities on the spur of the occasion, when he has no time to reflect, as in the scene where he kills Polonius, and again, where he alters the letters which Rosencraus and Guildenstern are taking with them to England, purporting his death. At other times, when he is most bound to act, he remains puzzled, undecided, and sceptical; dallies with his

his purposes, till the occasion is lost, and finds out some pretence to relapse into indolence and thoughtfulness again. For this reason he refuses to kill the king when he is at his prayers, and by a refinement in malice, which is in truth only an excuse for his own want of resolution, defers his revenge to a more fatal opportunity, when he shall be engaged in some act "that has no relish of salvation in it."

"He kneels and prays,
And now I'll do't, and so he goes to heaven,
And so am I reveng'd: that would be scann'd.
He kill'd my father, and for that,
I, his sole son, send him to heaven.
Why this is reward, not revenge.
Up, sword, and know thou a more horrid time,
When he is drunk, asleep, or in a rage."

"He is the prince of philosophical speculators; and because he cannot have his revenge perfect, according to the most refined idea his wish can form, he declines it altogether. So he scruples to trust the suggestions of the ghost, contrives the scene of the play to have surer proof of his uncle's guilt, and then rests satisfied with this confirmation of his suspicions, and the success of his experiment, instead of acting upon it. Yet he is sensible of his own weakness, taxes himself with it, and tries to reason himself out of it.

"How all occasions do inform against me,
And spur my dull revenge! What is a man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? A beast; no more.
Sure he that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and god-like reason
To rust in us unus'd. Now whether it be
Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
Of thinking too precisely on th' event,—
A thought which quarter'd, hath but one part wisdom,
And ever three parts coward;—I do not know
Why yet I live to say, this thing's to do;
Sith I have cause, and will, and strength, and means
To do it. Examples gross as earth exhort me:
Witness this army of such mass and charge,
Led by a delicate and tender prince,
Whose spirit with divine ambition puff'd,
Makes mouths at the invisible event,
Exposing what is mortal and unsure
To all that fortune, death, and danger dare,
Even for an egg-shell. 'Tis not to be great
Never to stir without great argument;
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw,
When honour's at the stake. How stand I then,
That have a father kill'd, a mother stain'd,
Excitements of my reason and my blood,
And let all sleep, while to my shame I see
The imminent death of twenty thousand men,
That, for a fantasy and trick of fame,
Go to their graves like beds, fight for a plot
Whereon the numbers cannot try the cause,
Which is not tomb enough and continent
To hide the slain?—O from this time forth
My thoughts be bloody or be nothing worth."

Still he does nothing; and this very speculation on his own infirmity only affords him another occasion for indulging it. It is not from any want of attachment to his father, or of abhorrence of his murder, that Hamlet is thus dilatory, but it is more to his taste to indulge his imagination in reflecting upon the enormity of the crime and refining on his schemes of vengeance, than to put them into immediate practice. His ruling passion is to think, not to act: and any vague pretext that flatters this propensity instantly diverts him from his previous purposes.

"The moral perfection of this character has been called in question, we think, by those who did not understand it. It is more interesting than according to rules; amiable, though not faultless. The ethical delineations of "that noble and liberal casuist" (as Shakespear has been well called) do not exhibit the drab-coloured quakerism of morality. His plays are not copied either from the Whole Duty of Man,

or from The Academy of Compliments! We confess we are a little shocked at the want of refinement in those who are shocked at the want of refinement in Hamlet. The neglect of punctilious exactness in his behaviour either partakes of the "licence of the time," or else belongs to the very excess of intellectual refinement in the character, which makes the common rules of life, as well as his own purposes, sit loose upon him. He may be said to be amenable only to the tribunal of his own thoughts, and is too much taken up with the airy world of contemplation to lay as much stress as he ought on the practical consequences of things. His habitual principles of action are unhinged and out of joint with the time. His conduct to Ophelia is quite natural in his circumstances. It is that of assumed severity only. It is the effect of disappointed hope, of bitter regrets, of affection suspended, not obliterated, by the distractions of the scene around him! Amidst the natural and preternatural horrors of his situation, he might be excused in delicacy from carrying on a regular courtship. When "his father's spirit was in arms," it was not a time for the son to make love in. He could neither marry Ophelia, nor wound her mind by explaining the cause of his alienation, which he durst hardly trust himself to think of. It would have taken him years to have come to a direct explanation on the point. In the harassed state of his mind, he could not have done much otherwise than he did. His conduct does not contradict what he says when he sees her funeral,

"I loved Ophelia: forty thousand brothers
Could not with all their quantity of love
Make up my sum."

"Nothing can be more affecting or beautiful than the Queen's apostrophe to Ophelia on throwing the flowers into the grave.

——— "Sweets to the sweet, farewell.
I hop'd thou should'st have been my Hamlet's wife:
I thought thy bride-bed to have deck'd, sweet maid,
And not have strew'd thy grave."

"Shakespear was thoroughly a master of the mixed motives of human character, and he here shews us the Queen, who was so criminal in some respects, not without sensibility and affection in other relations of life.—Ophelia is a character almost too exquisitely touching to be dwelt upon. Oh rose of May, oh flower too soon faded! Her love, her madness, her death, are described with the truest touches of tenderness and pathos. It is a character which nobody but Shakespear could have drawn in the way that he has done, and to the conception of which there is not even the smallest approach, except in some of the old romantic ballads. Her brother, Laertes, is a character we do not like so well: he is too hot and choleric, and somewhat rhodomontade. Polonius is a perfect character in its kind; nor is there any foundation for the objections which have been made to the consistency of this part. It is said that he acts very foolishly and talks very sensibly. There is no inconsistency in that. Again, that he talks wisely at one time and foolishly at another; that his advice to Laertes is very excellent, and his advice to the King and Queen on the subject of Hamlet's madness very ridiculous. But he gives the one as a father, and is sincere in it; he gives the other as a mere courtier, a busy-body, and is accordingly officious,

officious, garrulous, and impertinent. In short, Shakespear has been accused of inconsistency in this and other characters, only because he has kept up the distinction which there is in nature, between the understandings and the moral habits of men, between the absurdity of their ideas and the absurdity of their motives. Polonius is not a fool, but he makes himself so. His folly, whether in his actions or speeches, comes under the head of impropriety of intention.

"We do not like to see our author's plays acted, and least of all, Hamlet. There is no play that suffers so much in being transferred to the stage. Hamlet himself seems hardly capable of being acted. Mr. Kemble unavoidably fails in this character from a want of ease and variety. The character of Hamlet is made up of undulating lines; it has the yielding flexibility of "a wave o' th' sea." Mr. Kemble plays it like a man in armour, with a determined inveteracy of purpose, in one undeviating straight line, which is as remote from the natural grace and refined susceptibility of the character, as the sharp angles and abrupt starts which Mr. Kean introduces into the part. Mr. Kean's Hamlet is as much too splenetic and rash as Mr. Kemble's is too deliberate and formal. His manner is too strong and pointed. He throws a severity, approaching to virulence, into the common observations and answers. There is nothing of this in Hamlet. He is, as it were, wrapped up in his reflections, and only thinks aloud. There should therefore be no attempt to impress what he says upon others by a studied exaggeration of emphasis or manner; no talking at his hearers. There should be as much of the gentleman and scholar as possible infused into the part, and as little of the actor. A pensive air of sadness should sit reluctantly upon his brow, but no appearance of fixed and sullen gloom. He is full of weakness and melancholy, but there is no harshness in his nature. He is the most amiable of misanthropes."

Criticism on As You Like it.

"Shakespear has here converted the forest of Arden into another Arcadia, where they "fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world." It is the most ideal of any of this author's plays. It is a pastoral drama, in which the interest arises more out of the sentiments and characters than out of the actions or situations. It is not what is done, but what is said, that claims our attention. Nursed in solitude, "under the shade of melancholy boughs," the imagination grows soft and delicate, and the wit runs riot in idleness, like a spoiled child, that is never sent to school. Caprice and fancy reign and revel here, and stern necessity is banished to the court. The mild sentiments of humanity are strengthened with thought and leisure; the echo of the cares and noise of the world strikes upon the ear of those "who have felt them knowingly," softened by time and distance. "They hear the tumult, and are still." The very air of the place

seems to breathe a spirit of philosophical poetry: to stir the thoughts, to touch the heart with pity, as the drowsy forest rustles to the sighing gale. Never was there such beautiful moralizing, equally free from pedantry or petulance.

"And this their life, exempt from public haunts,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

"Jaques is the only purely contemplative character in Shakespear. He thinks, and does nothing. His whole occupation is to amuse his mind, and he is totally regardless of his body and his fortunes. He is the prince of philosophical idlers; his only passion is thought; he sets no value upon any thing but as it serves as food for reflection. He can "suck melancholy out of a song, as a weasel sucks eggs;" the motley fool, "who morals on the time," is the greatest prize he meets with in the forest. He resents Orlando's passion for Rosalind as some disparagement of his own passion for abstract truth; and leaves the Duke, as soon as he is restored to his sovereignty, to seek his brother out who has quitted it, and turned hermit.

—"Out of these convertites
There is much matter to be heard and learnt."

"Within the sequestered and romantic glades of the forest of Arden, they find leisure to be good and wise, or to play the fool and fall in love. Rosalind's character is made up of sportive gaiety and natural tenderness: her tongue runs the faster to conceal the pressure at her heart. She talks herself out of breath, only to get deeper in love. The coquetry with which she plays with her lover in the double character which she has to support is managed with the nicest address. How full of voluble, laughing grace is all her conversation with Orlando—

—"In heedless mazes running
With wanton haste and giddy cunning."

"How full of real fondness and pretended cruelty is her answer to him when he promises to love her "For ever and a day!"

"Say a day without the ever: no, no, Orlando, men are April when they woo, December when they wed: maids are May when they are maids, but the sky changes when they are wives: I will be more jealous of thee than a Barbary cock-pigeon over his hen; more clamorous than a parrot against rain; more new-fangled than an ape; more giddy in my desires than a monkey; I will weep for nothing, like Diana in the fountain, and I will do that when you are disposed to be merry; I will laugh like a hyen, and that when you are inclined to sleep.

"*Orlando.* But will my Rosalind do so?

"*Rosalind.* By my life she will do as I do."

"The silent and retired character of Celia is a necessary relief to the provoking loquacity of Rosalind, nor can any thing be better conceived or more beautifully described than the mutual affection between the two cousins:

—"We still have slept together,
Rose at an instant, learn'd, play'd, eat together,
And wheresoe'r we went, like Juno's swans,
Still we went coupled and inseparable."

"The unrequited love of Silvius for Phebe shews the perversity of this passion in the commonest scenes of

of life, and the rubs and stops which nature throws in its way, where fortune has placed none. Touchstone is not in love, but he will have a mistress as a subject for the exercise of his grotesque humour, and to shew his contempt for the passion, by his indifference about the person. He is a rare fellow. He is a mixture of the ancient cynic philosopher with the modern buffoon, and turns folly into wit, and wit into folly, just as the fit takes him. His courtship of Audrey not only throws a degree of ridicule on the state of wedlock itself, but he is equally an enemy to the prejudices of opinion in other respects. The lofty tone of enthusiasm, which the Duke and his companions in exile spread over the stillness and solitude of a country life, receives a pleasant shock from Touchstone's sceptical determination of the question.

"*Corin.* And how like you this shepherd's life, Mr. Touchstone?

"*Clown.* Truly, shepherd, in respect of itself, it is a good life; but in respect that it is a shepherd's life, it is naught. In respect that it is solitary, I like it very well; but in respect that it is private, it is a very vile life. Now in respect it is in the fields, it pleaseth me well; but in respect it is not in the court, it is tedious. As it is a spare life, look you, it fits my humour; but as there is no more plenty in it, it goes much against my stomach."

"Zimmerman's celebrated work on Solitude discovers only half the sense of this passage.

"There is hardly any of Shakespear's plays that contains a greater number of passages that have been quoted in books of extracts, or a greater number of phrases that have become in a manner proverbial. If we were to give all the striking passages, we should give half the play. We will only recall a few of the most delightful to the reader's recollection. Such are the meeting between Orlando and Adam; the exquisite appeal of Orlando to the humanity of the Duke and his company to supply him with food for the old man, and their answer; the Duke's description of a country life; and the account of Jaques moralizing on the wounded deer; his meeting with Touchstone in the forest; his apology for his own melancholy and his satirical vein; and the well-known speech on the stages of human life; the old song of "Blow, blow, thou winter's wind;" Rosalind's description of the marks of a lover, and of the progress of time with different persons; the picture of the snake wreathed round Oliver's neck while the lioness watches her sleeping prey; and Touchstone's lecture to the shepherd; his defence of cuckolds, and panegyric on the virtues of "an If" —all of these are familiar to the reader: there is one passage of equal delicacy and beauty which may have escaped him, and with it we shall close our account of As You Like It. It is Phebe's description of Ganymede at the end of the third act:

"Think not I love him, tho' I ask for him;
'Tis but a peevish boy, yet he talks well;—
But what care I for words! yet words do well,
When he that speaks them pleases those that hear:
It is a pretty youth; not very pretty;
But sure he's proud, and yet his pride becomes him;
He'll make a proper man; the best thing in him
Is his complexion; and faster than his tongue
Did make offence, his eye did heal it up.
He is not very tall, yet for his years he's tall;
His

His leg is but so so, and yet 'tis well;
There was a pretty redness in his lip,
A little riper, and more lusty red
Than that mix'd in his cheek; 'twas just the difference
Betwixt the constant red and mingled damask.
There be some women, Silvius, had they mark'd him
In parcels as I did, would have gone near
To fall in love with him: but for my part
I love him not, nor hate him not; and yet
I have more cause to hate him than to love him;
For what had he to do to chide at me?"

ARTICLE II.—*Laou-Seng-Urh, or an Heir in his Old Age. A Chinese Drama.*

THE opinion that the Chinese were models of wisdom and virtue, has now given way to more just and correct notions respecting them; but though they no longer retain their claims to our admiration for these qualities, and are indeed proved to be a very ridiculous, and, even among Asiatics, an unprincipled people, yet the very antiquity and singularity of their laws, customs, manners, and habits of thinking, feeling, and acting, must always render them an interesting study to the philosopher.

It is highly to the credit of the British that the advantages they possess in the East have been with so much zeal, perseverance, and success employed to gain a minute and thorough acquaintance of the physical geography, the natural history, and the manners, &c. of that portion of the globe; and that so many of our countrymen have even penetrated into the arcana that were concealed by the most difficult of the eastern languages. The present Chinese Drama was translated by Mr. Davis, a writer on the establishment of the East India Company at Canton. To it there is prefixed (we presume by the editor) a Brief View of the Chinese Drama, and of their Theatrical Exhibitions.

VIEW OF THE CHINESE DRAMA.

"IF the missionaries have communicated little information respecting the actual state of theatrical representations in China, the descriptions, which occasional visitors to that country have given of the actual state of scenic exhibitions, convey a tolerably correct notion of what they are: and they certainly are not of a nature to give us any very exalted notion of the state of the drama, or of the refinement of the people. The most singular and inexplicable part of the subject is, that those representations would appear to descend into lowness and vulgarity, in the inverse ratio of the rank and situation in life of the parties for whose amusement they are exhibited. Thus, at the court of Pekin, and in presence of his Imperial Majesty, Ysbrandt Ives, the Russian

Russian ambassador in 1692, was entertained with jugglers, posture-makers, and harlequins; while on his way thither, and not far from the Great Wall, the governor of a city entertained him with a regular play. "First," says he, "entered a very beautiful lady, magnificently dressed in cloth of gold, adorned with jewels, and a crown on her head, singing her speech, with a charming voice, and agreeable motion of the body, playing with her hands, in one of which she held a fan. The prologue thus performed, the play followed, the story of which turned upon a Chinese emperor, long since dead, who had behaved himself well towards his country, and in honour of whose memory the play was written. Sometimes he appeared in royal robes, with a flat ivory sceptre in his hand, and sometimes his officers shewed themselves with ensigns, arms and drums, &c. and by intervals a sort of farce was acted by their lacqueys, whose antick dress and painted faces, were as well as any I have seen in Europe; and as far as was interpreted to me, their farce was very diverting, especially part of it which represented a person who had in his marriage been cheated by a debauched wife, and fancying her constant to him, had the mortification to see another make love to her before his face."

"Mr. Bell, who accompanied the Russian ambassador to Pekin in 1719, describes the court amusements to consist of wrestling, sham-fights, tumbling, posture-making, and fire-works. At an entertainment given to the gentlemen of the embassy, by one of the emperor's sons, the amusements were somewhat better. Speaking of the comedians, he says, "There entered on the stage seven warriors, all in armour, with different weapons in their hands, and terrible vizards on their faces. After they had taken a few turns about the stage, and surveyed each other's armour, they at last fell a quarreling; and, in the encounter, one of the heroes was slain. Then an angel descended from the clouds, in a flash of lightning, with a monstrous sword in his hand, and soon parted the combatants, by driving them all off the stage; which done, he ascended in the same manner he came down, in a cloud of fire and smoke. This scene was succeeded by several comical farces, which, to me, seemed very diverting, though in a language I did not understand." But the comedy performed at a tavern in Pekin, "by a company of players maintained by the house," at an entertainment given to them by "a young Chinese gentleman," afforded to all great pleasure; and "the performers consisted of both men and women, well dressed, and of decent behaviour."

"Lord Macartney, in his own journal, describes the wrestling, tumbling, wire-dancing, conjuring, and fire-works, that were exhibited at his introduction to the late emperor Kien-lung, and seems to speak of them with great contempt, except the ingenuity with which the Chinese had displayed their art in clothing fire with all manner of colours and shapes. Their "wretched dramas," as he calls them, are thus described. "The theatrical entertainments consisted of great variety, both tragical and comical; several distinct pieces were acted in succession, though without any apparent connexion with one another. Some of them were historical, and others of pure fancy, partly

partly in recitativo, partly in singing, and partly in plain speaking, without any accompaniment of instrumental music, but abounding in battles, murders, and most of the usual incidents of the drama. Last of all, was the grand pantomime, which, from the approbation it met with, is, I presume, considered a first-rate effort of invention and ingenuity. It seemed to me, as far as I could comprehend it, to represent the marriage of the Ocean and the Earth. The latter exhibited her various riches and productions, dragons and elephants and tigers and eagles and ostriches, oaks and pines, and other trees of different kinds. The ocean was not behind hand, but poured forth on the stage the wealth of his dominions, under the figures of whales and dolphins, porpoises and leviathans, and other sea-monsters, besides ships, rocks, shells, sponges, and corals, all performed by concealed actors, who were quite perfect in their parts, and performed their characters to admiration. These two marine and land regiments, after separately parading in a circular procession for a considerable time, at last joined together, and, forming one body, came to the front of the stage, when, after a few evolutions, they opened to the right and left, to give room for the whale, who seemed to be the commanding officer, to waddle forward; and who, taking his station exactly opposite to the emperor's box, spouted out of his mouth into the pit, several tons of water, which quickly disappeared through the perforations of the floor. This ejaculation was received with the highest applause, and two or three of the great men at my elbow desired me to take particular notice of it; repeating, at the same time Hao! hung hao! —charming, delightful!'

"Mr. Barrow, in describing the amusements given to the Dutch ambassadors in 1795, from the journal of a gentleman in their suite, speaks of posture-making, rope-dancing, "and a sort of pantomimic performance, the principal characters of which were men dressed in skins, and going on all fours, intended to represent wild beasts; and a parcel of boys, habited in the dresses of mandarins, who were to hunt them." And again, after the whole court had been terribly frightened by an eclipse of the moon, an entertainment was given to the ambassadors, during which "a pantomime, intended to be an exhibition of the battle of the dragon and the moon, was represented before the full court. In this engagement, two or three hundred priests, bearing lanterns suspended at the ends of long sticks, performed a variety of evolutions, dancing and capering about, sometimes over the plain, and then over chairs and tables, affording to his Imperial Majesty, and to his courtiers, the greatest pleasure and satisfaction." De Guignes also, who accompanied these ambassadors, describes this scene as a very puerile and ludicrous representation. "A number of Chinese," he says, "placed at the distance of six feet from one another, now entered, bearing two long dragons of silk or paper, painted blue, with white scales, and stuffed with lighted lamps. These two dragons, after saluting the emperor with due respect, moved up and down with great composure; when the moon suddenly made her appearance, upon which they began to run after her. The moon, however, fearlessly placed herself between

tween them, and the two dragons, after surveying her for some time, and concluding, apparently, that she was too large a morsel for them to swallow, judged it prudent to retire; which they did with the same ceremony as they entered. The moon, elated with her triumph, then withdrew with prodigious gravity: a little flushed, however, with the chase which she had sustained.

"It would seem, however, that meanness and vulgarity are not the most objectionable charges to which the exhibitions of the Chinese stage are obnoxious; some of them being grossly indecent and obscene. An instance is mentioned by Mr. Barrow, of a woman being condemned to be flayed alive, for the murder of her husband; she appears on the stage not only naked, but completely excoriated: and he adds, that the European gentlemen at Canton are sometimes so disgusted with the filthy and obscene exhibitions, as to leave the theatre. "The history of husbands deceived by their mistresses," says M. de Guignes, "being frequently the subject of their comedies, there occur therein sometimes situations so free, and in which the actor exhibits so much truth, that the scene becomes extremely indecent"—and he mentions an instance of which he was an eye-witness, where the heroine of the piece "devint grosse et accoucha sur le théatre d'un enfant." The piece was called the See-hou Pagoda, being the history of the destruction of the pagoda in ruins on that famous lake described by Mr. Barrow under the name of Luifung-ta, the temple of the thundering winds. "Several genii mounted upon serpents, and marching along the margin of the lake, opened the scene; a neighbouring bonze shortly after made love to one of these goddesses, who, in spite of the remonstrances of her sister, listened to the young man, married him, became pregnant, and was delivered of a child upon the stage, who very soon found itself in a condition to walk about. Enraged at this scandalous adventure, the genii drove away the bonze, and finished by striking the pagoda with lightning, and reducing it to the ruined condition in which it now appears."

As scenes like these are stated to have thrown the audience into raptures, M. de Guignes very naturally concludes the real character of the Chinese to be vicious. We must not, however, judge too harshly on performances, which, for "licentious pleasantries," we could fairly match them several hundred years after those of the Chinese were written. Warton has observed, that "gross and open obscenities" enter into our old mysteries or religious representations; that in a play of the "Old and New Testament," Adam and Eve were both exhibited on the stage naked, and appeared in the subsequent scene with their figleaves; and Malone says, this kind of primitive exhibition was revived in the time of James the First; "several persons appearing almost entirely naked, in a pastoral exhibited at Oxford before the King and Queen, and the ladies who attended her."

"Mr. Barrow has conjectured, that the low and trifling amusements of the court, may have been introduced by the Tartars, as more congenial to their rude and unpolished manners, while the songs and recitative of the regular drama are more suited to the genius and spirit of the ceremonious Chinese. The two Mahomedans

homedans who visited China are silent on the subject; and Marco Polo only observes, that at the Emperor's feasts were buffoons, and players on musical instruments, and posture-masters. At that time, however, a Tartar dynasty also occupied the throne.

"As far as the mere spectacle is concerned, the several travellers we have mentioned could not well be mistaken. Some deduction, however, ought probably to be made, on account of their ignorance of the language. The absurdities that strike the eye they are capable of describing, but the dialogue of the regular drama, being utterly unintelligible, ceases to create any interest. What their merits and defects may therefore be, Europeans have hitherto possessed very slender means of forming a sound judgment. A garbled translation of a single drama by Pere Premare, a jesuit, is the solitary specimen of this kind of composition in any European language, before that which is now offered to the public. It is called the Orphan of Chao, and forms one of a collection of one hundred plays, written under the dynasty of Yuen, in the fourteenth century. Voltaire, who adapted the subject to the French stage, considers it as a valuable monument of Chinese literature at that early period, barbarous as it is when compared with the dramatic art in Europe, but far superior to any thing that Europe could boast at the time it was written. He considers it at least equal to the English and Spanish tragedies of the seventeenth century; and observes that, "like the monstrous farces of Shakespeare, and of Lopez de Vega, which have been called tragedies, the action of the Chinese piece continues five and twenty years."—"Monstrous," however, as they may be, few Englishmen would give up the worst "farce" of Shakespeare, for the heavy monotony and blustering declamation of the best "tragedy" of Voltaire. He admits that "the Orphan of Chao," notwithstanding the improbability of the occurrences, has something in it which interests us; and that, in spite of the innumerable crowd of events, they are all exhibited in the most clear and distinct manner—but these he considers as its only beauties; unity of time and action, sentiment, character, eloquence, passion, all, he says, are wanting. Some of them, it is true, are wanting in Premare's translation, because he has omitted most of the poetry, or those parts which have been compared with the Greek chorus, and in which sentiment, eloquence, passion, are all expressed; that is to say, he has left out the very best parts of the play. Our countryman, Dr. Hurd, in his "Discourse on Poetical Imitation," formed a very different opinion of this tragedy from that of Voltaire. He conceived that it embraces the two essentials of dramatic poetry, unity and integrity of action—and a close connection of the incidents of the story; for, first, he observes "the action is strictly one; the destruction of the House of Chao is the single event on which our attention turns from the beginning: we see it gradually prepared and brought on; and with its completion the tragedy finishes. Secondly, the action proceeds with as much rapidity as Aristotle himself demands"—and having noticed its resemblance in many points to the Electra of Sophocles—"let me add," says he, "an intermixture of songs

songs in passionate parts, heightened into sublime poetry, and somewhat resembling the character of the ancient chorus." Had Premare translated more of these lyrics, he would probably have found the resemblance still more complete.

"The comedy of an "Heir in his Old Age," is the simple representation of a story in domestic life; a plain "unvarnished tale," in which Chinese manners and Chinese feelings are faithfully delineated and expressed, in a natural manner, and in appropriate language. Two things, however, must be borne in mind by the European reader, to enable him to enter fully into the spirit of this play—first, that filial piety is, among the Chinese, the first of virtues, and the lack of it, one of the worst of crimes; that it is the grand basis on which all the religious, moral, and civil institutions of the empire are founded; that the greatest misfortune in life is the want of a son to honour and console his aged parents, and to visit annually their tombs when dead—and, secondly, that to afford every means of procuring a son, a man may take inferior wives or concubines, who are generally purchased from poor relations; such wives having no rights of their own, and their children being considered as the children of the first or legitimate wife, who call her by the name of mother, and are entitled to the same rights and privileges as her own children.

"The dramatis personæ of this play are made up entirely of the members of a family in the middling class of society, consisting of an old man—his wife—his second or inferior wife—his nephew—his son-in-law—and his daughter. The old man, having amassed considerable wealth by trade, and having no son to console him in his old age, and to perform the obsequies at his tomb, had taken a second wife, whose pregnancy is announced in the opening of the play. In order to propitiate heaven to favour him with a son in his old age, he makes a sacrifice of all the small debts due to him, by burning the documents, which at the same time serves to quiet some scruples of conscience as to the mode in which part of his money had been acquired. He then divides his property between his wife and his married daughter, giving to his nephew, (a deceased brother's son,) a hundred pieces of silver, and sending him away to seek his fortune, the wife, owing to an old quarrel with his deceased mother, leading him a most unhappy life at home. The old gentleman then sets out for his estate in the country, recommending his pregnant wife to the humane treatment of his family, and in the hope of receiving from them speedy congratulations on the birth of a son.

"He is no sooner departed, however, when the son-in-law cannot conceal from the daughter his disappointment at the pregnancy of the old man's second wife, as, if she brings forth a girl, he will lose half the family property, and if a son, the whole. His wife soothes him by a hint how easily she may be got rid of, and the old man persuaded that she had suddenly disappeared; and shortly after both the son-in-law and the audience are left to infer that she has actually contrived to put her to death. In the mean time, the old man waits the result in great anxiety; his family appear in succession to console him for the loss of his second wife, which he is reluctantly brought to believe.

believe. In the bitterness of his disappointment, he bursts into tears, and expresses strong suspicions of some foul play. He attributes his misfortunes to his former thirst of gain, resolves to fast for seven days, and to bestow alms publicly at a neighbouring temple, in the hope that the objects of his charity may treat him as a father. Among the beggars at the temple, his nephew appears, in the most hopeless state of poverty, being reduced to take up his lodging under the furnace of a pottery; he is insulted by the son-in-law, and reproached by the old wife; but his uncle, moved with compassion, contrives to give him a little money, and earnestly advises him to be punctual in visiting the tombs of his family at the approaching spring, assuring him that a due attention to filial piety must ultimately lead to wealth. The nephew accordingly appears at the tombs, performs the rites of oblation, as far as his poverty will admit, and invokes the shades of his ancestors to commiserate his distress, and to grant him their protection. He no sooner departs than the uncle and aunt appear, and express their indignation that their own daughter and son in-law have neglected their duty, in not being there with the customary offerings; they observe that, from the earth being turned up, and paper burnt, that some needy person must have been there, and conclude it to be their nephew. The scene of the tombs, and the reflections to which it gives rise in the old man's mind, have considerable interest; he reasons with his wife, convinces her that the nephew is more worthy, as well as nearer in blood, than the son-in-law; she relents, and expresses a wish to make him reparation; he appears, a conciliation takes place, and he is again received into the family. Soon after this, the son-in-law and daughter appear, with a great noise, and a procession of village officers, to perform the ceremonies; but they are received by their parents with bitter reproaches for their tardy piety and ingratitude, and ordered never to enter their doors again. On the old man's birth-day, however, they send to ask permission to pay their respects, when, to the utter astonishment and unbounded joy of the old man, his daughter presents him with his second wife and her son, now about three years of age, both of whom, it appears, had been secreted by the daughter, and supported out of affection for her father, and unknown to the husband, who had supposed them to be otherwise disposed of. The daughter is separated from her husband, and taken back into her family; a new arrangement is made for the disposal of the old man's property, the daughter to have a third, the nephew a third, and the little son a third; and the piece concludes with expressions of joy and gratitude for the old gentleman having been blessed with "an heir in his old age."

"Such is the brief outline of the fable; the unity and integrity of action and design are strictly adhered to, and all the incidents are closely connected with the story, which turns entirely on the misery arising out of the want of an heir to perform the duties which filial piety demand, both to the living and the dead. The time employed in the course of the piece is three years, but the events follow each other in so natural a manner, and with such uninterrupted rapidity, that the time elapsed

elapsed would not be perceived but for the age of the child brought forward in the concluding act. The several scenes and acts are as properly divided as those of an European drama; the sentiments are naturally expressed, often tender and affecting, and always friendly to virtue. The translator observes, that a few passages which were grossly indecent, have been omitted in the translation; the Chinese, with all their politeness, are coarse in their expressions; and we have seen that, from a too close adherence to nature and to facts, the scenic representations are often exceedingly gross and indelicate. "Ils mettent," says De Guignes, "trop de la verité dans le scène."

"The lyrical compositions, which prevail more in tragedy than in comedy, certainly bear a strong resemblance to the chorus of the old Greek tragedy; like the chorus too, they are sung with an accompaniment of music. The translator seems to think that these passages are chiefly intended to gratify the ear, and that sense is very often sacrificed to sound: even if this were the case, examples of the same kind might be produced nearer home. Perhaps, however, their obscurity may be owing to the nature of the written language, in which associations of ideas are presented rather to the eye, or to the recollection, than to the ear, by a combination of signs or symbols, on the choice of which the force of the expression must depend. Mr. Morrison observes, that "without extensive knowledge of their ancient poetry, and the customs and manners of the country, it is very difficult to understand their poetical compositions. The very point and beauty of the piece often depends on some slight allusion, which a foreigner does not perceive; added to which, the style is peculiarly concise, and unusual words are introduced."

"The opening or prologue of a Chinese drama, in which the principal personages come forward to declare the characters of the piece, and to let the audience into the argument or story on which the action is to turn, bears a strong resemblance to the prologues of the Greek drama, and particularly to those of Euripides.

"In comedy the dialogue is carried on in the common colloquial language; but in the higher order of historical and tragical plays, the tone of voice is elevated considerably above its natural pitch, and continued throughout in a kind of whining monotony, having some resemblance to, but wanting the modulations and cadences of, the recitative in the Italian opera; as in this too, the sentiments of grief, joy, love, hatred, revenge, &c. are, in the Chinese dramas, usually thrown into lyric poetry, and sung in soft or boisterous airs, according to the sentiment expressed, and the situation of the actor; they are also accompanied with loud music, the performers being placed on the back part of the stage.

"Whatever may be the merits and the defects of the Chinese drama, it is unquestionably their own invention. The only nation from whence they could have borrowed any thing, is that of Hindostan, from whence they imported the religion of Budh; but as we know nothing of the Hindoo drama, except from the single specimen of Sacontala, translated by Sir William Jones, in a manner, it is said, sufficiently free; and as that drama differs

differs more from the Chinese than the Greek, Roman, English, or Italian, there is not the slightest grounds for supposing that the one was borrowed from the other. There is, indeed, a characteristic difference between them; the one adhering strictly to nature, and describing human manners and human feelings; the other soaring beyond nature, into the labyrinth of an intricate and inexplicable mythology."

We shall subjoin the scene of the tombs, particularly alluded to in the preceding extract.

SCENE OF THE TOMBS.

"Enter Chang-lang, and Daughter.

Chang. Though a man's destiny is fixed at his birth, it is still necessary for him to adopt a little scheming. If I did not keep in practice my deceitful arts, who would take money and present it to me?—Since my father-in-law gave me the care of his property I have been very well contented.—It is now the commencement of the Tsing-ming, and every one goes to perform his duties and make oblations at the tombs of his ancestors. I must hasten with these dried hams and other meat offerings, and take with me the village officer to the tombs.

" Enter Village Officer.

V. Off. I am the village officer. To-day being the commencement of the Tsing-ming, I have received Chang-lang's invitation to go to the tombs.—Chang-lang, here I am, ready to proceed with you.

Chang. [to Yin-chang.] Wife, we have hitherto gone every year to visit the tombs of your family first. Let us this year first proceed to those of my ancestors.

Daugh. No, Chang-lang; it is proper we should go to the tombs of my family first.

V. Off. You are in the wrong.—Though your family name be Lew, and your husband's Chang, you should still go first to the tombs of his family. That will be the most correct plan.

Chang. Wife, within an hundred years after our marriage, you will be immured in the tombs of my ancestors: proceed first, therefore, to them.

Daugh. I comply: let us first proceed thither. [Exeunt.

" Enter Yin-sun, solus.

Yin. Since the day when my uncle gave me the two pieces of silver, I have been living about the potteries. Now is the season of the Tsing-ming, and all ranks, both great and small, perform the sacred rites at the tombs of their respective families. My uncle said to me, Yin-sun, if you diligently honour the graves of your ancestors, in one or two years you will become rich.—Surely, he must have deposited some treasure there. When I reflect that my own ancestors, besides my father and mother, are interred in those tombs, it would be strange if I should wait till my uncle told me to go!—Though I am poor, I am still a scholar, and therefore could not possibly be deficient in this essential point of duty. I have been

been to the paper shop, and obtained some gilt paper by singing; I have been to the wine shop, and procured this half-jar of wine; I have been to the eating-shop, and obtained this cake of bread. Thus then I have not neglected my uncle's advice. From a neighbour I have borrowed this iron-hoe, and now proceed to the rites; to burn the paper, and to trim the earth round the graves; to perform the other ceremonies of oblations, and thus fulfil the duties of a son. In the midst of my meditations, I have arrived, it seems, at the place of tombs. Ah! Lew-tsung-sheu, in spite of your great wealth, where have you a son who shall visit your tombs,—[performs his adorations.] —Ye parents of my father, your lives being ended, after death be immortal! I make this oblation to your shades.—Here lie my father and mother!—I, your child, the victim of poverty, reflect that during your lifetime, you turned the partial affection of my grandfather and grandmother for you, to the disadvantage of my uncle and his wife. Now, that you are dead, all the ill consequences fall upon me!—My parents! why do I repeat this maxim? "Possessing property, do not exhaust it entirely, but refrain from one portion in ten for the sake of your children." I repeat this, because you made use of all your property, and now I severely suffer for it. But "in one or two years I shall become rich!"—Yin-sun has no other way of performing the duties of filial piety than by throwing a little fresh earth on the graves! I may be compared to the iron hoe which I hold in my hand; but the disposition of my aunt is so unrelenting that even if I were composed of iron or stone I could not forbear to complain. They have directed my cousin, Chang-lang, to take care of the family, while I am sent to dig the ground, and to labour. Now that I have thrown up the earth, I may proceed to the rites of oblation. If I offer this cake only to the shades of my grandfather and grandmother, those of my own parents will have none.—What is to be done, to prevent their contending for it?—This I can easily manage: I will divide the cake, and offer half to the one, and half to the other.—Having poured out the wine, burnt the paper, and finished the oblations, I am to eat what remains of the provisions.—One hundred and five days after the winter solstice, observe the rich, with what splendour they perform the rites of the tombs. I alone am poor and destitute.—The graves of my ancestors are not heaped with dried hams and other meat offerings, nor with fragrant wines. With this iron hoe I have performed the duties of the season.—[Taking up the wine.]—This wine is cold, and not fit to drink. I will go to one of the neighbouring cottages, and warm it. Having done this, I will return for the iron hoe.—Now to warm the wine. [Exit.

"Enter Lew-tsung-sheu and Wife.

Lew. This day being the commencement of the Tsing-ming, we are proceeding to visit the tombs of our ancestors. Wife, are our son-in-law and daughter gone before?

Wife. Yes, they have long been gone: the tent has been pitched for some time; the sheep killed; the cakes, as well as the dried hams and other meat offerings, prepared; and the wine heated. The shades of our ancestors and our relations wait the arrival of us two.—We must

must burn the incense paper, and then proceed to eat what remains of the offerings.

Lew. Wife, I fear that our children are not yet arrived.

Wife. I tell you that they are both gone before us.

Lew. But, have they arrived there yet?

Wife. They must have arrived there a long while ago.

Lew. Well, let us go on.—Do you see, that in the earnestness of our talk, we have already passed the tombs!—Those surely are the tombs of my ancestors? – Let us go thither.

Wife. Ah, we have indeed gone past them!

Lew. Now that we are arrived at the spot, you see that neither are the tents pitched, nor the sheep killed, nor the cakes prepared, nor the wine heated, nor the dried hams and other meat offerings forthcoming.—What will happen to the shades of our ancestors and relations!

Wife. I am afraid that our children have been tardy in their journey.

Lew. At your time of life, wife, you should not have been telling me all these stories!

Wife. I have indeed been much mistaken.

Lew. Alas! the sight of these tombs is enough to grieve one!—"Do you see that on the graves and places of offering, from the walls of brick and earth, are springing up thorns and briars?—Where are the Pe-yang and the Lo-yang trees!"—Wife, does it not seem that some one has just been at the tombs?—"The person who may have visited them,—is it my daughter, or my nephew, my nearer or my more remote relation?—Look at those desolate graves!—The swampy ground receives not the savour of flesh nor fish, nor the fragrance of tea or of wine. There has not been thrown upon them so much as two shovel-fulls of fresh earth, nor burnt over them a single roll of paper, nor have they been sprinkled with so much as half a cup of warm wine!"—Wife, surely some one has been at those tombs and gone away again?

Wife. If any one has been here, he must have been some needy wretch.

Lew. "He who has been here, and I myself, are equally miserable. It must be owing to so much rain having fallen that so few have come to the tombs; and therefore the grass is so long.—When shall I look to the blessing of posterity! Each day will the herds of cattle be let loose upon our graves: where will be placed the stone tigers, and the goats of stone!"—Wife, since our children are not yet arrived, let us begin the performance of our adorations.

Wife. You say right.—Let us old people perform our adorations before the tombs until they come.

Lew. Wife! first perform the rites here.

Wife. Who are buried here?

Lew. They are the parents of my father.

Wife. Parents of my husband's father, bestow your favourable influence on our family! Parents of my husband's father, soon may you ascend to the immortal mansions!

Lew. Now let our adorations be performed here.

Wife. Who are buried here?

Lew. My own parents.

Wife. Parents of my husband, your lives being ended, after death be ye immortal!

Lew

Lew. Now, here.

Wife. Who are these?

Lew. They are my younger brother and his wife; the parents of Yin-sun.

Wife. Are these the graves of Yin-sun's father and mother!—Then you advise me wrong. They are my inferiors; I am much above them; how then can I make the oblations at their tomb?

Lew. While they lived, it is true, they were our inferiors; but they are now dead!—Say then but this, "Your lives being ended, after death be ye immortal." For my sake, wife, perform this supplication!

Wife. Well, I will obey you. [aside.] Ye two of the younger branch of Lew, listen to me in your graves! Remember that during your lives you relied on the partiality of your father and mother, and injured us two. You happened, however, to draw the shortest lot; and now you are dead, leaving behind you that unfortunate Yin-sun, who is always haunting our doors. May he soon be crippled, or killed in the road, run over or trampled to death, and thus gratify my eyes!

Lew. When will you have done praying over the graves?

Wife. Eh, when did I open my mouth?

Lew. Wife, where shall we two be buried an hundred years hence?

Wife. I have chosen a spot upon the brow of yonder hill. Do you observe the tall trees like so many umbrellas?—It is there that we shall be buried an hundred years hence.

Lew. I am afraid that it will not be possible for us to be interred there!

Wife. Why will it not be possible;—where then shall we be buried?

Lew. I repeat it, wife, it will not be possible:—but we shall be buried in yonder spot.

Wife. That is a low, wet, desolate place: I will never consent to be buried there; but yonder.

Lew. "We, like a pair of decayed pillars, have no sons nor grandsons to support us. An hundred years hence, when our bodies are deeply buried, though our tombs may be turned to the right aspect, we shall still be interred in that desolate spot." On the 1st and 15th of the month, at the time of oblation, "who will, weepingly, deck our tombs with gilded paper, or burn incense to our memory?"—Wife, the reason why we never can be buried in yonder spot, is merely because we have not a son.

Wife. How, not a son; have we not our son-in-law and daughter?

Lew. Ah, I had forgotten them!—Come, as our children are not yet arrived, let us chat a little together;—and now let me ask you, wife, what is my surname?

Wife. Alas! the old man becomes more foolish as he grows older; he has forgotten his own surname!—Your surname is Lew, and you are called Lew Yuen-wae.

Lew. My surname is Lew, and I am called Lew Yuen-wae:—good—and what is your surname?

Wife. My surname is Le.

Lew. Mine is Lew; your's is Le:—but how came you to be one of my family?

Wife. Do you really not know!—For what purpose were all the go-betweens and the witnesses, and the feasts, and the marriage presents, but to make me your lawful wife, and one of your own family?

Lew. Do people, when they meet you, call you Madam Lew, or Madam Le?

Wife. How stupid this old man is grown!—"If I wed a fowl, I must fly after it; if I wed a dog, I must run after it; if I wed a deserted clod, I must sit down and guard it."—While you and I live, we have the same bed; when we are dead, we shall have the same grave.—I belong altogether to your family; how then should any one call me Madam Le?

Lew. It seems, then, that you are one of my family;—and what is our daughter's surname?

Wife. Her surname is also Lew; she is Lew Yin-chang.

Lew. What is our son-in-law's surname?

Wife. His surname is Chang:—he is Chang-lang.

Lew. Now, let me ask you, wife;—will our daughter, an hundred years hence, be laid in the tombs of Lew, or in those of Chang?

Wife. She will be laid in those of Chang.—[as if grieved]—Alas! husband, why do you think about that?—true it is, without a son, we are indeed without a support!

Lew. You comprehend it, then, at last, wife.

Wife. How fortunate would it be if some one of our own family would come to the tombs.

Enter Yin-sun.

Yin. Having warmed and drank the wine, I am come back for the iron hoe.

Wife. Ah Yin-sun! whence come you, child?—why have you not lately been to eat at our house?—Your uncle too is here.

Yin. Your nephew came to pay adoration at the tombs of his family. I hope you mean not to chastise me for it.

Wife. I do not wish to chastise you, child!—I will acquaint your uncle of your coming.—[going up to Lew-tsung-sheu.]—Husband, a younger branch of Lew is arrived.

Lew. What younger branch of Lew?

Wife. Our nephew Yin-sun.

Lew. Then you had better have named him Yin-sun;—why style him a younger branch of Lew?

Wife. Because our children are too old, to be called by the names of their childhood.

Lew. Desire him to come forward, that I may question him.—Yin-sun, for what purpose came you hither?

Yin. Your nephew came to pay adorations at the tombs of his family.

Lew. Wife, do you hear Yin-sun say, that he came to pay adorations at the tombs of the family?

Wife. Yes, husband; he came to perform the rites at the tombs.

Lew. Yin-sun, who burnt this paper?

Yin. It was your nephew who burnt the paper.

Lew. Wife, Yin-sun says it was he who burnt the paper.

Wife. Yes; our nephew burnt the paper.

Lew. Who threw on the earth?

Yin. Your nephew threw on the earth.

Lew. Yin-sun says, wife, that he threw on the earth.

Wife. I hear that also, husband.

Lew. You came to pay adoration at the tombs, you burnt the paper, you threw up the earth:—but if you had not come, there is some one else of the family who would.—I must chastise this poor wretch.

Wife.

Wife. [dissuading him.] Husband, why will you chastise our nephew?

Lew. Wife, let me alone!—"The children of my brothers will all be buried in these tombs, and leave a posterity to make oblations to their ancestors."—Yin-sun, "look upon my wife and me as equal to your father and mother."

Wife. Husband, do not chastise him.

Lew. "Ah, you worthless woman, arrest not the staff, which is lifted for his correction." It is for this reason, that I punish him, "because in performing the rites to his ancestors, he did not do it with liberality, but came to offer at their tombs in this shameful manner."

Wife. Husband, when you have spoken to him, then punish him.

Lew. I will punish him first, and then speak to him.

Wife. Speak to him first, and then punish him.

Lew. Let me alone, wife! "It is for these reasons that I would chastise him first, and then parley with him."—Yin-sun, was it you, who has been at the tombs?

Yin. It was your nephew who came to the tombs.

Lew. Why then did not you pitch a lofty tent, and kill the sheep, and prepare the cakes and the hot wine, as well as the dried hams and other meat offerings?—What will become of the shades of our ancestors and our relations?

Wife. This old man is quite amusing.—Your nephew is without money, and destitute of both food and clothing.—Where then was he to find all this?

Lew. You say he has no money.—Yin-sun, observe.

Yin. What is it you wish your nephew to observe?

Lew. Why did not you go to those lofty edifices, and those tombs adorned with stone figures of goats and tigers, instead of coming hither?

Wife. You are wrong, husband.—Those belong to the families of Chang and Le. He is the immediate descendant of our family of Lew; why then should he not come to our tombs?

Lew. Who is the immediate descendant of our family of Lew?

Wife. Yin-sun.

Lew. I do not know that Yin-sun is the immediate descendant of our family;—I say that our daughter and son-in-law are.

Wife. The more I concede to you, you become the more unreasonable. Among mankind, where is there one to be found faultless?—I have hitherto been very obstinate. Nephew, I remember that I have both chastised and upbraided you: but from this day hence do you live in our family. I will supply all your wants. Cease then to remember my former harshness.

Yin. Uncle, my aunt says, that from this time hence she will neither chastise nor upbraid me; but that I must become one of the family, and that she will supply all my wants.

Lew. Who says so?

Yin. My aunt says so.

Lew. Your aunt says so!—Oh Heaven, it must be a dream!—"This happy event has come from the skies; a foolish woman has returned to her senses."

Yin. I have to thank you, uncle.

Lew. Don't pay your respects to me; "but to your reformed aunt yonder."—[Wife and Yin-sun seem affected.]—"Behold those two weeping; their tears flowing from the emotion of their hearts. Yesterday

terday you suffered from her anger; from this time hence you need not to toil for your living."—Wife, whose tombs are these?

Wife. They are the tombs of my family.

Lew. "Then they belong to the family of Lew.—How shall I intrust the property of my house to one of the house of Chang?"

ARTICLE III.—MEMOIRS *relating to* EUROPEAN *and* ASIATIC TURKEY, *edited from Manuscript Journals, by* ROBERT WALPOLE, A.M.

THIS work consists of a variety of papers principally relating to the Antiquities and Natural History of European Turkey; and when the reader is informed, that in addition to the contributions of the Editor himself, the late Dr. Sibthorp, Mr. Morritt, Dr. Hunt, Dr. Hume, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Raikes, the late Colonel Squire, the late Mr. Davison, Captain Light, the Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. Wilkins, and several other gentlemen equally conversant with this interesting Country, have supplied the materials of this Volume, he will naturally expect much instruction from it, nor will his expectation be disappointed.

THE PLAIN OF MARATHON, BY COLONEL SQUIRE.

"IN the year subsequent to the failure of Mardonius, a considerable force was assembled by order of the Persian monarch, and embarked from the province of Cilicia in Asia Minor. Thence the fleet coasted along the shores of that country as far as Samos; and crossing the Ægæan sea, it passed through the islands between Ionia and Greece. After the Persians had taken possession of Eubœa, where they were delayed seven days by the opposition of the inhabitants of Eretria, the army was re-embarked, and a landing immediately effected in the plain of Marathon, on the opposite shores of Attica.

"There was every reason to induce the Persians to make their descent near Marathon. Along the whole extent of the Attic coast, from the frontiers of Bœotia to the bay of Phalerum, there was no other spot but Marathon, which at once united the advantages of safe anchorage, and a plain sufficiently large to contain great numbers, and to afford room for cavalry to act. The shore in this part forms a fine bay of very gradual soundings, of a good anchoring ground, and protected in some degree by the land of Eubœa from the sudden and boisterous storms of the Archipelago. The extent of the shore is upwards of seven miles, presenting a shelving, sandy beach, free from rocks and shoals, and well calculated for debarkation. The land bordering

bordering on the bay is an uninterrupted plain, about two miles and a half in width, and bounded by rocky, difficult heights which enclose it at either extremity; though to the south west, the mountains, which are a branch of Pentelicus, and are higher than in any other part, have a more gradual slope towards the sea, and are covered with low pine-trees and brushwood. About the centre of the bay a small stream, which flows from the upper part of the valley of Marathon, discharges itself into the sea by three shallow channels. A narrow rocky point, projecting from the shore, forms the north east part of the bay, close to which is a salt stream connected with a shallow lake, and a great extent of marsh land. About one mile and a half south of the river of Marathon is another inconsiderable rivulet of fresh water, flowing also from a marsh by no means so extensive as the other. From the north east point of the bay, on a low narrow sandy ridge, extends a wood of the Pinus Pinea for a space of two miles along the shore; in the rear of this, the plain is a continued marsh, reaching as far as the modern village Souli; probably the ancient Tricorythus, which formed with Œnoe, Probalinthus, and Marathon, the Tetrapolis of Attica.

"The other part of the plain, except the small marsh to the southward, consists of unenclosed and level corn land, with a few olive and wild pear trees. The village, called Marathona, which is situated in a narrow valley of nearly uniform breadth opening into the plain, is rather more than three miles from the sea. This valley is in general three quarters of a mile in breadth, and is bounded on either side by difficult heights; on the south side it is separated from another small valley, which however is itself enclosed with rocky eminences; and appears as a bay connected with the plain; while the valley of Marathon may be compared to a creek or inlet into the interior. At the foot of the mountain, on the south side of the plain, is a small hamlet called Vrana, supposed by some to be on the site of the ancient Brauron; at the entrance of the valley of Marathon from the plain are two small villages called Bey and Sifeeri. The modern Marathon contains a few Zevgaria, and is peopled by about 200 inhabitants; the houses of the peasants are in the midst of gardens, planted with apricot trees, vines, and olives. They are watered from a copious fountain about a mile above the village, surrounded by a circular foundation of ancient masonry; the only remains of antiquity which we could discover near a place once distinguished as *ἐυκτιμένην Μαραθῶνα*. The stream derived from the fountain, the Macaria of Pausanias, passes down the valley parallel to the river, to the distance of three quarters of a mile; and is then conducted across the river in a wooden trough, and continues its course to the village, where it is employed in the gardens. Above the fountain is a small detached rocky height, at the summit of which is a cavern with a low entrance, and naturally divided into several compartments; this, according to Pausanias, may be the mountain and grotto of Pan, though it would be difficult to conceive the slightest resemblance in the rocks to goats or sheep, mentioned by that author in his Grecian tour. From Marathona to Athens is a march

march of about seven hours, in a S.W. direction, and the first part of the road is through an unequal, rocky, and rather a difficult country; over a ridge, which connects Pentelicus with the eastern extremity of Parnes, and therefore corresponds with the situation of the ancient Brilessus. Beyond is the extensive plain of Athens, which reaches from Mount Pentelicus to the sea.

"As soon as the Athenians received intelligence that the Persians had actually landed in their country, they marched against them. Of the exact number on either side Herodotus makes no mention; according to Plutarch (in Parall.) and Valerius Maximus, the forces of the enemy amounted to 300,000; Justin reckons them to be 600,000; and Cornelius Nepos (in vita Milt.) makes them ten times the number of the Athenians, or about 100,000. The amount of the Grecian force must have been of universal notoriety; the battle of Marathon was doubtless the most important event in the history of Athens; it was ever afterwards the pride and boast of the Athenians; and might be considered no less than the fight at Artemisium, as κρηπὶς ἐλευθερίας, (Pindar) "the foundation of their freedom;" surely then the recollection of every minute circumstance of that engagement would be fondly cherished to the last hour of the republic. Although therefore Herodotus does not relate the numbers in the Grecian army, the authority of Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, and Pausanias on this head may be accepted without hesitation; for though these authors differ with regard to the Persian army, they uniformly agree in stating the Athenian force at Marathon to have been 9,000 men, besides 1,000 Plataeans, who alone of the other Grecian states bore a part in the engagement. Pausanias particularly observes (in Phoc.) that in this statement of the Athenian force the slaves were also included. An army of 10,000 men was but an inconsiderable force to oppose to the Persians, unless this amazing inferiority was counterbalanced by some local advantages. The Greeks therefore, when they arrived at Marathon, would not descend into the plain to expose themselves to be surrounded by numbers, and afterwards destroyed by the cavalry; they would surely take a position, securing their flanks as much as possible, while they presented but a small front towards the enemy. The valley of Marathon offered to the Athenians as favourable a spot for engaging as could be desired. While they could fight the enemy on equal terms, a body so well trained and disciplined, and commanded by such able generals as the Athenians were, would have little hesitation to oppose themselves to the most spirited efforts of the barbarians. The Athenians also had powerful motives to animate and encourage them; their liberty, their existence were at stake; while the numerous hordes of the enemy, unacquainted with their officers, and prompted by different interests, would easily relax in the fight, and be overpowered by the firm and daring courage of the Athenians. On the first view, indeed, the conduct of the Greeks in marching out from the city, and thus risking their country in this single engagement, appears wholly desperate; though when their situation is considered, it must be allowed that their councils were dictated

dictated by prudence and reason. To have opposed the debarkation of the Persians would have been absurd and fruitless: had they suffered the enemy to advance into the plain of Athens, their country would most probably have been lost; for no situation between the city and the place of landing could afford so many advantages for an engagement as the valley of Marathon. Had the Athenians shut themselves up in Athens, the Persians in full possession of the open country, would soon have compelled them to surrender; so that, all things considered, the Athenians seem to have adopted the wisest measure by deciding resolutely to occupy the pass on the principal road towards the capital.

"The armies of the Athenians were commmanded by ten generals, according to the number of their tribes, each of whom was in his turn commander in chief of the day. To these was added the Polemarch, an officer who had the privilege of giving a casting vote in the event of a difference of opinion on the plan of operations. In the present instance the sentiments of the ten generals were divided, five being averse to an engagement, which the remainder strongly recommended. Miltiades, who was the youngest in rank, though highest in reputation, zealous in the cause of his country, and convinced in his own mind that the wisest course was to engage, gained Callimachus, who was then Polemarch, over to his opinion, and it was resolved to attack the enemy. Plutarch observes, that Aristides was of the same way of thinking with Miltiades, and was of great assistance in persuading the rest. When the decisive moment arrived, he disposed his forces in the following manner: Callimachus commanded the right wing, for by a law this post was always confided to the Polemarch; beginning from the right flank the tribes were placed in the line according to their order; the Platæans were on the left. Miltiades formed his front equal to that of the Medes, weakening indeed his centre, in which were only the tribes Leontis and Antiochis (the first commanded by Themistocles, the second by Aristides), that he might strengthen the wings.

"No other situation at Marathon, but in the valley itself, could have afforded him the great advantage of making his line equal to that of the enemy. The space which it is conjectured was occupied by the Greeks, was about 1500 yards in length; on computing that each soldier occupied three feet, there would consequently be 1500 men in the first line. From the weakness of their numbers, and the extent of ground they were obliged to occupy, they could not afford that great depth to their line which was always customary, and would in this instance have been very important. Miltiades therefore wisely took from his centre, that he might give greater strength to his flanks.

"When the sacrifices appeared favourable for commencing the engagement, the Greeks rushed forward in full charge against the barbarians. Between the van of each army there was a space of not less than eight stadia, about three quarters of a mile. The Persians when they perceived the Greeks in motion, immediately prepared to receive them, for they considered such conduct as the height of folly, and the certain cause of destruction to the Greeks, who, without cavalry or archers, pressed forward to the attack

attack with such violent impetuosity. The latter, however, when they came hand to hand with the barbarians, fought in a manner most worthy to be recorded; they were the first, says the historian, of all the Greeks who advanced in full charge (Le pas de charge, Larcher) against their enemies; and none before had ever sustained the Medes, and the terrific appearance of their dress. In the representation of this battle by Micon, the Persians were painted taller than the Athenians; and the artist was fined thirty minæ; but he was probably correct in his design, as the Oriental dress must have given to the Asiatics the appearance of greater height.

"In the early part of the engagement, the centre of the Greeks was obliged to fall back, and was pursued up the country by the Persians and the Sacæ; but on either wing fortune favoured the Greeks; and here they overcame, routed the barbarians, and compelled them to fly. Those who had turned their backs they at first allowed to retire unmolested; so that the Greeks uniting their victorious wings, attacked and defeated those of the enemy who had been successful in the centre. The rout now became general; the Persians retreated in confusion towards the beach, to regain, if possible, their shipping; and vast numbers were slain by the Greeks who constantly pursued them. Pausanias (lib. i. cap. 15.) describes a painting at Athens, in the Peisanactean portico, by Panænus, the brother of Phidias, representing the battle of Marathon, and in which are observed the Persians flying in every direction across the plain, and driving one another into the marsh. In a second passage of the Attics, Pausanias particularly mentions the marsh at Marathon, and as connected with the sea by a small stream of salt water. This description corresponds most minutely with the ground in the north east extremities of the plain. The remainder of the Persian army embarked as hastily as possible, and doubling Cape Sunium, sailed towards Phalerum with the hopes of anticipating the Athenians, and of taking the city before the army could return from Marathon.

"The Athenians, however, having left the tribe Antiochis, commanded by Aristides, to guard the wounded and prisoners, and to collect the spoil, marched instantly for Athens, so that the Persians being disappointed of their object, returned with their fleet to the coast of Asia.

"According to the historian, there fell of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two; while the loss on the part of the Barbarians amounted to six thousand four hundred; seven of the ships were also burnt or destroyed by the Greeks. Callimachus, the Polemarch, was among the slain, as was also the commander Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus.

"It was a custom with the Athenians to bury those who were slain in battle, or to erect columns to their memory, in a place called the Ceramicus, "the most beautiful suburb of their city," to use the words of Thucydides; but as a particular mark of distinction, three monuments were erected at Marathon, in honour of the event of the battle; one was raised to the memory of the Athenians, who fell in it; another recorded the valour of the Platæans, and the slaves who fought: a third was the monument of Miltiades.—(Paus.) At this day may

may be seen towards the middle of the plain a large tumulus of earth, 25 feet in height, resembling those on the plain of Troy. In a small marsh near the sea, are the vestiges of ten monuments with marble foundations, and fragments of columns, which, it may be conjectured, marked the tombs of the Athenians."

Chamber in the Great Pyramid, by Dr. Davison.

[" This part of Mr. Davison's Journals gives an account of the manner in which he entered a room in the Great Pyramid, over the Chamber containing the Sarcophagus. Maillet had been forty times in the Pyramid, and had not seen it; Niebuhr did not observe it, and after his return from Cairo, he received some information concerning it from Mr. Meynard, the person who accompanied Mr. D. in his visit to this Pyramid. The room has never yet been explored by any other traveller; Dr. Hales (Chronol. i. 384.) thinks the existence of it problematical; but the publication of Mr. D.'s remarks will satisfy all doubts upon the subject. Bruce alludes to Mr. D's discovery. —Ed."]

" M. Cousinery, Consul at Rosetta, set out for Giza, on Monday, July 8, 1765, with an intention to make a party with some French gentlemen to visit the Pyramids. The 9th in the morning I went and joined them. Having taken three Arab guides and a Janissary, we mounted our asses at midnight, and travelling by the light of the moon we arrived at the pyramids in something less than two hours. I descended the first with a carpenter and another who widened the strait passage in the first canal; I was surprised to find that this canal which was supposed to end here, continues a considerable way down the pyramid. It was formerly stopped up with stones and sand; these have been washed in the last winter by the rain which seems to have penetrated to this part of the pyramid. At entering, we contented ourselves with pushing the earth and stones into it, which were taken out of the narrow passage. The chief reason of my returning now to the pyramid was to endeavour, if possible, to mount up to the hole I had discovered at the top of the gallery the last time I was there. For this purpose I had made seven short ladders in such a manner as to fasten one to another by means of four wooden pins, the whole together, when joined, being about twenty-six feet long. As soon as the rubbish was cleared from the strait passage at the bottom, I caused the ladders to be brought in by two carpenters who accompanied me. When they had conveyed them to the platform at the top of the gallery, tying two long canes together, I placed a candle at one end, and gave it to a servant to hold near the hole in question. The platform being very small, there was no thinking of fixing the ladders on the ground, as it would have been very difficult, not to say impossible to raise them. We took the only method which seemed practicable; namely, that of placing the first ladder against the wall, two men raising

raising it up, a third placed another below it, and having fastened them together by the wooden pins, the two together were raised from the ground, and the rest in the same manner fixed one after another. The ladder entered enough into the hole, when all parts were joined together, to prevent it from sliding on the side of the gallery. I then instantly mounted, and found a passage two feet four inches square, which turned immediately to the right. I entered a little way, with my face on the ground, but was obliged to retire, on account of the passage being in a great measure choaked with dust, and bats' dung, which, in some places, was near a foot deep. I first thought of clearing it by throwing the dirt down into the gallery, but foreseeing that this would be a work of some time, besides the inconvenience of filling the gallery with rubbish, and perhaps rendering the descent more difficult, I determined to make another effort to enter, which was accompanied with more success than the first. I was enabled to creep in, though with much difficulty, not only on account of the lowness of the passage, but likewise the quantity of dust which I raised. When I had advanced a little way, I discovered what I supposed to be the end of the passage. My surprise was great, when I reached it, to find to the right a straight entrance into a long, broad, but low place, which I knew, as well by the length as the direction of the passage I had entered at, to be immediately above the large room. The stones of granite, which are at the top of the latter, form the bottom of this, but are uneven, being of unequal thickness. This room is four feet longer than the one below; in the latter, you see only seven stones, and a half of one, on each side of them; but in that above, the nine are entire, the two halves resting on the wall at each end. The breadth is equal with that of the room below. The covering of this, as of the other, is of beautiful granite; but it is composed of eight stones instead of nine, the number in the room below. One of the carpenters entered with me, and Mr. Meynard came into the passage, near the door, but being a good deal troubled with the dust, and want of air, he retired. Having measured and examined the different parts of it, we came out, and descended by the ladder. We then employed ourselves in digging towards the bottom of the niche in the room below, and afterwards went down and entered the first passage; there, instead of turning to the left to go out, I descended to the right (where an opening had been lately made), one hundred and thirty-one feet; the descent, except the first four and a half feet, is cut in the rock; at the end of one hundred and thirty-one feet I found it so filled up with earth, that there was no possibility of proceeding. I then came out of the pyramid at half an hour past seven, and found that all the party, except Mr. Meynard, the Arab guard, and servants, had set out on their return to Giza. Though we had but little water, I was obliged to make use of some of it, to wash my hands and face, which were all covered over with dust and bats' dung. We breakfasted in the shade of the pyramid, and went afterwards to the second pyramid, where I copied the hieroglyphics which are on the perpendicular rock facing the north side of it."

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Arts—Sciences.

ARTICLE I.—A JOURNAL *of* SCIENCE *and the* ARTS. *Edited at the Royal Institution of Great Britain.*

ON THE GREENLAND OR POLAR ICE: by WILLIAM SCORESBY, Jun. M.W.S.

"MR. Scoreby's paper was read at the Wernerian Society, March 1815, and will appear in the forthcoming volume of the Transactions. The part of the volume of the Transactions containing this paper, has been printed, and a considerable part of it has been inserted in the *Annales de Chimie*. Under these circumstances we have not thought it improper to lay before our readers extracts from this interesting performance, recommending at the same time to all, the perusal of the entire paper.

"Of the inanimate productions of Greenland, none perhaps excites so much interest and astonishment in a stranger, as the *Ice* in its great abundance and variety. The stupendous masses known by the names of Ice-Islands, Floating-Mountains, or Icebergs, common to Davis's Straits, and sometimes met with here, from their height, various forms, and the depth of water in which they ground, are calculated to strike the beholder with wonder: yet the fields of ice, more peculiar to Greenland, are not less astonishing. Their deficiency in elevation is sufficiently compensated by their amazing extent of surface. Some of them have been observed near a hundred miles in length, and more than half that breadth; each consisting of a single sheet of ice, having its surface raised in general four or six feet above the level of the water, and its base depressed to the depth of near twenty feet beneath.

"The best mode of explaining the terms in common acceptation amongst the whale fishers, will be by marking the disruption of a field. The thickest and strongest field cannot resist the power of a heavy swell. When a field, by the set of the current, drives to the southward, and being deserted by the loose ice, becomes

becomes exposed to the effects of a grown swell, it presently breaks into many pieces, few of which will exceed forty or fifty yards in diameter. Such a number of these pieces closely collected together, so that they cannot, from the top of the ship's mast, be seen over, are termed a pack.

"When the collection of pieces can be seen across, if it assume a polygonal form, the name of patch is applied; and it is called a stream when its shape is more of an oblong, how narrow soever it may be, provided the continuity of the pieces is preserved.

"Pieces of very large dimensions, but smaller than fields, are called floes.

"Small pieces which break off, and are separated from the larger masses by the effect of attrition, are called brash-ice, and may be collected into streams or patches.

"Ice is said to be loose or open, when the pieces are so far separated as to allow a ship to sail freely amongst them; this has likewise been called drift-ice.

"A hummock is a protuberance raised upon any plane of ice above the common level. It is frequently produced by pressure, where one piece is squeezed upon another, often set upon its edge, and in that position cemented by the frost. They occur in great numbers in heavy packs, on the edges, and occasionally in the middle of fields and floes. They often attain the height of thirty feet or upwards.

"A calf is a portion of ice which has been depressed by the same means as a hummock is elevated. It is kept down by some larger mass; from beneath which, it shews itself on one side.

"Any part of the upper superficies of a piece of ice, which comes to be immersed beneath the surface of the water, obtains the name of a tongue.

"A bight signifies a bay or sinuosity on the border of any large mass or body of ice.

"When the sea freezes, the greatest part of the salt it contains is deposited, and the frozen spongy mass probably contains no salt, but what is natural to the sea-water filling its pores. As, however, the ice frozen from sea-water does not appear so solid and transparent as that procured from snow or rain-water, sailors distinguish it into two kinds, accordingly as it seems to have been formed from one or the other.

"When salt-water ice floats in the sea at a freezing temperature, the proportion above, to that below the surface, is as 1 to 4 nearly; and in fresh water, at the freezing point, as 10 to 69, or 1 to 7 nearly. Hence, its specific gravity appears to be about 0.873. Of this description is all young ice, as it is called, which forms a considerable proportion of packed and drift ice; in general it occurs in flat pieces commonly covered with snow of various dimensions, but seldom exceeding fifty yards in diameter.

"Fresh-water ice is distinguished by its black appearance when floating in the sea, and its beautiful green hue and transparency when removed into the air. Fresh-water ice is fragile, but hard; the edges of a fractured part are frequently so keen as to inflict a wound like glass.

"The most dense kind of ice, which is perfectly transparent, is about one-tenth specifically lighter than sea-water at a freezing temperature. Plunged into pure water, of temperature 32°, the proportion floating

floating above to that below the surface, is as 1 to 15, and placed in boiling fresh water, it barely floats. Its specific gravity is about 0,937. Fields, bergs, and other large masses chiefly consist of fresh-water ice. Brash-ice likewise affords pieces of it, the surfaces of which are always found crowded with conchoidal excavations when taken out of the sea. Some naturalists have been at considerable pains to endeavour to explain the phenomena of the progressive formation of the ice in high latitudes, and the derivation of the supply, which is annually furnished, for replacing the great quantities that are dissolved and dissipated by the power of the waves, and the warmth of the climate into which it drifts. It has frequently been urged, that the vicinity of land is indispensable for its formation.

"I have noticed, observes Mr. Scoresby, the process of freezing from the first appearance of crystals, until the ice had obtained a thickness of more than a foot, and did not find that the land afforded any assistance, or even shelter, which could not have been dispensed with during the operation. It is true, that the land was the cause of the vacancy or space free from ice, where this new ice was generated; the ice of older formation had been driven off by easterly winds, assisted perhaps by a current; yet this new ice lay at the distance of twenty leagues from Spitsbergen. But I have also seen ice grow to a consistence capable of stopping the progress of a ship with a brisk wind, even when exposed to the waves of the North Sea and Western Ocean, on the south aspect of the main body of the Greenland ice, in about the seventy-second degree of north latitude.

"Freezing of the Ocean in a rough sea.—The first appearance of ice whilst in the state of detached crystals, is called by the sailors sludge, and resembles snow when cast into water that is too cold to dissolve it. This smooths the ruffled sea, and produces an effect like oil in stilling the breaking surface. These crystals soon unite, and would form a continuous sheet, but, by the motion of the waves, they are broken into very small pieces, scarcely three inches in diameter. As they strengthen, many of them coalesce and form a larger mass. The undulations of the sea still continuing, these enlarged pieces strike each other on every side, whereby they become rounded, and their edges turned up, whence they obtain the name of pancakes; several of these again unite, and thereby continue to increase, forming larger pancakes, until they become perhaps a foot in thickness, and many yards in circumference.

"Freezing of the Sea in sheltered Situations.—When the sea is perfectly smooth, the freezing process goes on more regularly, and perhaps more rapidly. The commencement is similar to that just described; it is afterwards continued by constant additions to its under surface. During twenty-four hours keen frost, it will have become two or three inches thick, and in less than forty-eight hours time, capable of sustaining the weight of a man. This is termed bay-ice, whilst that of older formation is distinguished into light and heavy ice; the former being from a foot to about a yard in thickness, and the latter from about a yard upwards.

"It is generally allowed, that all that is necessary in low temperatures for the formation of ice, is still water:

water: here then it is obtained. In every opening of the ice at a distance from the sea, the water is always as smooth as that of a harbour; and as I have observed the growth of ice up to a foot in thickness in such a situation, during one month's frost, the effect of many years we might deem to be sufficient for the formation of the most ponderous fields.

"There is no doubt but a large quantity of ice is annually generated in the bays, and amidst the islands of Spitsbergen: which bays, towards the end of summer, are commonly emptied of their contents, from the thawing of the snow on the mountains causing a current outwards. But this will not account for the immense fields which are so abundant in Greenland. These evidently come from the northward, and have their origin between Spitsbergen and the Pole.

"On the Generation of Fields.—As strong winds are known to possess great influence in drifting off the ice where it meets with the least resistance, may they not form openings in the ice far to the north, as well as in latitudes within our observation? Notwithstanding the degree in which this cause may prevail, is uncertain, yet of this we are assured, that the ice on the west coast of Spitsbergen, has always a tendency to drift, and actually does advance in a surprising manner to the south or south-west; whence, some vacancy must assuredly be left in the place which it formerly occupied. These openings, therefore, may be readily frozen over, whatever be their extent, and the ice may in time acquire all the characters of a massy field.

"It must, however, be confessed, that from the density and transparency of the ice of fields, and the purity of the water obtained therefrom, it is difficult to conceive that it could possess such characters if frozen entirely from the water of the ocean;—particularly as young ice is generally found to be porous and opaque, and does not afford a pure solution.

"It appears from what has been advanced, that openings must occasionally occur in the ice between Spitzbergen and the Pole, and that these openings will, in all probability, be again frozen over. Allowing, therefore, a thin field, or a field of bay-ice to be therein formed, a superstructure may probably be added by the following process. The frost, which constantly prevails during nine months of the year, relaxes towards the end of June, or the beginning of July, whereby the covering of snow, annually deposited to the depth of two or three feet on the ice, dissolves. Now, as this field is supposed to arise amidst the older and heavier ice, it may readily occupy the whole interval, and be cemented to the old ice on every side; whence the melted snow has no means of escape. Or, whatever be the means of its retention on the surface of the young field, whether by the adjunction of higher ice, the elevation of its border by the pressure of the surrounding ice, or the irregularity of its own surface, several inches of ice must be added to its thickness on the returning winter, by the conversion of the snow-water into solid ice. This process repeated for many successive years, or even ages, together with the enlargement of its under-side from the ocean, might be deemed sufficient to produce the most stupendous bodies of ice that have yet been discovered; at the same

same time that the ice thus formed, would doubtless correspond with the purity and transparency of that of fields in general.

"Fields may sometimes have their origin in heavy close packs, which being cemented together by the intervention of new ice, may become one solid mass. In this way are produced such fields as exhibit a rugged hummocky surface.

"Fields commonly make their appearance about the month of June, though sometimes earlier; they are frequently the resort of young whales; strong north and westerly winds expose them to the Greenlandmen, by driving off the loose ice. Some fields exhibit a perfect level plain, without a fissure or hummock, so clear indeed, that I imagine, upon one which I saw, a coach might be driven a hundred miles in a direct line, without any obstruction. Most commonly, however, the surface contains some hummocks, which somewhat relieve the uniformity of intense light, by a tinge of delicate green, in cavities where the light gains admittance in an oblique direction, by passing through a portion of ice.

"The invariable tendency of fields to drift to the south-westward, even in calms, is the means of many being yearly destroyed. They have frequently been observed to advance a hundred miles in this direction, within the space of one month, notwithstanding the occurrence of winds from every quarter. On emerging from amidst the smaller ice, which before sheltered them, they are soon broken up by the swell, are partly dissolved, and partly converted into drift ice. The places of such, are supplied by others from the north.

"On the tremendous Concussions of Fields.—The occasional rapid motion of fields, with the strange effects produced on any opposing substance, exhibited by such immense bodies, is one of the most striking objects this country presents, and is certainly the most terrific. They not unfrequently acquire a rotatory movement, whereby their circumference attains a velocity of several miles per hour. A field, thus in motion, coming in contact with another at rest, or more especially with a contrary direction of movement, produces a dreadful shock. The weaker field is crushed with an awful noise; sometimes the destruction is mutual: pieces of huge dimensions and weight, are not unfrequently piled upon the top, to the height of twenty or thirty feet, whilst doubtless a proportionate quantity is depressed beneath. The view of those stupendous effects in safety, exhibits a picture sublimely grand; but where there is danger of being overwhelmed, terror and dismay must be the predominant feelings.

"On arriving at the point of collision," observes Mr. S. in describing the meeting of two immense bodies of ice, "I discovered, that the two points had but recently met; that already a prodigious mass of rubbish had been squeezed upon the top, and that the motion had not abated. The fields continued to overlay each other with a majestic motion, producing a noise resembling that of complicated machinery, or distant thunder. The pressure was so immense, that numerous fissures were occasioned, and the ice repeatedly rent beneath my feet. In one of the fissures, I found the snow on the level to be three and a half feet deep, and the

ice

ice upwards of twelve. In one place, hommocks had been thrown up to the height of twenty feet from the surface of the field, and at least twenty-five feet from the level of the water; they extended fifty or sixty yards in length, and fifteen in breadth, forming a mass of about two thousand tons in weight. The majestic unvaried movement of the ice,—the singular noise with which is was accompanied,—the tremendous power exerted,—and the wonderful effects produced, were calculated to excite sensations of novelty and grandeur, in the mind of even the most careless spectator!

"Sometimes these motions of the ice may be accounted for. Fields are disturbed by currents, the wind, or the pressure of other ice against them. Though the set of the current be generally towards the south-west, yet it seems occasionally to vary: the wind forces all ice to leeward, with a velocity nearly in the inverse proportion to its depth under water; light ice consequently drives faster than heavy ice, and loose ice than fields: loose ice meeting the side of a field in its course, becomes deflected, and its re-action causes a circular motion of the field. Fields may approximate each other, from three causes: first, if the lighter ice be to windward, it will, of necessity, be impelled towards the heavier: secondly, as the wind frequently commences blowing on the windward side of the ice, and continues several hours before it is felt a few miles distant to leeward, the field begins to drift, before the wind can produce any impression on ice, on its opposite side; and, thirdly, which is not an uncommon case, by the two fields being impelled towards each other, by winds acting on each from opposite quarters.

"The closing of heavy ice, encircling a quantity of bay-ice, causes it to run together with such force, that it overlaps wherever two sheets meet, until it sometimes attains the thickness of many feet. Drift-ice does not often coalesce with such a pressure, as to endanger any ship which may happen to be beset in it: when, however, land opposes its drift, or the ship is a great distance immured amongst it, the pressure is sometimes alarming.

Icebergs.—The term icebergs has commonly been applied to those immense bodies of ice, situated on the land, "filling the valleys between the high mountains," and generally exhibiting a square perpendicular front towards the sea.

"Large pieces may be separated from those icebergs in the summer season, when they are particularly fragile, by their ponderous overhanging masses, overcoming the force of cohesion; or otherwise, by the powerful expansion of the water, filling any excavation or deep-seated cavity, when its dimensions are enlarged by freezing, thereby exerting a tremendous force, and bursting the whole asunder.

"Pieces thus, or otherwise detached, are hurled into the sea with a dreadful crash; if they are received into deep water, they are liable to be drifted off the land, and, under the form of ice-islands, or ice-mountains, they likewise still retain their parent name of icebergs. Mr. Scoresby, however, doubts, if all the floating bergs seen in the seas west of Old Greenland, thus derive their origin; their number is so great, and their dimensions so immense, and has suggested the probability of icebergs being found at

found at a distance from any known land.

"We have been able, on account of our limits, to furnish but an imperfect view of the statements of Mr. Scoresby regarding the formation of the polar ice. The following, however, are his conclusions, and which will partly apply to the formation of the ice in other places of the polar circle:

"I. Drift ice.—That the light packed or drift ice is the annual product of the bays of Spitzbergen, and of the interstices in the body of older ice; and, that it is wholly derived from the water of the ocean.

"That the heavy packed or drift ice generally arises from the disruption of fields.

"II. Icebergs.—That some ice mountains or icebergs are derived from the icebergs generated on the land between the mountains of the sea coast, and are consequently the product of snow or rain water.

"That a more considerable portion may probably be formed in the deep-sheltered bays abounding on the east coast of Spitzbergen. These have their bed in the waters of the ocean, and are partly the product of sea-water, and partly that of snow and rain water. And it is highly probable,

"That a continent of ice mountains may exist in regions near the Pole yet unexplored, the nucleus of which may be as ancient as the earth itself, and its increase derived from the sea and atmosphere combined.

III. Fields.—That some fields arise from the cementation, by the agency of frost, of the pieces of a closely-aggregated pack, which may have consisted of light or heavy ice; and consequently, which may have been wholly derived from the ocean, or from the sea and atmosphere combined.

"That the most considerable masses are generated in openings of the far northern ice, produced by the constant recession towards the south of that body lying near the coasts of Spitzbergen; and, that such fields are at first derived from the ocean, but are indebted for a considerable portion of superstructure to the annual addition of the whole, or part, of their burthen of snow. And,

"IV. As to the ice in general.—That however dependent the ice may have been on the land, from the time of its first appearance, to its gaining an ascendancy over the waves of the ocean, sufficient to resist their utmost ravages, and to arrest the progress of maritime discovery, at a distance of perhaps from six hundred to a thousand miles from the Pole, it is now evident, That the proximity of land is not essential, either for its existence, its formation, or its increase.

"On the situation of the polar ice, and the effects produced on it by the change of seasons.—The mass of ice lying between Old Greenland on the west, and the Russian portion of Europe on the east, though varying considerably in particulars, yet has a general outline strikingly uniform.

"On the east coast of West Greenland, a remarkable alteration has, however, taken place. That part extending from the parallel of Iceland to Staten-Hook, was, before the fifteenth century, free of ice, and could always be approached in the summer season, without hinderance. After a considerable trade had been carried on between Iceland and the Main for upwards of 400 years, singular as it may ap-

pear, of a sudden the polar ice extended its usual limits, launched down by the land to the Southern Cape, and so completely barricadoed the whole of the eastern coast, that it has not since been accessible.

"This icy barrier, at present, with each recurring spring, exhibits the following general outline. After doubling the southern promontory of Greenland, it advances in a north-eastern direction along the east coast, enveloping Iceland as it proceeds, until it reaches John Mayne's Island. Passing this island on the north west, but frequently enclosing it likewise, it then trends a little more to the eastward, and intersects the meridian of London in the 71st or 72d degree of latitude. Having reached the longitude of 6, 8, or perhaps 10 degrees east, in the 73d or 74th degree of north latitude, it suddenly stretches to the north, sometimes proceeding on a meridian to the latitude of 80o, at others forming a deep sinuosity, extending two or three degrees to the northward, and then south-easterly to Cherry Island;—which having passed, it assumes a direct course a little south of east, until it forms a junction with the Siberian, or Nova Zemblan coast.

"That remarkable promontory, formed by the sudden stretch of the ice to the north, constitutes the line of separation between the east or whale-fishing, and west or sealing ice of the fishers; and the deep bay lying to the east of this point, invariably forms the only previous track for proceeding to fishing latitudes northward. When the ice at the extremity of this bay occurs so strong and compact as to prevent the approach to the shores of Spitzbergen, and the advance northward beyond the latitudes of 75° or 76°, it is said to be a close season; and, on the contrary, it is called an open season, when an uninterrupted navigation extends along the western coast of Spitzbergen to Hackluyt's Headland. In an open season, therefore, a large channel of water lies between the land and the ice, from 20 to 50 leagues in breadth, extending to the latitude of 79° or 80°, and gradually approximating the coast, until at length it effects a coalition with the north-western extremity, by a semicircular head. When the continuity of the mass of ice, intervening between West Greenland and Nova Zembla, is thus interrupted in an open season, the ice again makes its appearance on the south of Spitzbergen, proceeding from thence direct to Cherry Island, and then eastward as before.

"Such is the general appearance of the margin or outline of the polar ice, which holds, with merely partial changes, for many successive seasons. This outline, however, is necessarily more or less affected by storms and currents: their more than ordinary prevalence in any one direction, must cause some variety of aspect in particular places, which becomes more especially apparent in the vicinity of land, where its coasts afford marks by which to estimate the advance and retreat of the ice.

"The line formed by the exterior of the ice, is variously indented, and very rarely appears direct or uniform. Open bays or arms occur, from a few fathoms, to several miles in length. None of them, however, have any determinate form or place, except the "Whale-fisher's Bight," or great bay before described, in which the Greenlandmen ever seek a passage to the fishing stations.

"The

"The place where whales occur in the greatest abundance, is generally found to be in the 78th or 79th degree of north latitude, though from the 72d to the 81st degree they have been met with. They seem to prefer those situations which afford them the most secure retreats. Among the ice, they have an occasional shelter; but so far as it is permeable, the security is rather apparent than real. That they are conscious of its affording them shelter, we can readily perceive, from observing that the course of their flight when scared or wounded, is generally towards the nearest or most compact ice. At one time, their favourite haunt is amidst the huge and extended masses of the field ice; at another, in the open seas adjacent. Sometimes the majority of the whales inhabiting those seas, seem collected within a small and single circuit; at others, they are scattered in various hordes, and numerous single individuals, over an amazing extent of surface. To discover and reach the haunts of the whale, is an object of the first consideration in the fishery, and occasionally the most difficult and laborious to accomplish. In close seasons, though the ice joins the south of Spitzbergen, and thereby forms a barrier against the fishing stations, yet this barrier is often of a limited extent, and terminates on the coasts of Spitzbergen in an open space, either forming, or leading to, the retreat of the whales. Such space is sometimes frozen over until the middle or end of the month of May, but not unfrequently free of ice. The barrier here opposed to the fisher, usually consists of a mass of ice from 20 to 30 or 40 leagues across in the shortest diameter. It is generally composed of packed ice, and often cemented into a continuous field by the interference of bay ice, which incredibly augments the difficulty of navigating among it.

"As the time that can be devoted to the whale-fishery, is, by the nature of the climate, limited to three or four months in the year, it is of importance to pass this barrier of ice as early as possible in the season. The fisher here avails himself of every power within his command. The sails are expanded in favourable winds, and withdrawn in contrary breezes. The ship is urged forward amongst the drift ice through the force of the wind, assisted by ropes and saws.. Whenever a vein of water, as it is called, appears in the required direction, it is if possible attained. It always affords a temporary relief, and sometimes a permanent release, by extending itself through intricate mazes, amidst ice of various descriptions, until at length it opens into the desired place, void of obstruction, and the retreat of the whales.

"The formidable barrier before described, is regularly encountered on the first arrival of Greenland ships in the month of April, but is generally removed by natural means as the season advances. However extensive, huge, and compact it may be, it is usually found separated from the land, and divided asunder by the close of the month of June; and hence it is, that however difficult and laborious may have been the ingress into the fishing country, the egress is commonly effected without particular inconvenience.

"That the ice should envelope the whole coasts of Spitzbergen in the winter season, and expose the western shore about the month of June; that the ocean should be

almost annually navigable on the meridians of 5° to 10° E. to the 80th degree of north latitude, whilst the ice in every other part of the world can rarely be penetrated beyond the 74th degree, are facts highly curious, and certainly worthy of consideration.

"On the recession of the ice from the west side of the land, a lane of water must be left from one extremity to the other; while to the south of Point Look-Out, a parallel motion of the ice leaves no opening or evidence of its change of place; for here, the ice meeting with no obstruction to cause it to divide, moves on in a solid body, retained firm and unbroken by the tenacious solder of the interjacent bay ice.

"In the month of May, the severity of the frost relaxes, and the temperature occasionally approaches within a few degrees of the freezing points: the brine then exerts its liquefying energy, and destroys the tenacity of the bay ice, makes inroads in its parts by enlarging its pores into holes, diminishes its thickness, and, in the language of the whale-fisher, completely rots it. The packed drift ice is then loosed; it submits to the laws of detached floating bodies, and obeys the slightest impulses of the winds or currents. The heavier having more stability than the lighter, an apparent difference of movement obtains among the pieces. Holes and lanes of water are formed, which allow the entrance and progress of the ships, without that stubborn resistance offered earlier in the spring of the year.

"Bay ice is sometimes serviceable to the whalefishers, in preserving them from the brunt of the heavy ice, by embedding their ships, and occasioning an equable pressure on every part of the vessel: but, in other respects, it is the greatest pest they meet with in all their labours: it is troublesome in the fishery, and in the progress to the fishing ground; it is often the means of besetment, as it is called, and thence the primary cause of every other calamity. Heavy ice, many feet in thickness, and in detached pieces of from 50 to 100 tons weight each, though crowded together in the form of a pack, may be penetrated in a favourable gale, with tolerable dispatch; whilst a sheet of bay ice, of a few inches only in thickness, with the same advantage of wind, will often arrest the progress of the ship, and render her in a few minutes immoveable. If this ice be too strong to be broken by the weight of a boat, recourse must be had to sawing, an operation slow and laborious in the extreme.

"When the warmth of the season has rotted the bay ice, the passage to the northward can generally be accomplished with a very great saving of labour. Therefore it was, the older fishers seldom or never used to attempt it before the 10th of May, and foreigners are in general late. Sometimes late arrivals are otherwise beneficial; since it frequently happens, in close seasons, that ships entering the ice about the middle of May, obtain an advantage over those preceding them, by gaining a situation more eligible, on account of its nearness to the land. Their predecessors, meanwhile, are drifted off to the westward with the ice, and cannot recover their easting; for, they are encompassed with a large quantity of ice, and have a greater distance to go than when they first entered, and on a course precisely in opposition

tion to the direction of the most prevailing winds. Hence it appears, that it would be economical and beneficial to sail so late, as not to reach the country before the middle of May, or to persevere on the seal catching stations until that time. There are, however, some weighty objections to this method. Open seasons occasionally occur, and great progress may sometimes be made in the fishery before that time.

"The change which takes place in the ice amidst which the whale-fisher pursues his object is, towards the close of the season, indeed astonishing. For, not only does it separate into its original individual portions; not only does it retreat in a body from the western coast of Spitzbergen, but in general, that whole barrier of ice which encloses the fishing site in the spring, which costs the fisher immense labour and anxiety to penetrate, after retarding his advance towards the north, and progress in the fishery, for the space of several weeks,—spontaneously divides in the midst about the month of June, and on the return of the ships is not at all to be seen! Then is the sea rendered freely navigable from the very haunts of the whales, to the expanse of the Northern and Atlantic Oceans.

"On the properties, peculiar movements, and drifting of the ice.—1. The ice always has a tendency to separate during calms. This property holds, both with regard to field and drift ice, and seems to arise from a repelling tendency between the individual masses. Hence it is, that when the heavy ice is released from its confinement by the dissolution of the intruding bay ice, a calm generally spreads its pieces abroad, and allows a free passage for ships, which before could not be urged forward with all the assistance to be derived from the wind combined with every effort of art. From the same cause it is, that ice, which with strong winds, is formed into compact streams or patches, and allows a safe and commodious passage amidst these large aggregations,—on the occurrence of one or two days of calm weather, will be disseminated into every opening, and seem to fill every space, allowing only a troublesome and sinuous navigation. In this case, the dispersion is so general, that scarcely any two pieces can be said to touch each other.

"Openings in packs, and amidst fields, frequently break out or disappear without any apparent cause. It is often of importance to the fisher to determine, whether any space be in the course of diminishing or enlarging. The freezing of the water generally affords an intimation of its coarcting, as it rarely occurs on the extension of the bounding ice. The birds likewise instinctively leave the closing spaces, and fly in search of such as are in the course of opening.

"2. The amazing changes which take place in the most compact ice, are often unaccountable. They astonish even those who are accustomed to their occurrence. Thus, ships immoveably fixed with regard to the ice, have been known to perform a complete revolution in a few hours; and two ships beset a few furlongs apart, within the most compact pack, have sometimes been separated to the distance of several leagues within the space of two or three days, notwithstanding the apparent continuity of the pack remained unbroken!

"3. When speaking of the formation of fields, it has been remarked, that

that the polar ice has a constant tendency to drift to the south-westward; with regard to which, it may be observed, that in situations near the western coast of Spitzbergen, this tendency is seldom observed, but rather the contrary. This may probably result from the effects of the tide, eddies, or peculiar pressures. Its universal prevalence, however, at a distance from the land, though with some slight variations, may be illustrated, observes Mr. S. by numerous facts of almost annual occurrence.

"Effects of the ice on the sea and the atmosphere.—The profusion of ice in the polar regions, produces peculiar and marked effects on the surrounding elements. The sea, in consequence, exhibits some interesting characters, and the atmosphere, some striking phenomena. Of these, the power the ice exerts on the wind,—on aqueous vapour,—on the colour of the sky, and on the temperature of the air, are the most prominent; and of those, accordingly as the ice or swell has the ascendancy, the results are varied and remarkable.

"1. When the winds blows forcibly across a solid pack or field of ice, its power is much diminished ere it traverses many miles: insomuch, that a storm will frequently blow for several hours on one side of a field, before it be perceptible on the other; and, while a storm prevails in open water, ships beset within sight, will not experience one-half of its severity.

"It is not uncommon for the ice to produce the effect of repulsing and balancing an assailing wind. Thus, when a severe storm blows from the sea, directly towards the main body of ice, an opposite current will sometimes prevail on the borders of the ice; and such conflicting winds have been observed to counterpoise each other, a few furlongs distant from the ice, for several hours: the violence of the one being, as it were, subdued by the frigorific repulsion and lesser force of the other. The effect resulting, is singular and manifest.

"2. The moist and temperate gale from the southward, becomes chilled on commixture with the northern breeze, and discharges its surplus humidity in the thickest snow. As the quantity of the snow depends considerably on the difference of temperature of the two assimilating streams of air, it follows, that the largest proportion must be precipitated on the exterior of the main body of ice, where the contrast of temperature is the greatest: and since that contrast must be gradually diminished, as the air passes over the gelid surface of the ice, much of its superabundant moisture must generally be discharged before it reaches the interior. Hence, we can account for the fewness of the clouds,—the consequent brightness of the atmosphere,—and the rareness of storms, in situations far immured among the northern ice. From this consideration, it might be supposed, that after the precipitation of a certain small depth of snow on the interior ice, the atmosphere could alone replenish its moisture from the same surface, and that whatever changes of temperature might occur, it could only discharge the same again: or, in other words, that the very same moisture would be alternately evaporated and deposited, without a possibility of adding to a limited depth of snow. Now, this would assuredly be the case, if nothing more than the same moisture

moisture evaporated from the snowy surface of ice, were again deposited. But, it must be observed, that notwithstanding winds from the north, east, or west, may not furnish any considerable quantity of snow; and that although those warm and humid storms which blow from the south, may afford a large proportion of their humidity to the exterior ice; yet, as the temperature of the northern regions would be gradually elevated, by the long continuance of a southerly gale, the advance of the wind must in consequence be farther and farther before it be reduced to the temperature of the ice; and, therefore, some snow would continue to be precipated to an increasing and unlimited extent.

"Hence, as winds blowing from the north must be replaced by air neither colder nor less damp, and as every commixture with warmer streams, must produce an increased capacity for moisture; therefore, no wind can occasion a detraction of vapour from the circumpolar regions: on the contrary, as the snow deposited on the interior ice by southerly storms, (from the nature of the circumstances,) must be derived from evaporations out of the sea; it is evident, that there must be an increase of snow in the icy latitudes, and that we cannot possibly determine any limit beyond which it may be affirmed that no snow can be deposited.

"3. On approaching a pack, field, or other compact aggregation of ice, the phenomenon of the ice-blink is seen whenever the horizon is tolerably free from clouds, and in some cases even under a thick sky. The ice-blink consists in a stratum of a lucid whiteness, which appears in that part of the atmosphere next the horizon. It is evidently occasioned thus: those rays of light which strike on the snowy surface of the ice, are reflected into the superincumbent air, where they become visible; but the light which falls on the sea is in a great measure absorbed, and the superincumbent air retains its native ethereal hue. Hence, when the ice-blink occurs under the most favourable circumstances, it affords to the eye a beautiful and perfect map of the ice, twenty or thirty miles beyond the limit of direct vision, but less distinct in proportion as the air is hazy. The ice-blink not only shews the figure of the ice, but enables the experienced observer to judge, whether the ice thus pictured be field or packed ice; if the latter, whether it be compact or open, bay or heavy ice. Field ice affords the most lucid blink, accompanied with a tinge of yellow; that of packs is more purely white; and of bay-ice, greyish. The land, on account of its snowy covering, likewise occasions a blink, which is yellowish, and not much unlike that produced by the ice of fields.

"4. The ice operates as a powerful equaliser of temperature. In the 80th degree of north latitude, at the edge of the main body of ice, with a northerly gale of wind, the cold is not sensibly greater than in the 70th degree, under similar circumstances.

"5. The reciprocal action of the ice and the sea on each other, is particularly striking, whichever may have the ascendancy. If, on the one hand, the ice be arranged with a certain form of aggregation, and in due solidity, it becomes capable of resisting the turbulence of the ocean, and can, with but little comparative diminution or breaking, suppress its most violent surges. Its resistance

resistance is so effectual, that ships sheltered by it, rarely find the sea disturbed by swells. On the other hand, the most formidable fields yield to the slightest ground swell, and become disrupted into thousands of pieces; and ice of only a few weeks growth, on being assailed by a turbulent sea, is broken and annihilated with incredible celerity. Ice, which for weeks has been an increasing pest to the whale-fisher, is sometimes removed in the space of a few hours. The destruction is in many cases so rapid, that to an inexperienced observer, the occurrence seems incredible, and rather an illusion of fancy, than a matter of fact. Suppose a ship immoveably fixed in bay ice, and not the smallest opening to be seen: after a lapse of time sufficient only for a moderate repose, imagine a person rising from his bed,—when, behold, the insurmountable obstacle has vanished! Instead of a sheet of ice expanding unbroken to the verge of the horizon on every side, an undulating sea relieves the prospect, wherein floats the wreck of the ice, reduced apparently to a small fraction of its original bulk.

"That ice should be forming or increasing when exposed to the swells of the ocean, while the annihilation of bay ice is so sudden and complete, might seem an anomaly or impossibility, were the circumstances passed over in silence. It must be observed, that the operation of a swell is merely to rend the bay ice in pieces, while its destruction is principally effected, by the attrition of those pieces against each other, and the washing of the wind-lipper. Herein the essential difference consists: pancake ice is formed in masses so small and so strong, that the swell will not divide them; and the effect of the wind-lipper is repressed by the formation of sludge on its seaward margin. Hence, whenever ice does occur in agitated waters, its exterior is always sludge, and its interior pancake ice, the pieces of which gradually increase in size with the distance from the edge.

"When a swell occurs in crowded yet detached ice, accompanied with thick weather and storm, it presents one of the most dangerous and terrific navigations that can be conceived, each lump of ice, by its laborious motion, and its violent concussion of the water, becomes buried in foam, which, with its rapid drift, and the attendant horrid noise, inspires the passing mariner with the most alarming impressions; whilst the scene before him is, if possible, rendered more awful by his consciousness of the many disasters which have been occasioned by similar dangers.

"Mr. Scoresby's paper concludes with some remarks on the possibility of travelling to the North Pole, together with a sketch of the reasoning on which the probability of success depends.

"We are for the present unable to lay any part of them before our readers, but we should remark, that in 1806, the ship Resolution, commanded by Mr. Scoresby's father, and in which Mr. Scoresby served as chief mate, was forced, by astonishing efforts, through a vast body of ice, which commenced in the place of the usual barrier, but exceeded its general extent by at least a hundred miles. They then reached a navigable sea, and advanced, without hinderance, to the latitude of 81½° north, a distance of only 170 leagues from the Pole; which

which it is imagined is one of the most extraordinary approximations yet realised.

"Mr. Scoresby has announced his intention of publishing a work comprehending an account of the progress of discovery in the North, with a synopsis of the numerous voyages undertaken in search of a Northern Passage to India.—An account of West Greenland.—East Greenland, or Spitzbergen.—The natural history of the Greenland Seas.—An account of the Greenland Sea.—The Polar Ice.—The history of the northern Whale Fishery.—The history of the minor Fisheries.—A journal of a Greenland Whale-Fishing Voyage, with appendix, containing a series of Meteorological Tables.—Tables of the Variation of the Compass, Latitudes and Longitudes, &c. from original observations. There can be little question but that Mr. Scoresby's experience and information on these subjects, will qualify him for the task he has undertaken."

On the Dissemination of Plants. From the French of M. C. F Brisseau Mirbel.

"By dissemination, we mean to express the spontaneous dispersion of the seeds of the vegetable creation; an event which, while it brings to a close the yearly round of the vegetative functions of the individual, becomes the mean of giving perpetuity to its race. When completed, the organs of the plant in which existence surpasses one year, tend visibly to a state of inactivity, and in that where this concludes with the year, to decay; being there in fact the first stage of dissolution. When we see the fruit separate from the parent-stem, its seams begin to open, the ligatures of the seed detach themselves from the placenta, we are not to place these appearances to the account of the energy of the vital principle, but, on the contrary, to view them as the certain indications of its having ceased in that portion of the vegetable where they occur. Fruit undergoes the destiny of the leaf in autumn, and is quickly reduced within the control of those laws which govern all inorganic matter. If of a succulent pulpy nature, the fluids ferment and turn sour, the texture collapses, and the whole is dissolved by putrefaction; if of a ligneous dry consistence, it follows precisely the course of the wood or the leaf in which vegetation has ceased.

"In animals the affection they bear their offspring, the instinct they are endued with for its protection and succour, their strength, their courage, their address, are all so many means of ensuring the perpetuity of their races; but to vegetables, sensation and the sources of spontaneous movement have been denied, and yet even here we see countless races appear before us on each revolving year, such as they appeared in the first days of their formation. Let us turn our attention to the causes of this wonderful stability in the races of vegetables.

"The most efficient is without doubt the prodigious fecundity they are endowed with. Sir Kenelm Digby tells us, that the fathers of the congregation of La Doctrine Chrétienne

Chrétienne at Paris, had in their possession, about the year 1660, a single barley-plant with 45 straws producing in the aggregate 18,000 corns of barley. Ray counted 32,000 seeds in the heads of one plant of poppy, and 360,000 on one tobacco-plant. Dodart recounts of an elm, that it produced 529,000 seeds. Yet none of these vegetables are among those of the foremost ranks in the degrees of fecundity. The number of seeds borne by a plant of Begonia, or Vanilla, but above all by a fern, confounds calculation.

"Although many kinds, like those of angelica, fraxinella, and coffee, quickly spoil, and require to be sown almost as soon as ripe; yet the far greater proportion preserve the germinating faculty for years and even for ages. We have ourselves recently witnessed the growth of the seeds of a kind of kidney-bean which had been taken from the Herbarium of Tourneforte. Home sowed with success barley that had been gathered 140 years. Wheat has been discovered in subterraneous hoards, which had been lost and forgotten for time out of mind, in as perfect a state as the day it was reaped.

"Insects, birds, and four-footed animals are the great destroyers of seeds; yet their abundance is such as prevails over the voracity of their consumers; while some are defended from all risk by the hardness of their coverings, or the thorns which arm them, or the acrid and corrosive juices with which they are impregnated.

"Spontaneous dissemination favourable to the developement of individual plants, by preventing the too great accumulation of seed within a too narrow compass, is carried on in various ways. In the balsam, catchfly, fraxinella, sand-box-tree, &c. the valves of the seed-vessel open with a spring that projects the contents to a distance from the parent-plant. The gourd of the spirting cucumber, by a contraction which takes place at the moment of its fall, darts out the seed along with a corrosive fluid by a vent formed as it quits the stalk. The seed of the wood-sorrel is contained in an extensile arillus or separate pouch, which dilates as the seed-vessel grows, but at last the power of extension ceases in the pouch, when it bursts and shoots out the seeds by an elastic effort. Plants of a lower degree in the scale of organization, such as the mushrooms, have their peculiar means of disseminating the particles destined for their reproduction. For instance, some of the species of Peziza impart a vibratory motion to the cap or cover which bears their seed when that is ripe. Puff-balls, also of the mushroom tribe, burst at the top like the crater of a volcano, and the seed is in such quantity and so fine, that when it escapes it has the appearance of a volume of smoke. The capsules of ferns likewise open with a spring, an effect of their contraction in drying up when ripe. A like cause gives motion to the cilia or inner fringe which surrounds the urns or seed-vessels of mosses. But although such partial phenomena may attract our curiosity, they act only a very subordinate part in the grand total of dissemination. There are other more general and powerful causes to be mentioned in this place.

"Many seeds are as fine and volatile as the dust of the anther; the winds carry these away to scatter them on the plain, the mountain, the building, and in the very depth of the cavern. No place seems closed

closed against the intrusion of the impalpable seeds of the various sorts of moulds (Mucores.)

"Heavier seeds and fruits are furnished with wings, which support them in the air, and serve to waft them through great distances. The seed-vessel of the elm is surrounded by a circular membranous wing; that of the ash is terminated by one that is oblong. The keys or seed-vessel of the maple has two large side-wings. The seeds of the fir, the cedar, and the larch are furnished with a wing of great fineness. The peduncle of the capsule of the lime tree adheres to a kind of broad bracte which plays the part of wings.

"The seeds of syngenesious plants are furnished with a feathery crown or aigrette, and look like small shuttle-cocks. The separate threads that compose this aigrette distending as they dry, serve as levers to lift the seed from the involucre that holds it, and when out, as a parachute to prevent its coming to the ground, and to buoy it in the air.

"Linnæus suspects that the Erigeron canadense came through the air from America to Europe: not at all an impossible thing. When once that syngenesious plant has found its way into any quarter, it is sure to disperse and sow itself round the whole neighbourhood.

"The funiculus (a cord which attaches the seed to its receptacte) of the dogsbane, swallow-wort, periploca, &c. the calyx of several of the valerians and scabiouses, form of themselves elegant aigrettes, resembling those of the seed of the syngenesious plants.

"Seeds are often carried by eddies of winds far from the spot on which they grew. Whirlwinds have been known to scatter over the southern coast of Spain those that had ripened on the northern coast of Africa.

"Some fruits are closed hermetically, and so constructed as to swim on the water. These are carried to every distance by torrents and rivers, as well as the sea itself. Cocoa-nuts, cashew nuts, and the pods of the Mimosa scandens sometimes of the length of two yards, with many other fruits of the tropical regions, are cast upon the shores of Norway, in a state to vegetate, did the climate permit.

"Regular currents transport the large double cocoa-nut of the Sechelles to the coast of Malabar, at the distance of 400 leagues from whence it was produced. Fruits brought by the sea have sometimes discovered to uncivilized nations the existence of those islands which lay to the windward of their country. By such tokens Columbus, in the search of the American continent, was apprised that he was not far distant from the land of which he had prognosticated the existence.

"Linnæus remarks that animals co-operate with great effect in the dissemination of seed.

"The squirrel and cross-bill, are both very fond of the seed of the fir; to open the scales of the cones they strike them against stones, and thus set free and disperse the seed.

"Crows, rats, marmots, dormice, convey away seeds to stock their hoards in out-of-the-way places. These form their winter-stores, but are often lost or forgotten, while their contents come up in the spring.

"Birds swallow the berries, of which they digest only the pulp, but void the stones entire and ready to germinate. It is thus that the thrush and other birds deposit the seed of misletoe on the trees where it is found; and indeed destitute as this

this is of wings or aigrettes, it could not be disseminated in any other way, for it will not grow on the ground.

"The Poke of Virginia (Phytolacca decandra,) which was introduced by the monks of Corbonnieux into the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux, for the sake of colouring the wine, has been since disseminated by the birds throughout the southern departments of France, and in the deepest valleys of the Pyrenees.

"The Dutch, with the view of monopolising the trade of nutmegs, extirpated the trees on those islands which they could not watch so narrowly as the rest; but in a short time these very islands were restocked with nutmeg-trees by the birds; as if nature refused to admit of such encroachment on her rights.

"Granivorous quadrupeds disseminate the seed they do not digest. It is known to every one that horses infect the meadows with new weeds.

"The fruit of the prickly-seeded scorpion-grass, of cleavers or goose-grass, of the wood-sanicle, are all provided with small hooks by which they lay hold of the fleeces of the flock, and accompany its migrations.

"There are particular plants, such as the pellitory of the wall, the nettle, and the sorrell, that may be said to seek the society of man, and actually to haunt his footsteps. They spring up along the wall of the village, and even in the streets of the city; they follow the shepherd, and climb the loftiest mountain with him. When young I accompanied M. Ramond in his excursions in the Pyrenees, where that learned naturalist more than once pointed out to me these deserters from the plains below; they grew on the remains of ruined hovels, where they kept their station in defiance of the severity of the winters, and remained as memorials to attest the former presence of man and his flocks.

"Distances, chains of mountains, rivers, the sea itself are but unavailing barriers to the migration of seed. Climate alone can set bounds to the dispersion of the vegetable races; that only draws the line which these cannot transgress. In process of time, it is probable that most of the plants which grow within the same parallel of latitude will be common to all the countries comprised in the entire zone of it; an event which would be one of the great blessings resulting from the industry and persevering intercourse of civilized nations. But no human power will ever force the vegetable of the Tropics to endure the climate of the Poles, nor *vice versâ*. Here nature is too strong for man.

"Species cannot spontaneously spread themselves from one pole to the other, the intermediate differences of temperature preventing such progress; but we may assist in transporting them, as we have done successfully in various instances. We have already transplanted the eucalypti, the metrosidera, the mimosas, the casuarinæ and other plants of Terra Australis into our own soil; while the gardens of Botany-bay are stocked with the fruit-trees of Europe.

"The dissemination of seed completes the round of vegetation. The shrub and the tree are bared of their foliage; the herb is dried up and returns to the earth from which it came. That earth appears to us as if stripped for ever of her gay attire, yet countless germs wait but the

the stated season to re-adorn her with verdure and bloom. Such is the prodigal fertility of nature, that a surface of a thousand times the extent of that of our whole globe, would not suffice for the seed harvest of a single year, provided the whole was suffered to reappear; but the destruction of seed is endless, and only a small portion escapes to rise again. In no way in our view are the power of nature and the immutability of its laws more strikingly displayed, than in the successive resurrections of the types of by-gone generations."

Mode of Ascertaining the Comparative Value of each Cow's Milk in a Diary.

Lincolnshire, August 26, 1816.

Sir,

"I have not observed that the valuable improvement communicated to the Oxfordshire Agricultural Society by their worthy President, Mr. Fane, of a method of ascertaining the comparative value of the milk of each cow in a dairy, has yet found its way into your paper. I trouble you with this to state the manner in which I have availed myself of it, with the complete approbation of my wife, her housekeeper, and her dairy-maid.

"The principle of the invention is, that if milk is poured into a glass and suffered to remain, the division between the cream that swims upon it, and the milk below, will be so plain and evident, that the depth of the cream may be easily measured; of course if the milk of any cow produces more cream than that of another, the difference may be correctly ascertained; this may be done in any glass vessel having upright sides: a tumbler, for instance, or, what is better, one of those glasses in which shopkeepers preserve their sugar plums and such like wares. If the depth of milk poured into a glass, be exactly 6 inches and 2-8ths, every 1-8th of an inch in depth of the cream swimming upon it, will be equal to 2 per cent. of the amount of the whole of the milk.

"The apparatus I use consists of tubes of glass about ½ an inch in diameter, and about 11 inches long, fixed upright in a wooden frame, each tube having a line round it marked by the glassman exactly 10 inches from the bottom. At milking time each tube is filled up to the line with the milk of a cow; after standing 12 hours the cream which floats upon the milk is measured by a scale of 10 parts to an inch: as the whole depth of the milk and cream is 10 inches, each division will represent one per cent. of the whole; of course, if the milk given by a cow at a meal is one gallon, or 8 pints, and the thickness of the cream that floats upon it measures 14 divisions, multiply the number of pints of milk (8,) by the depth of the cream, 14 divisions, and the result will be, that the produce of the cream of that meal is 112, or one pint $\frac{12}{100}$. These tubes may be bought of Mr. Newman, in Lisle-street, Leicester-fields, for 9d. each. Care must be taken to fill the tube as soon as the pail is taken from under the cow, for if any delay takes place, some of the cream will have ascended towards the top. The milk

milk should be taken from the middle of the pail, and poured into the tube without froth, which is done by dipping a cream-pot below the froth and filling the tube from thence, after having struck off the froth with the blade of a knife.

"Rich milk is not white but brown, as is evident by comparing the milk of different cows when in the glass tubes; by the colour of the milk a tolerable estimate may be made of its produce in cream. The richness of the cream may also be estimated by the colour of the cream floating on the tubes. The best Alderney cream has a yellow hue, almost as deep as the flower of the buttercup, while the cream of a Holderness cow fed upon sour grains is as white as chalk, as the cream separates itself. Rich milk first becomes white, and then takes a blueish hue.

"Every dairy woman knows that the first milkings of a cow are almost without cream, and that the last pint or half pint which is drawn from the udder with difficulty, is almost entirely cream; hence the necessity of filling the tube from the whole of the milk yielded by a cow; and it may not be an improper caution to stir it about with a spoon to mix the cream and milk more regularly together, before the tube is filled.

"It is proper to observe, that the quantity of cream that floats upon the milk in Mr. Fane's glasses, cannot be obtained by the present imperfect method of setting milk in shallow vessels, and taking off the cream by skimming; the whole quantity may be gotten by setting the milk in deeper vessels, and drawing it from under the cream by a syphon; it is evident from this, that the present system of managing our dairies is capable of much improvement.

Your humble servant, &c. H. S."

Lithography.

"The art of printing on stone was first introduced into this country about fifteen years ago, by a person of the name of André, who obtained a patent for the invention, but which, of course, could not have been sustained, as the art had been long practised on the Continent. Several sketches were made by our eminent artists, and a periodical work was published by M. André, of impressions from stone, and which, on his leaving this country, was continued by Mr. Volwieler, his successor, who finding the profits fall short of his expectations, left this country some time since; and on his departure, a poor person of the name of Redman, who had been in the employ of M. Volwieler, was instructed by him in the process, and was engaged in the Quarter-Master-General's office, for the purpose of printing plans, &c. The hope of greater gain, tempted him to quit his situation. He has not however, I believe, reaped, as yet, much profit from the concern. Some others have constructed presses, and printed from stone, but Redman is unquestionably the most skilful workman. When this art was first introduced into this country, it was expected that considerable benefit would result from its practice. In many instances, the expense attending engravings precludes the possibility of

of giving publicity to works on science, and in others, considerable sacrifices are made, in order to bring out works which, but for the expense of the engravings, might have yielded the author a return for his labours. It should seem, however, from the total want of encouragement this art has met with here, either that it is not fit to supply the place of copper-plate engravings, or wood-cuts, or that the difference of expense is so inconsiderable, as not to be of moment. It was said, that the engravers had united to prevent the art being brought into use in this country. It is however, of course, a matter of absurdity to suppose, that the few members of any particular trade, should be able to prevent the exercise of an art, by which that which is required, could be procured equally serviceable, at one tenth part of the price. The fact is, the art of printing on stone does not appear ever to have been practised in perfection in this country, as will appear by reference to the works after noticed. The short outline of the process appears to be as follows. A slab of white lias, (Bath stone) about an inch thick, is rendered perfectly level, and polished with fine sand, or some other substance, and this is drawn on with a pen, and a prepared liquid of the consistence of common ink, and with the same facility: after this, the stone is washed over with a diluted nitric acid, which slightly corrodes that part of the stone which has not been drawn on with the pen (the liquid repelling the acid, having wax in solution); and the stone is then saturated with water, and the common printing ball is dabbed over it, as in type printing, and the ink adheres to such parts as have been drawn on, (the other parts of the stone being wet, repel the printing ink); the impression is then taken by passing the stone through a press, with a single cylinder. When the print is wished to resemble a chalk drawing, the stone is left rather rough, by using a coarser sand to polish it; and instead of ink and a pen being used, a prepared pastil, of the same substance as that with which the mixture used in drawing with a pen is made, is substituted, with which a drawing is made on the stone. From this, it appears, that the making the drawing on the stone, is accompanied by no more inconvenience than a drawing on paper with pencil or a pen: but as circumstances may render it inconvenient to make the drawing on the stone, there is a prepared paper, on which the drawing may be made, either with a pen or chalk, and which the printer can transfer on the stone; and this method has the advantage of reversing the drawing, by which means, the impression produced, corresponds with the original design. As it is difficult, even with a steel pen, to make a very fine line on the stone, where that is requisite, it is better to cover the stone over with a thin mixture of gum-water and lamp-black, and after it is dry, the design may be sketched with the point of an etching needle, in the same way as on copper, scratching through the covering of gum, and then rubbing the printing ink on the surface of the stone; it only adheres in the parts where the gum has been scratched away, and when the stone is soaked in water, the gum dissolves and washes off, leaving the design traced in printing ink on the stone, which, when dry, is printed from in the mode before mentioned.

mentioned. It should seem, however, that notwithstanding the apparent simplicity of this process, there must be yet some considerable discoveries to make in the detail, as nothing has been produced in this country, which can, in respect of execution, be compared to the works produced on the Continent.

"It is obvious, that supposing the impression produced, is equally fit to answer the purpose required, the whole expense of engraving may be saved, as the artist may himself, at once, make the design on the stone; besides this, the stone is in no wise worn by printing, and any number of prints may be taken with it. Nothing resembling the tone, or effect of the fine productions of line engraving, can be produced; but an inspection of any of the works before noticed will shew that it is admirably adapted to represent subjects of natural history, outlines, designs, plans, &c. The art is also applicable to the multiplication of writings, as the subject required to be printed, may be written on the prepared paper before noticed, and transferred on the stone, and printed without the least delay, and at no other expense than the mere printing. At Munich, where this art is principally practised, all the proclamations, &c. relating to the State, are thus printed.

"We have just learnt, that Mr. Ackerman, of the Strand, has procured a person from Munich, who perfectly understands the mode of printing from stone: and that, in a short time, Mr. A. means to print in this manner for the public."

ARTICLE II.—*Character of Haydn's Works; from the Lives of Haydn and Mozart.*

"I PROCEED to the conclusion of my history. Haydn, now received into the Esterhazy family, placed at the head of a grand orchestra, and attached to the service of a patron immensely rich, found himself in that happy union of circumstances, too rare for our pleasures, which gives opportunity to genius to display all its powers. From this moment his life was uniform, and fully employed. He rose early in the morning, dressed himself very neatly, and placed himself at a small table by the side of his piano-forte, where the hour of dinner usually found him still seated. In the evening, he went to the rehearsals, or to the opera, which was performed, in the prince's palace, four times every week. Sometimes, but not often, he devoted a morning to hunting. The little time which he had to spare, on common days, was divided between his friends and Mademoiselle Boselli. Such was the course of his life for more than thirty years. This accounts for the astonishing number of his works. They may be arranged in three classes;—instrumental music, church music, and operas.

"In symphony, he is the first of the first; in sacred music, he opened a new path, liable, it is true, to criticism, but by which he has placed himself on a level with the greatest

greatest geniuses. In the third, that is, theatrical music, he was only respectable, and this, for many reasons; of which one of the best is, that in this department he was only an imitator.

"Since you assure me that my prating does not tire you, I shall speak in regular order of these three kinds of music.

"Haydn's instrumental music consists of chamber symphonies, for a greater or less number of instruments, and of symphonies for a full orchestra, which, on account of the great number of instruments necessary, can only be performed, with convenience, in a theatre.

"The first of these divisions, comprehends the duets, trios, quartetts, sestetts, octetts, and divertimentos; the sonatas for the pianoforte, the fantasie, variations, and capricci. In the second are contained the symphonies for the grand orchestra, the concertos for different instruments, the serenades and the marches.

"Of all this music, the quartetts, and the symphonies for the grand orchestra, are most esteemed. Haydn has written eighty-two quartetts, and one hundred and eighty symphonies. The first nineteen quartetts, are considered by amateurs merely as divertimentos. The originality and loftiness of his style is not yet fully developed in them. But, in return, each one of the quartetts, from that marked No. 20 to No. 82, would, alone, have been sufficient to establish the reputation of its author.

"You know that quartetts are executed by four instruments, a first violin, a second violin, an alto, and a violoncello. An intelligent woman said, that when she heard a quartett of Haydn's, she fancied herself present at the conversation of four agreeable persons. She thought that the first violin had the air of an eloquent man of genius, of middle age, who supported a conversation, the subject of which he had suggested. In the second violin, she recognized a friend of the first, who sought by all possible means to display him to advantage, seldom thought of himself, and kept up the conversation, rather by assenting to what was said by the others, than by advancing any ideas of his own. The alto, was a grave, learned, and sententious man. He supported the discourse of the first violin by laconic maxims, striking for their truth. The bass, was a worthy old lady, rather inclined to chatter, who said nothing of much consequence, and yet was always desiring to put in a word. But she gave an additional grace to the conversation, and while she was talking, the other interlocutors had time to breathe. It was, however, evident, that she had a secret inclination for the alto, which she preferred to the other instruments.

"Haydn, in the course of fifty years labour, has produced five hundred and twenty-seven instrumental compositions: and has never copied himself but when he intended to do so. For instance, the air of the Husbandman, in the oratorio of The Four Seasons, is an andante from one of his symphonies, of which he has made a fine counter-tenor air, but which, it must be allowed, flags a little towards the end.

"You perceive, my friend, that the greater part of the observations which I should here make, require a piano-forte, and not a pen. At the distance of four hundred leagues from you, and our beloved France,

it is of the poetical part only, of Haydn's style, that I can speak.

"The allegros of his symphonies, which are in general full of life and spirit, carry you out of yourself. They generally commence with a short, easy, and intelligible theme. Gradually, and by a procedure full of genius, this theme, repeated by the different instruments, acquires a character of mingled heroism and gaiety. These solemn tints, are like the dark shades of Rembrandt and Guerchino, which produce such effects on the illuminated parts of their pictures.

"The author seems to conduct you into the midst of abysses; but, a continued sensation of pleasure, allures you to follow him in his singular course. The character I have just described, appears to me to belong in common to the prestos and rondos.

"There is more variety in the andantes, and adagios: the lofty style is there displayed in all its majesty.

"The phrases, or musical ideas, are finely and nobly developed. Each member is clear and distinct, and the whole stands boldly forward. It is the style of Buffon, when he abounds in ideas. There is more energy, than softness, required to execute properly the adagios of Haydn. They have rather the proportions of a Juno, than of a Venus. More grave, than delicate, they breathe a tranquil dignity, full of the power, and, sometimes, with a little of the heaviness, of the Germans.

"In the andantes, this dignity is occasionally subdued by a moderated gaiety, but still it always predominates. Sometimes, in the andantes and adagios, the author suffers himself to be suddenly carried away by the copiousness and power of his ideas. This sportiveness, this excess of vigour, animates, enlivens, carries along with it the whole composition, but does not exclude passion and sentiment.

"Some of the andantes and allegros of Haydn appear to have no subject. One is tempted to think the performers have begun at the middle of their parts; but in a short time the true amateur perceives, by his sensations, that the composer has had an object, and a plan.

"His minuets are the pure emanations of genius. So rich are they in harmony, in ideas, in accumulated beauties, that they would suffice with an ordinary man for a sonata. It was in reference to this, that Mozart used to say of our comic operas, that any man in good health might make one, every day before breakfast. The second parts of Haydn's minuets are in general comic, and are delightful for their originality.

"The general character of the instrumental music of our author is that of romantic imagination. In vain would you seek in it the correctness of Racine; it is rather the style of Ariosto, or of Shakespeare. For this reason I cannot account for the reputation of Haydn in France.

"His genius ranges in every direction with the rapidity of the eagle. The astonishing, and the alluring, succeed each other alternately, and are painted with the most brilliant tints. It is this variety of colouring, it is the absence of every thing tedious, which has probably obtained for him so rapid and extensive a success. Scarcely had he composed his symphonies, before they were performed in America, and the Indies.

"The

"The magic of his style seems to me to consist in a predominating character of liberty and joy. This joy of Haydn, is a perfectly natural, pure, and continual exaltation; it reigns in the allegros; it is perceptible even in the grave parts, and pervades the andantes in a sensible degree.

"In those compositions, where it is evident from the rhythm, the tone, and the general character, that the author intends to inspire melancholy, this obstinate joy, being unable to shew itself openly, is transformed into energy and strength. Observe, this sombre gravity is not pain, it is joy constrained to disguise itself; which might be called the concentrated joy of a savage; but never sadness, dejection, or melancholy. Haydn has never been really melancholy more than two or three times; in a verse of his Stabat Mater, and in two of the adagios of the Seven Words.

"This is the reason why he has never excelled in dramatic music. Without melancholy, there can be no impassioned music; and, for this cause, the French people, lively, vain, and light, expressing with quickness all their sentiments, sometimes oppressed with ennui, but never melancholic, will never have any music.

"Now we are upon the subject, and that I see you already beginning to scowl, I will tell you the whole of my mind. I shall purposely make use of the most common and intelligible images; and I invite all my brother manufacturers of paradoxes to follow the same plan."

ARTICLE III.—*Introduction of Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate; from the 3d Vol. of Curiosities of Literature.*

"IT is hardly credible that on the first introduction of that Chinese leaf, which now affords our daily refreshment; or that American leaf, whose sedative fumes made it so long an universal favourite; or that Arabian berry, whose aroma exhilarates its European votaries; that the use of these harmless novelties should have spread consternation in the nations of Europe, and have been anathematized by the terrors and the fictions of some of the learned. Yet this seems to have happened. Patin, who wrote so furiously against the introduction of antimony, spread the same alarm at the use of tea, which he calls, "l'impertinente nouveauté du siècle." In Germany, Hanneman considered tea-dealers as immoral members of society, lying in wait for men's purses and lives; and Dr. Duncan, in his treatise on hot liquors, suspected that the virtues attributed to tea, were merely to encourage the importation.

"Many virulent pamphlets were published against the use of this shrub, from various motives. In 1670 a Dutch writer says it was ridiculed in Holland under the name of hay-water. "The progress of this famous plant," says an ingenious writer, "has been something like the progress of truth; suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it incroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and

and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless efforts of time and its own virtues."

"The history of the tea-shrub, written by Dr. Lettsom, is usually referred to on this subject; I consider it little more than a plagiarism on Dr. Short's learned and curious dissertation on tea, 1730, 4to. Lettsom has superadded the solemn trifling of his moral and medical advice.

"These now common beverages are all of recent origin in Europe; neither the ancients, nor those of the middle ages, tasted of this luxury. The first accounts we find of the use of this shrub are the casual notices of travellers, who seem to have tasted it, and sometimes not to have liked it: a Russian ambassador, in 1639, who resided at the court of the Mogul, declined accepting a large present of tea for the Czar, "as it would only incumber him with a commodity for which he had no use." The appearance of "a black water" and an acrid taste, seems not to have recommended it to the German Olearius in 1633. Dr. Short has recorded an anecdote of a stratagem of the Dutch in their second voyage to China, by which they at first obtained their tea without disbursing money; they carried from home great store of dried sage, and bartered it with the Chinese for tea; and received three or four pounds of tea for one of sage: but at length the Dutch could not export sufficient quantity of sage to supply their demand. This fact, however, proves how deeply the imagination is concerned with our palate, for the Chinese, affected by the exotic novelty, considered our sage to be more precious than their tea.

"The first introduction of tea into Europe is not ascertained; according to the common accounts, it came into England from Holland, in 1666, when Lord Arlington and Lord Ossory brought over a small quantity: the custom of drinking tea became fashionable, and a pound weight sold then for sixty shillings. This account, however, is by no means satisfactory. I have heard of Oliver Cromwell's tea-pot in the possession of a collector, and this will derange the chronology of those writers who are perpetually copying the researches of others, without confirming or correcting them.

"Amidst the rival contests of the Dutch and the English East-India Companies, the honour of introducing its use into Europe may be claimed by both. Dr. Short conjectures that tea might have been known in England as far back as the reign of James I. for the first fleet set out in 1600; but, had the use of this shrub been known, the novelty had been chronicled among our dramatic writers, whose works are the annals of our prevalent tastes and humours. It is rather extraordinary that our East-India Company should not have discovered the use of this shrub, in their early adventures; yet it certainly was not known in England so late as in 1641, for in a scarce "Treatise of warm Beer," where the title indicates the author's design to recommend hot in preference to cold drinks, he refers to tea only by quoting the Jesuit Maffei's account, that "they of China do for the most part drink the strained liquor of an herb called Chia, hot." The word Cha is the Portuguese term for

tea,

tea, retained to this day, which they borrowed from the Japanese; while our intercourse with the Chinese made us no doubt adopt their term Theh, now prevalent throughout Europe, with the exception of the Portuguese. The Chinese origin is still preserved in the term Bohea, tea which comes from the country of Vouhi; and that of Hyson is the name of the most considerable Chinese then concerned in the trade.

"The best account of the early use, and the prices of tea in England, appears in the hand-bill of one who may be called our first tea-maker. This curious hand-bill bears no date, but as Hanway ascertained that the price was sixty shillings in 1660, this bill must have been dispersed about that period.

"Thomas Garway in Exchange alley, tobacconist and coffee-man, was the first who sold and retailed tea, recommending it for the cure of all disorders. The following shop-bill is more curious than any historical account we have.

"Tea in England hath been sold in the leaf for six pounds, and sometimes for ten pounds the pound weight, and in respect of its former scarceness and dearness it hath been only used as a regalia in high treatments and entertainments, and presents made thereof to princes and grandees till the year 1657. The said Garway did purchase a quantity thereof, and first publicly sold the said tea in leaf or drink, made according to the directions of the most knowing merchants into those Eastern countries. On the knowledge of the said Garway's continued care and industry in obtaining the best tea, and making drink thereof, very many noblemen, physicians, merchants, &c. have ever since sent to him for the said leaf, and daily resort to his house to drink the drink thereof. He sells tea from 16s. to 50s. a pound."

"Probably, tea was not in general use domestically so late as in 1687, for in the diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, he registers that "Pere Couplet supped with me, and after supper we had tea, which he said was really as good as any he had drank in China." Had his lordship been in the general habit of drinking tea, he had not, probably, made it a subject for his diary.

"While the honour of introducing tea may be disputed between the English and the Dutch, that of coffee remains between the English and the French. Yet an Italian intended to have occupied the place of honour; that admirable traveller Pietro della Valle, writing from Constantinople 1615, to a Roman, his fellow-countryman, informing him, that he should teach Europe in what manner the Turks took what he calls "Cahué," or as the word is written in an Arabic and English pamphlet, printed at Oxford 1659, on "the nature of the drink Kauhi or coffee." As this celebrated traveller lived to 1652, it may excite surprise that the first cup of coffee was not drank at Rome: this remains for the discovery of some member of the "Arcadian Society." Our own Purchas, at the time that Valle wrote, was also "a pilgrim," and well knew what was "coffa," which "they drank as hot as they can endure it; it is as black as soot, and tastes not much unlike it; good they say for digestion and mirth."

"It appears by Le Grand's "Vie privée des François," that the celebrated Thevenot, in 1658, gave coffee after dinner; but it was considered as the whim of a traveller; neither

neither the thing itself, nor its appearance, was inviting: it was probably attributed by the gay, to the humour of a vain philosophical traveller. But ten years afterwards a Turkish ambassador at Paris made the beverage highly fashionable. The elegance of the equipage recommended it to the eye, and charmed the women: the brilliant porcelain cups, in which it was poured; the napkins fringed with gold, and the Turkish slaves on their knees presenting it to the ladies, seated on the ground on cushions, turned the heads of the Parisian dames. This elegant introduction made the exotic beverage a subject of conversation, and in 1672, an Armenian at Paris at the fair-time opened a coffee-house. But the custom still prevailed to sell beer and wine, and to smoak and mix with indifferent company in their first imperfect coffee-houses. A Florentine, one Procope, celebrated in his day as the arbiter of taste in this department, instructed by the error of the Armenian, invented a superior establishment, and introduced ices; he embellished his apartment, and those who had avoided the offensive coffee-houses, repaired to Procope's; where literary men, artists, and wits resorted, to inhale the fresh and fragrant steam. Le Grand says, that this establishment holds a distinguished place in the literary history of the times. It was at the coffee-house of Du Laurent that Saurin, La Motte, Danchet, Boindin, Rousseau, &c. met; but the mild steams of the aromatic berry could not mollify the acerbity of so many rivals, and the witty malignity of Rousseau gave birth to those famous couplets on all the coffee-drinkers, which occasioned his misfortune and his banishment.

"Such is the history of the first use of coffee and its houses at Paris. We, however, knew the use before even the time of Thevenot; for an English Turkish merchant brought a Greek servant in 1652, who, knowing how to roast and make it, opened a house to sell it publicly. I have also discovered his hand-bill, in which he sets forth,

"The vertue of the coffee-drink, first publiquely made and sold in England, by Pasqua Rosee, in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, at the sign of his own head."

"For about twenty years after the introduction of coffee in this kingdom, we find a continued series of invectives against its adoption, both in medicinal and domestic views. The use of coffee, indeed, seems to have excited more notice, and to have had a greater influence on the manners of the people, than that of tea. It seems at first to have been more universally used, as it is still on the continent; and its use is connected with a resort for the idle and the curious: the history of coffee-houses is often that of the manners, the morals, and the politics, of a people. Even in its native country, the government discovered that extraordinary fact, and the use of the Arabian berry was more than once forbidden where it grows; for Ellis, in his "History of Coffee," 1774, refers to an Arabian MS. in the king of France's library, which shews that coffee-houses in Asia were sometimes suppressed. The same fate happened on its introduction into England.

"Amidst these contests of popular prejudices, between the lovers of forsaken Canary, and the terrors of our

our females at the barrenness of an Arabian desert, which lasted for twenty years, at length the custom was universally established; nor were there wanting some reflecting minds desirous of introducing the use of this liquid, among the labouring classes of society, to wean them from strong liquors. Howel, in noticing that curious philosophical traveller, Sir Henry Blount's "Organon Salutis," 1659, observed that "this coffa-drink hath caused a great sobriety among all nations: formerly apprentices, clerks, &c. used to take their morning-draughts in ale, beer, or wine, which often made them unfit for business. Now they play the good-fellows in this wakeful and civil drink. The worthy gentleman Sir James Muddiford, who introduced the practice hereof first in London, deserves much respect of the whole nation." Here it appears, what is most probable, that the use of this berry was introduced by other Turkish merchants, besides Edwards and his servant Pasqua. But the custom of drinking coffee among the labouring classes does not appear to have lasted; and when it was recently even the cheapest beverage, the popular prejudices prevailed against it, and run in favour of tea. The contrary practice prevails on the continent, where beggars are viewed making their coffee in the street. I remember seeing the large body of shipwrights at Helvoetsluys summoned by a bell, to take their regular refreshment of coffee; and the fleets of Holland were not then built by arms less robust than the fleets of Britain.

"The frequenting of coffee-houses is a custom which has declined within our recollection, since institutions of a higher character, and society itself, has so much improved within late years. These were, however, the common assemblies of all classes of society. The mercantile man, the man of letters, and the man of fashion, had their appropriate coffee-houses. The Tatler dates from either to convey a character of his subject. In the reign of Charles II. 1675, a proclamation for some time shut them all up, having become the rendezvous of the politicians of that day. Roger North has given in his Examen a full account of this bold stroke: it was not done without some apparent respect to the British constitution, the court affecting not to act against law, for the judges were summoned to a consultation, when, it seems, the five who met did not agree in opinion. But a decision was contrived that "the retailing of coffee and tea might be an innocent trade; but as it was said to nourish sedition, spread lies, and scandalize great men, it might also be a common nuisance." A general discontent, in consequence, as North acknowledges, took place, and emboldened the merchants and retailers of coffee and tea to petition; and permission was soon granted to open the houses to a certain period, under a severe admonition, that the masters should prevent all scandalous papers, books, and libels from being read in them; and hinder every person from spreading scandalous reports against the government. It must be confessed, all this must have frequently puzzled the coffee-house master to decide what was scandalous, what book was fit to be licensed to be read, and what political intelligence might be allowed to be communicated. The object of the government was, probably, to intimidate, rather

rather than to persecute, at that moment.

"Of chocolate, I have only to observe, that, according to Le Grand's "Vie privée de François," the Spaniards brought it from Mexico, where it was denominated Chocollatti; it was a coarse mixture of ground cacao and Indian corn with rocou. The Spaniards, liking its nourishment, improved it into a richer compound, with sugar, vanilla, and other aromatics. We had chocolate-houses in London long after coffee-houses; they seemed to have associated something more elegant and refined in their new term, when the other had become common. Roger North thus inveighs against them: "The use of coffee-houses seems much improved by a new invention, called chocolate-houses, for the benefit of rooks and cullies of quality, where gaming is added to all the rest, and the summons of W—— seldom fails; as if the devil had erected a new university, and those were the colleges of his professors, as well as his schools of discipline." Roger North, a high tory, and attorney-general to James II. observed, however, that these rendezvous were often not entirely composed of those "factious gentry he so much dreaded;" for he says, "This way of passing time might have been stopped at first before people had possessed themselves of some convenience from them of meeting for short dispatches, and passing evenings with small expences." And old Aubrey, the small Boswell of his day, attributes his general acquaintance to "the modern advantage of coffee-houses in this great city, before which men knew not how to be acquainted, but with their own relations, and societies:" a curious statement, which proves the moral connexion with society of all sedentary recreations which induce the herding spirit."

THE END.

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